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RECONSTRUCTING
THE REALITY OF IMAGES

Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography
(11th-15th Centuries)

BY

MARIA G. PARANI



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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

To my parents

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PREFACE

The present work constitutes the first comprehensive study of contemporary secular artefacts (*realia*) represented in Byzantine art that considers such representations from both an archaeological and an art-historical point of view. However, it is not exhaustive, nor was it ever meant to be. Rather, it aspires to demonstrate the potential of using Byzantine religious art as a supplementary source on Byzantine material culture through the discussion of characteristic examples and to put forward a sound methodology for extracting the visual evidence. Furthermore, it proposes an alternative way of looking at Byzantine art which can help us recapture the multi-layered content of Byzantine images and enhance our understanding of the generative processes of religious iconography.

It was while an undergraduate at the University of Athens that I became interested in the question of what is contemporary and what is conventional in the representation of costume and paraphernalia in Byzantine figurative art. I am thankful to my teachers at Athens, Dr. Helene Deleghanne-Dore and Dr. Maria Panagiotide for cultivating my interest in Byzantine painting and pointing me towards this direction. The present book is a slightly revised version of my doctoral dissertation (University of Oxford 1999). I am particularly grateful to the supervisor of the thesis, Dr. Marlia Mundell Mango, for her unreserved guidance and support throughout the years. I am also grateful to the examiners of the thesis, Prof. Henry Maguire and Dr. Julian Raby, as well as to Prof. Cyril Mango, Dr. James Howard-Johnston, Dr. Jonathan Bardill, Dr. Ioanna Christophoraki, Dr. Eva Bamboula and Dr. Marcus Milwright for their careful reading of parts of the thesis and for their very helpful remarks. My special thanks go to Prof. Sharon E.J. Gerstel for reading and commenting on the final draft of the book and for many thought-provoking discussions on matters Byzantine. I am also grateful to Mrs. Mary Ioannides for helping me improve my English prose.

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Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks
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Note on transliteration: Well-known and standardized English equivalents of Greek names of people and places, such as Constantine or Cappadocia, have been retained. Otherwise, I have tried to follow the transliteration system of the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*.

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 - e. *Coislin* 79, f. 2r (1071–1081). The *proedros* and *epi tou kanikleiou* (reconstructed)
 - f. *Coislin* 79, f. 2r (1071–1081). The *proedros* and *megas primikorios* and the *proedros* and *dekanos* (front view)
 - g. *Madrid Skylitzes*, f. 51 (mid-twelfth century). Courtier
 - h. *Madrid Skylitzes*, f. 42v (mid-twelfth century). Courtier (side view)
 - i. *Vat. gr. 1851*, f. 2v (1179). Courtier (side view)
 - j. Constantinople, Chora Monastery (1315–1321). The *logothetes tou genikou* Theodore Metochites
 - k. *Par. gr. 2144*, f. IIr (after 1334). The *megas doux* Alexios Apokaukos
 - l. *Lincoln Typikon*, ff. 2r, 3r, 5r, 6r, 8r (1327–1342). Officials of the family of Theodora Synadene
 - m. *Par. gr. 1242*, f. 5v (completed in 1375). Courtier
 - n. Constantinople, Chora Monastery, Tomb D (fourteenth century). Michael Tornikes
 - o. Mistra, Sts. Theodores. Unidentified supplicant (c. 1400)
 - p. Mistra, Aphendiko. The *despotes* Theodore Palaiologos (†1407)
 - q. Mistra, Pantanassa. Manuel Laskares Chatzikes (†1445) (side view)
 - r. Mistra, Sts. Theodores. Unidentified supplicant (fifteenth century)
78. Göreme, Çarıklı kilise (mid-eleventh century). Donor panel: Theognostos (left) and Leo and Michael (right), flanking a saint who carries the Holy Cross. (photo by Ann Wharton Epstein, courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)
79. *Vat. gr. 1851*, f. 2v (illustrated *epithalamion* of 1179). Arrival of a messenger to Constantinople. (© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)
80. *Vat. gr. 1613*, no. 98 (*Menologium* of Basil II, beginning of eleventh century). St. Pelagia the Harlot. (© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)
81. *Petrop. gr. 291*, f. IIIr (1067). Eirene Gabras. (photo Archives of The State Hermitage Museum)
82. *Vat. gr. 752*, f. 449v (c. 1059). The Dance of Myriam. (© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)

83. *Vat. gr.* 1851, f. 3v (illustrated *epithalamion* of 1179). The arrival of Agnes to Constantinople. (© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)
84. Kastoria, Sts. Anargyroi (c. 1180). Donor panel, detail: The Virgin and Child and Anna Radene [after Pelekanides S. and Chatzidakis M., *Kastoria* (Athens, 1985), fig. 22 on p. 42]
85. Arta, Panagia Bellas (1295/6). John Tzimiskes, brother of the donor, and his wife Anna. (photo 8th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities)
86. Middle and Late Byzantine female head-dresses (not to scale):
 - a. *Menologium* of Basil II. 1613, no. 98 (beginning of eleventh century). St. Pelagia
 - b. *Vat. gr.* 752, f. 449v (c. 1059). A Hebrew woman dancing
 - c. Soğanlı, Canavar kilise. Female donor (c. 1060)
 - d. *Petrop.* gr. 291, f. IIIr (1067). Eirene Gabras
 - e. *Koutloumousiou* 60, f. Iv (before 1169). Female donor or supplicant
 - f. *Vat. gr.* 1851, f. 3v (1179). A lady of the court
 - g. Kastoria, St. Nicholas Kasnitzes (1160–1180). Anna, wife of the donor
 - h. Kastoria, Sts. Anargyroi (c. 1180). Anna Radene
 - i. Arta, Panagia Bellas (1295/6). Anna, sister-in-law of donor (after Orlandos)
 - j. *Lincoln Typikon*, ff. 1v, 2r, 3r, 4r, 5r, 6r, 8r, 9v (1327–1342). Female members of the family of Theodora Synadene
 - k. Constantinople, Chora Monastery, Tomb D (fourteenth century). The wife of Michael Tornikes
87. Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection. Gold, crescent-shaped earring (twelfth century). (photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)
88. Taranto, Museo Nazionale. Pair of gold earrings with three pellets (ninth–eleventh century). [after D'Angela C., *Ori Bizantini del Museo Nazionale di Taranto* (Taranto, 1989), no. 10]
89. *Rossano Gospels*, f. 16 (sixth century). Second of the Trial miniatures: Christ or Barabbas. (with the kind permission of the Museo Diocesano di Arte Sacra, Rossano)
90. *Athens* 93, f. 85r (last quarter of twelfth century). Joseph of Arimathea demanding the body of Christ for burial. (with the permission of the National Library of Greece/photo Manoles Manole)
91. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, cod. Vitr. 26–2 (*Madrid Skylitzes*), f. 43r(a) (mid-twelfth century). Theophilos orders the prefect to punish those responsible for the assassination of Leo V. (photo Laboratorio Fotográfico de la Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid)

92. Thessalonike, St. Nicholas Orphanos (1310–1320). Christ before Pilate. (photo Ivan Djordjević)
93. Constantinople, Chora Monastery (1315–1321). Infancy cycle, Enrolment for Taxation. (photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)
94. Kastoria, St. Nicholas Kasnitzes (1160–1180). Cycle of St. Nicholas, St. Nicholas appears to Ablabius. [after Πελεκανίδης Στ., *Καστοριά Ι. Βυζαντινὰι τοιχογραφίαι. Πίνακες* (Thessalonike, 1953), pl. 606]
95. Thessalonike, St. Nicholas Orphanos (1310–1320). Scenes from the cycle of St. Nicholas: The three generals in prison (bottom left); St. Nicholas appears to Ablabius (top left); St. Nicholas appears to Constantine (right). (photo to Ivan Djordjević)
96. Göreme, New Tokalı kilise (mid-tenth century). The Calling of St. Matthew. (photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)
97. *Par. gr.* 543, f. 288v (fourteenth century). Theodosios I and St. Gregory of Nazianzos. (photo Bibliothèque nationale de France)
98. Paris, The Louvre. The Harbaville ivory triptych (tenth century). (photo Cnac-Mnam/Dist RMN, D. Arnaudet)
99. Bachkovo Monastery, ossuary chapel, narthex of the crypt (mid-twelfth century). The Last Judgment, detail: chorus of martyrs. (photo Elka Bakalova)
100. Paris, The Louvre. Steatite icon of the *Hetoimasia* and saints (late tenth–early eleventh century). (photo Cnac-Mnam/Dist RMN, D. Arnaudet)
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102. Constantinople, Chora Monastery (1315–1321). Unidentified saint. (photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)
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104. Daphni Monastery, *katholikon* (late eleventh century). St. Bakchos. (photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)
105. Thessalonike, basilica of St. Demetrios. St. Demetrios and donors (seventh century). (photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)
106. Hosios Loukas, *katholikon*, north-western chapel (fourth decade of the eleventh century). Three of the Five Martyrs of Sebasteia (from left to right): St. Eugenios, St. Eustratios, and St. Auxentios.

- [after Chatzidakis-Bacharas T., *Les Peintures murales de Hosios Loukas. Les chapelles occidentales* (Athens, 1982), fig. 13]
107. Hosios Loukas Monastery, *katholikon*, north-western chapel (fourth decade of eleventh century). St. Orestes. [after Chatzidakis-Bacharas T., *Les Peintures murales de Hosios Loukas. Les chapelles occidentales* (Athens, 1982), fig. 11]
 108. Hosios Loukas Monastery, *katholikon*, north-western chapel (fourth decade of eleventh century). St. Mardarios. [after Chatzidakis-Bacharas T., *Les Peintures murales de Hosios Loukas. Les chapelles occidentales* (Athens, 1982), fig. 12]
 109. Kastoria, St. Nicholas Kasnitzes (1160–1180). St. Barbara. (photo Sharon E.J. Gerstel)
 110. *Marc. gr. Z. 17* (Psalter of Basil II), f. IIIr (beginning of eleventh century). Triumph of Basil II. (photo Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana di Venezia)
 111. Çavuşin, Pigeon House Church (963–969). The *magistros* Melias. (photo by Ann Wharton Epstein, courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)
 112. Constantinople, Great Palace excavation. Finds of small plates employed in the construction of body-armour, arrowheads, a spearhead and other iron fragments (twelfth-century context). [after *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors, being a First Report on the Excavations carried out in Istanbul on behalf of the Walker Trust (The University of St. Andrews 1935–1938)*, eds. G. Brett, W.J. Macaulay, R.B.K. Stevenson (London, 1947), pl. 58.7]
 113. Çavuşin, Pigeon House Church (963–969), north wall. John Tzimiskes and the *magistros* Melias on horseback, and four of the Forty Martyrs. (photo Catherine Jolivet-Lévy)
 114. Avclar, Yusuf koç kilisesi (towards the middle of the eleventh century or thirteenth century). St. Prokopios and St. Demetrios. (photo by Ann Wharton Epstein, courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)
 115. Göreme, Karanlık kilise (mid-eleventh century). St. Orestes. (photo Catherine Jolivet-Lévy)
 116. Göreme, Kılıçlar kuşluk (first half or towards the middle of the eleventh century). St. Mardarios and St. Orestes. (photo by Ann Wharton Epstein, courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)
 117. Hasan Dağı, Sümbüllü kilise (tenth or beginning of eleventh century). St. George. (photo Catherine Jolivet-Lévy)
 118. Hosios Loukas Monastery, church of the Virgin. Joshua (end of tenth or beginning of eleventh century). [after Chatzidakis-Bacharas T., *Les Peintures murales de Hosios Loukas. Les chapelles occidentales* (Athens, 1982), fig. 107]
 119. Hosios Loukas Monastery, *katholikon* (fourth decade of the eleventh century). St. Demetrios. [after Chatzidakis-Bacharas T., *Les Peintures murales de Hosios Loukas. Les chapelles occidentales* (Athens, 1982), fig. 85]
 120. Corfu, church of St. Merkourios (1074), east wall, south apse. St. Basil and St. Merkourios. (photo 8th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities)
 121. Vatican, Museo Sacro. Steatite icon of St. Theodore Stratelates (eleventh century). (photo courtesy of the Direzione Generale, Musei Vaticani)
 122. Mount Athos, Vatopedi Monastery. Steatite icon of St. George (eleventh century). [after *Treasures of Mount Athos*, ed. A. Karakatsanis (Thessalonike, 1997), no. 9.1]
 123. Kastoria, Sts. Anargyroi (c. 1180). St. George (left) and St. Demetrios (right). (photo Ivan Djordjević)
 124. Mount Athos, Protaton (c. 1290 or c. 1300). St. Merkourios. (photo Ivan Djordjević)
 125. Ohrid, Peribleptos (1294/5). St. George. (photo Sharon E.J. Gerstel)
 126. Paris, The Louvre. Steatite icon of St. Demetrios (eleventh century). (photo Cnac-Mnam/Dist RMN, D. Arnaudet)
 127. Göreme, Elmalı kilise (mid-eleventh century). Crucifixion. (photo by Judith O'Neill, courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)
 128. Kastoria, St. Nicholas Kasnitzes (1160–1180). St. George. (photo Ivan Djordjević)
 129. Nerezi, St. Panteleimon (1164). St. Theodore Stratelates(?) (left) and St. Theodore Tiro(?) (right). (photo Ivan Djordjević)
 130. Thessalonike, St. Nicholas Orphanos (1310–1320). Scenes from the Passion cycle: Mocking of Christ; Way to Calvary. (photo Ivan Djordjević)
 131. Thessalonike, Prophetes Elias (c. 1370–1380). Massacre of the Innocents. (photo Ivan Djordjević)
 132. Thessalonike, chapel of St. Euthymios (1303). St. George. (photo Ivan Djordjević)
 133. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Museum, ms. Hazine 2153, f. 102a (Tabriz, second half of fourteenth century). King Minuchihr of

- Iran kills the fleeing Turanians. (photo Topkapı Sarayı Museum, Istanbul)
134. Ellasson, Panagia Olympiotissa (second quarter of fourteenth century). St. Theodore Stratelates. (photo Thanases Euthymopoulos)
 135. Ohrid, Peribleptos (1294/5). St. Merkourios. (photo Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)
 136. Kastoria, Panagia Mavriotissa, exterior of south wall of narthex (1259–1264). St. Demetrios (left) and St. George (right). (photo Ivan Djordjević)
 137. Constantinople, Chora Monastery, funerary chapel (1315–1321). St. Theodore Tiro. (photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)
 138. Taq-i-Bostān, rock-cut carving (c. 620). Khusru II. (photo The Middle East Centre, St. Antony's College, Oxford)
 139. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Museum. Pair of Turkish helmets (thirteenth-fourteenth century). [after Stöcklein H., 'Die Waffenschätze im Topkapu Sarayı Müzesi zu Istanbul – Ein vorläufiger Bericht,' *Ars Islamica* I (1934), pp. 200–218, fig. 3]
 140. Mistra, Peribleptos (third quarter of the fourteenth century). Way to Calvary and Ascent to the Cross. [after Χατζηδάκης Μ., *Μυστράς. Η μεσαιωνική πολιτεία και το κάστρο. Οδηγός* (Athens, 1989), fig. 52]
 141. Thessalonike, Holy Apostles (1329–1334). Martyrdom of St. Demetrios, detail. [after Ευγγούπουλος 'Α., 'Η τοιχογραφία του μαρτυρίου του 'Αγίου Δημητρίου εις τούς 'Αγίους 'Αποστόλους Θεσσαλονίκης,' *ΔΧΑΕ* 8 (1975–1976) pp. 1–18, pl. 3]
 142. Verroia, church of the Anastasis (1315). Way to Calvary. (photo Dušan Tasić)
 143. Chios, Nea Mone (1049–1055). Prayer in the garden and Betrayal. (photo 3rd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities)
 144. *Vat. gr.* 747, f. 247v (third quarter of eleventh century?). The Israelites slay the Ephraimites. (© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)
 145. Bayeux Tapestry (after 1066), detail. Warriors of the army of William the Conqueror. (with the special permission of the City of Bayeux)
 146. Kastoria, Sts. Anargyroi (c. 1180). St. Christophoros. [after Πελεκανίδης Στ., *Καστοριά Ι. Βυζαντινὰι τοιχογραφίαι. Πίνακες* (Thessalonike, 1953), pl. 23a]
 147. Constantinople, Chora Monastery (1315–1321), funerary chapel.

- St. Prokopios. (photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)
148. Thessalonike, St. Nicholas Orphanos (1310–1320). St. Artemios. (photo Ivan Djordjević)
 149. Thessalonike, St. Nicholas Orphanos (1310–1320). St. Demetrios. (photo Ivan Djordjević)
 150. Verroia, church of the Anastasis (1315). St. Demetrios. (photo Dušan Tasić)
 151. Corinth. Iron tip of blade and grip(?) of a sword (found together; probably eleventh century). (photo American School of Classical Studies, Corinth Excavations)
 152. Mount Athos, Protaton (c. 1290 or c. 1300). St. George. (photo Ivan Djordjević)
 153. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. The ceremonial sword of Frederick II Hohenstaufen (before 1220); disk-pommel of the fourteenth century. (photo Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)
 154. Thessalonike, Holy Apostles (1329–1334), naos. St. Demetrios, detail. (photo Ivan Djordjević)
 155. Constantinople, Chora Monastery (1315–1321). St. Demetrios. (photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)
 156. Naumburg. The sword of Count Ekkehard (1260). [after Oakeshott E., *The Archaeology of Weapons. Arms and Armour from Prehistory to the Age of Chivalry* (London, 1960), fig. 121]
 157. Göreme, Elmalı kilise (mid-eleventh century). Betrayal. (photo Catherine Jolivet-Lévy)
 158. Corinth. Spearhead types from Byzantine contexts (not to scale). (photo American School of Classical Studies, Corinth Excavations)
 159. Reconstruction of an Avar reflex bow. [after Ricz P., 'The Weapons of Steppe Nomads,' *Balkanoslavica* 10 (1983), pp. 1–15, fig. 1]
 160. Corinth. Leaf-shaped iron arrowheads from Byzantine contexts. (photo by I. Ioannidou and L. Bartziotou, American School of Classical Studies, Corinth Excavations)
 161. Thessalonike, Holy Apostles (1329–1334). Military saint. (photo Miodrag Marković)
 162. Constantinople, Chora Monastery (1315–1321). Herod ordering the Massacre of the Innocents. (photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)
 163. Constantinople, Chora Monastery (1315–1321). Massacre of the

- Innocents. (photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)
164. Paphos, The Holy Metropolis of Paphos, double-sided icon (late twelfth century), reverse. St. James the Persian. (photo The Holy Metropolis of Paphos, with the kind permission of the Metropolitan of Paphos)
 165. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Cabinet des médailles. Cameo of red jasper with the archangel Michael surnamed 'the guardian' (h.: 0.048 m) (tenth-eleventh century). (photo Bibliothèque nationale de France)
 166. Corinth. Bronze stand for a small vessel or glass lamp, consisting of two detachable sections (Byzantine). (photo by I. Ioannidou and L. Bartziotou, American School of Classical Studies, Corinth Excavations)
 167. Melegob, church of St. Theodore. Marble slabs believed to have belonged to an episcopal throne (tenth century). [after Rott H., *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler aus Pisidien, Pamphylien, Kappadokien und Lykien* (Leipzig, 1908), fig. 105]
 168. Bulgaria, Rila Monastery. Episcopal throne (fourteenth century). (photo Rossen Kolev)
 169. Kastoria, church of St. Stephanos. Fragment of a wooden *templon* screen (fourteenth century). [after Han V., 'Profani namještaj na našoj srednjovjekovnoj fresci,' *ŽbMPrimUmet* 1 (1955), pp. 7–52, fig. 40]
 170. Kastoria, church of St. Stephanos. Ecclesiastical furniture (second half of fourteenth century). [after Soteriou G.A., 'La sculpture sur bois dans l'art byzantin,' *Mélanges Charles Diehl* (Paris, 1930), II, pp. 171–180, pl. XIV.2]
 171. Çavuşin, Haçlı kilise (beginning of tenth century), apse of the bema. Theophany, detail: the enthroned Christ and the symbols of the four evangelists. (photo Catherine Jolivet-Lévy)
 172. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, ms. *theol. lat. quart.* 3, cover. Central panel of a now-dismantled tenth-century ivory triptych with a Deesis, in secondary use. (photo Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz)
 173. Mount Athos, Protaton (c. 1290 or c. 1300). Fresco icon of Christ. (photo Ivan Djordjević)
 174. Platsa, St. Nicholas (1337/8), apse of the bema. Deesis. [after Mouriki D., *The Frescoes of St. Nicholas at Platsa in the Mani* (Athens, 1975), pl. 1]
 175. Patmos, Monastery of St. John, chapel of St. Leontios, east wall (c. 1200). Enthroned Virgin and Child flanked by archangels, detail. [after Μουρίκη Ντ., 'Οι τοιχογραφίες του παρεκκλησιού της Μονής του Θεολόγου στην Πάτμο,' *ΔΧΑΕ* 14 (1987–1988), fig. 3]
 176. Kurbinovo, St. George (1191), apse of the bema. Enthroned Virgin and Child flanked by the archangels Michael and Gabriel. (photo Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)
 177. Athens 93, f. 52v (last quarter of twelfth century). St. Mark. (with the permission of the National Library of Greece/photo Manoles Manole)
 178. Burney 19, f. 1v (twelfth century). St. Matthew. (by permission of the British Library)
 179. Mount Athos, Protaton. Wooden bema doors inlaid with ivory and bone(?) (h.: 1.35 m; w.: 0.75 m) (second half of tenth century). [after *Treasures of Mount Athos*, ed. A. Karakatsanis [Thessalonike, 1997], no. 9.15]
 180. Chios, Nea Mone, refectory. Stationary table, detail of the marble inlay decoration of the top (probably eleventh century). (photo 3rd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities)
 181. Patmos, Monastery of St. John, refectory. Stationary table, detail of the niches at the sides (twelfth-thirteenth century) (photo Cyril Mango)
 182. Mount Athos. Stationary tables of monastic refectories (Byzantine). [after 'Ορλάνδος 'Α., *Μοναστηριακή 'Αρχιτεκτονική* (Athens, 1958), fig. 65]
 183. Göreme, Çanklı kilise (mid-eleventh century). Hospitality of Abraham. (photo Catherine Jolivet-Lévy)
 184. Mount Athos, Protaton (c. 1290 or c. 1300). Last Supper. [after Μοναχού Καλλίνικου Σταυροβουνιώτη, *Η τεχνική της αιογραφίας. Με παράρτημα των τοιχογραφιών του Πανσέληνου από το Πρωτάτο του Αγίου 'Ορους* (Nicosia, 1996), fig. 17]
 185. Mount Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, exonarthex of the *katholikon* (1312). Last Supper. (photo Ivan Djordjević)
 186. Thessalonike, St. Nicholas Orphanos (1310–1320). Last Supper. (photo Ivan Djordjević)
 187. Göreme, Karanlık kilise (mid-eleventh century). Last Supper. (photo Catherine Jolivet-Lévy)
 188. Thessalonike, St. Nicholas Orphanos (1310–1320). Christ before the High Priests. (photo Ivan Djordjević)

189. Thessalonike, St. Nicholas Orphanos (1310–1320). Wedding at Cana. (photo 9th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities)
190. Asinou, Panagia Phorbiotissa (1105/6). Dormition, detail. (photo Cyprus Museum, with the kind permission of the Metropolitan of Morphou)
191. Mistra, Metropolis (1272–1288). The healing of the paralytic of Bethesda. [after Χατζηδάκης Μ., *Μυστράς. Η μεσαιωνική πολιτεία και το κάστρο. Οδηγός* (Athens, 1989), fig. 24]
192. Verroia, church of the Anastasis (1315). Dormition. (photo Dušan Tasić)
193. Sens. Musées, Treasury of the Cathedral. Silk fragment with a griffin from the reliquary of St. Siviard, TC B8 (diam. of medalion: 0.66 m) (eleventh-twelfth century). (photo by J.P. Elie, Musées de Sens.)
194. *Par. gr.* 134, f. 184v (thirteenth century). Women spinning and weaving. (photo Bibliothèque nationale de France)
195. Kastoria, Panagia Mavriotissa, naos (early twelfth or early thirteenth century). Washing of the Feet. (photo Ivan Djordjević)
196. Kastoria, Sts Anargyroi (c. 1180). St. Panteleimon. [after Πελεκανίδης Στ., *Καστοριά Ι. Βυζαντινὰι τοιχογραφίαι. Πίνακες* (Thessalonike, 1953), pl. 26b]
197. Constantinople, Great Palace excavation. Clay lamp (h.: 0.065 m) (twelfth or early thirteenth century). [after *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors. Second Report*, ed. D. Talbot-Rice (Edinburgh, 1958), fig. 27A]
198. Venice, Treasury of San Marco. Glass hanging lamp with a silver mount (h.: 0.08 m; diam.: 0.27 m) (eleventh-twelfth century) (photo Procuratoria di San Marco, Venice)
199. Lagoudera, Panagia Arakiotissa (1192). Presentation of the Virgin to the Temple. (photo Cyprus Museum, with the kind permission of the Metropolitan of Morphou)
200. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. Tinned copper 'polycandelon' (diam.: 0.21 m) (tenth-eleventh century). (photo courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford)
201. Corinth. Bronze *polycandelon* (diam.: 0.193 m) (Byzantine). (photo American School of Classical Studies, Corinth Excavations)
202. Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. *Canon gr. 103*, f. 2v (c. 1100). St. Gregory of Nazianzos. (photo The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford)
203. *Val. urb. gr.* 2, f. 167v (1122–1142). Birth of St. John the Baptist. (© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)

204. Mount Athos, Protaton (c. 1290 or c. 1300). Birth of the Virgin. [after Constantinides E., *The Wall-paintings of the Panagia Olympiotissa at Elasson in Northern Thessaly*, 2 vols. (Athens, 1992), pl. 251a]
205. Thessalonike, St. Nicholas Orphanos (1310–1320). Adoration of the Magi, detail. (photo Ivan Djordjević)
206. Göreme, Kılıçlar kilisesi (tenth century). Pentecost. (photo by Judith O'Neill, courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)
207. Greece, Panakton Excavations (J10B1 House). Ploughshare (fourteenth century). (photo Sharon E.J. Gerstel)
208. Greece, Akraiphnio. Two-pronged spade-fork (Byzantine). [after Κοιλάκου Χ., 'Νομός Βοιωτίας, Ακραίφνιο, ναός Αγίου Γεωργίου,' *ΑΔ* 43 (1988), B/1, p. 102, pl. 74δ]
209. Thessalonike, St. Nicholas Orphanos (1310–1320). Descent from the Cross. (photo Ivan Djordjević)
210. Braničevo, settlement outside the fort (twelfth-early thirteenth century). Iron shoe for a wooden spade. (photo courtesy of the Archaeological Institute, Belgrade)
211. A V-shaped iron spade-shoe from Meden Kladenets and a two-pronged drag-hoe from Pernik (mediaeval). [after Ī. Changova, 'Srednovekovni orūdiia na truda v Būlgariia,' *IzvAI* XXV (1962), pp. 19–55, fig. 6.2]
212. Braničevo, settlement outside the fort (twelfth-early thirteenth century). Iron axe-head. (photo courtesy of the Archaeological Institute, Belgrade)
213. Corinth. Iron flint-striker (l.: 0.082 m) (seventh century). (photo American School of Classical Studies, Corinth Excavations)
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227. Mount Athos, Protaton (c. 1290 or c. 1300). St. Matthew. [after Μοναχού Καλλίνικου Σταυροβουνιώτη, *Η τεχνική της αιογραφίας. Με παράρτημα των τοιχογραφιών του Πανσέληνου από το Πρωτάτο του Αγίου Όρους* (Nicosia, 1996), fig. 47]
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236. Thessalonike, St. Nicholas Orphanos (1310–1320). Cycle of St. Gerasimos: The saint, the tame lion leading the donkey, and a young monk. (photo Ivan Djordjević)
237. Platsa, St. Nicholas (1343–1349). Cycle of St. Nicholas, Birth of St. Nicholas, detail: Peddler (237) and female attendant. [after Mouriki D., *The Frescoes of St. Nicholas at Platsa in the Mami* (Athens, 1975), pl. 41]
238. Thessalonike, St. Nicholas Orphanos (1310–1320). Cycle of the *Akathistos Hymn*, Strophe IX (Adoration of the Magi, detail) and Strophe X (Arrival of the Magi to Babylon). (photo Ivan Djordjević)
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243. Lagoudera, Panagia Arakiotissa (1192). Fresco icon of the Virgin Arakiotissa. (photo Cyprus Museum, with the kind permission of the Metropolitan of Morphou)
244. Studenica, church of Sts. Joachim and Anna (1314). Birth of the Virgin. (photo Alfred Rocklage)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AA</i>	<i>Acta Archaeologica</i>
<i>AAA</i>	Ἀρχαιολογικὰ Ἀνάλεκτα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν
<i>AB</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
<i>ABME</i>	Ἀρχεῖον τῶν Βυζαντινῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος
<i>AD</i>	Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον
<i>AE</i>	Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς
Ἀετός	Ἀετός. <i>Studies in Honour of Cyril Mango</i> , eds. I. Ševčenko and I. Hutter (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1998).
<i>Alexios I Komnenos</i>	<i>Alexios I Komnenos. I. Papers</i> , eds. M. Mullet and D. Smythe (Belfast, 1996).
<i>Apamée de Syrie</i>	<i>Apamée de Syrie. Bilan des recherches archéologiques, 1973–1979. Aspects de l'architecture domestique d'Apamée</i> , ed. J. Balty (Brussels, 1984).
<i>ArtB</i>	<i>The Art Bulletin</i>
<i>Art et société</i>	<i>Art et société à Byzance sous les Paléologues. Actes du colloque organisé par l'Association internationale des études byzantines à Venise en septembre 1968</i> (Venice, 1971).
<i>Arte profana e arte sacra</i>	<i>Arte profana e arte sacra a Bisanzio</i> , eds. A. Iacobini and E. Zanini (Rome, 1995).
<i>BF</i>	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
<i>BMGS</i>	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
<i>BS</i>	<i>Byzantinoslavica</i>
<i>BSA</i>	<i>The Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
<i>Byzance et les images</i>	<i>Byzance et les images</i> , eds. A. Guillou and J. Durand (Paris, 1994).
<i>Byzantine Aristocracy</i>	<i>The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX to XIII Centuries</i> , ed. M. Angold (Oxford, 1984).
<i>Byzantine Court Culture</i>	<i>Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204</i> , ed. H. Maguire (Washington, D.C., 1997).
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>CA</i>	<i>Cahiers Archéologiques</i>
<i>CIEB</i>	<i>Congrès International des Études Byzantines</i>
<i>Crusades</i>	<i>The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and</i>

ΔΧΑΕ

DOC I

DOC II

DOC III

DOC IV

DOC V

DOP

Du Cange, *Glossarium*

ΕΕΒΣ

Ευφρόσυνον

Εὐψυχία

Ἡπειρ. Χρον.
Iconoclasm

IEE

IzvAI

JGS

JÖB

JRA

JSav

- the Muslim World*, eds. A. Laiou and R.P. Mottahedeh (Washington, D.C., 2001).
- Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας
A. Bellinger, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and the Whittemore Collection*, I (Washington, D.C., 1966).
- P. Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and the Whittemore Collection*, II, in 2 pts. (Washington, D.C., 1968).
- P. Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and the Whittemore Collection*, III, in 2 pts. (Washington, D.C., 1973).
- M.F. Hendy, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and the Whittemore Collection*, IV, in 2 pts. (Washington, D.C., 1999).
- P. Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and the Whittemore Collection*, V, in 2 pts. (Washington, D.C., 1999).
- Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
- Ch. Du Fresne, *segneur du Cange, Glossarium ad scriptores medie et infime Græcitatís* (Graz, 1958).
- Ἑπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν
Ευφρόσυνον. Αφιέρωμα στον Μανόλη Χατζηδάκη, 2 vols., επ. έκδ. Ευ. Κυπραίου (Athens, 1991, 1992).
- Εὐψυχία. *Mélanges offerts à Hélène Ahrweiler*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1998).
- Ἡπειρωτικά Χρονικά
Iconoclasm, eds. A. Bryer and J. Herrin (Birmingham, 1977).
- Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἔθνους
Izvestija na Archeologiceskija Institut
Journal of Glass Studies
Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik
Journal of Roman Archaeology
Journal des Savants

JWall

JWarb

MM

Lampe, *Lexicon*

L'art de Thessalonique

L'arte di Bisanzio e l'Italia

Law and Society

Originality

ODB

ΠΑΕ

PG

RBK

REB

Sacred Image

SemKond

Studies

Symp. Gračanica

Symp. Resava

Symp. Sopoćani

- Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*
Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes
F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, 6 vols. (Vienna, 1860–1890).
- G. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1961).
- L'art de Thessalonique et des pays balkaniques et les courants spirituels au XIV^e siècle* (Belgrade, 1987).
- L'arte di Bisanzio e l'Italia al tempo dei Paleologi, 1261–1453*, eds. A. Iacobini and M. della Valle (Rome, 1999).
- Law and Society in Byzantium: Ninth–Twelfth Centuries*, eds. A. Laiou and D. Simon (Washington, D.C., 1994).
- Originality in Byzantine Literature, Art and Music*, ed. A.R. Littlewood (Oxford, 1995).
- The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1991).
- Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας
Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca, ed. J.-P. Migne, 161 vols. in 166 pts. (Paris, 1857–1866).
- Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*
Revue des Études Byzantines
The Sacred Image East and West, eds. R. Ousterhout and L. Brubaker (Chicago, 1995).
- Seminarium Kondakovianum*
Studies in the Art of the Kariye Djami and Its Intellectual Background, ed. P. Underwood (London, 1975).
- L'art byzantin au début du XIV^e siècle. Symposium de Gračanica 1973* (Belgrade, 1978).
- L'école de la Morava et son temps. Symposium de Resava 1968* (Belgrade, 1972).
- L'art byzantin du XIII^e siècle. Symposium de Sopoćani* (Belgrade, 1967).

TM
Twilight

ZbMPrimUmet
ZbRadNarM
ZRVI

Travaux et mémoires
The Twilight of Byzantium. Aspects of Cultural and Religious History in the Late Byzantine Empire, eds. S. Curčić and D. Mouriki (Princeton, 1991).
Muzej Primenjene Umetnosti, Zbornik
Zbornik radova narodnog muzeja
Zbornik radova vizantološkog instituta

INTRODUCTION

'In order to reconstruct the reality the image expresses, we must first know what reality it refers to. For the image conveys as much reality as the viewer was able to recognize in it.'¹ This statement, from which the title of the present work was inspired, encapsulates the theoretical foundation of the investigation the results of which are presented here. The reality, however, which will concern us here is not the reality of the public ecclesiastical cult that Belting had in mind when he set down this principle.² The reality I will be exploring is reality conceived at its very basic level: the sensible reality of Byzantine material culture. The present study concerns itself with an investigation of contemporary secular artefacts (*realia*) represented in Byzantine religious iconography mainly from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries. Its objective is threefold: to explore the potential of Byzantine religious art as a supplementary source of information on mediaeval Byzantine material culture; to inquire into the semi-otic function of representations of *realia* in religious iconographic contexts; and to trace the creative processes and the cultural conditions which led to the introduction of such representations into the vocabulary of Byzantine art. The whole project stemmed out of a personal desire to understand the workings of a particular element of the pictorial language of Byzantine art, namely the costume and paraphernalia which enabled Byzantine artists to dress the spiritual in visible form and thus make it accessible to the beholder. It is commonly acknowledged that Byzantine religious art was indifferent towards the faithful depiction of the sensible world and that it favoured the reproduction of established iconographic types, artefacts included, which can often be traced back to the Late Antique period. Such views are perhaps the reason why so far no comprehensive, systematic study of what was conventional and what was contemporary (or 'realistic') in the representation of costume and paraphernalia in Byzantine religious iconography has been carried out. The present

¹ H. Belting, *The Image and Its Public in the Middle Ages. Form and Function of Early Paintings of the Passion* (New York, 1990), p. 65.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 65–90.

investigation aims to demonstrate the expediency of such an exercise and the need to qualify traditionally held opinions on the attitude of Byzantine art towards the sensible world.

Though a comprehensive study of *realia* in Byzantine religious iconography from an archaeological and an art-historical perspective has not, to my knowledge, been undertaken before, the lines of inquiry which my investigation takes up are familiar to students of Byzantine art and material culture, whether historians, art-historians, or archaeologists. Specific issues which will concern us in the following chapters have been discussed in the secondary literature in these fields and the relevant works are acknowledged in the bibliographical references which accompany my own discussion. At this point, however, I would like to present in outline the ways in which the study of *realia* in Byzantine art has been approached in modern scholarship in order to provide the context of scholarly inquiry to which my own contribution belongs.

I need not repeat the dangers inherent in regarding Byzantine religious art as illustrating daily life in mediaeval Byzantium, in the same manner that archaeologists and historians studying the Classical Greek, the Roman, and the Late Antique civilizations do when it comes to the figurative art of those periods.³ Nevertheless, the investigations of historians, architects, and archaeologists examining particular aspects of Byzantine material culture have shown that sometimes certain artefacts occurring in artistic contexts may be assumed with confidence to reflect contemporary objects. I have in mind first of all studies on Byzantine imperial dress and insignia, which are largely based on evidence derived from imperial portraiture and the representation of imperial saints.⁴ To these one may add studies like those of Kolias on arms and armour, of Bouras on lighting devices, of Bryer on agricultural implements, of Guillou and Orlandos on tools and implements used in agriculture or the handicrafts, of Vikan and Nesbitt on locking, sealing, and weighing devices, and of de' Maffei on musical instruments.⁵ In these studies, comparisons—wherever

³ Cf. C. Mango, 'Discontinuity with the Classical Past in Byzantium,' in *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition*, eds. M. Mullet and R. Scott, (Birmingham, 1981), pp. 50–51. See, also, E. Patlagean, 'Byzantium in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries,' in *A History of Daily Life. I. From Pagan Rome to Byzantium*, ed. P. Veyne (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), pp. 560–561.

⁴ See Chapter 1.

⁵ T. Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen* (Vienna, 1988); L. Bouras, 'Byzantine Lighting

available—with surviving archaeological and post-Byzantine ethnographic material from Turkey, the Balkans, and Cyprus were instrumental in identifying 'realistic' representations in art. On occasion the artistic evidence was itself found useful in clarifying the often ambiguous descriptions of the written sources.

Special reference should be made to the work of Bakirtzes on Byzantine cooking, transport, and storage vessels, since it is the only extensive archaeological study that I know in which artistic representations are systematically and judiciously used as a source of information on a specific facet of Byzantine everyday life.⁶ Bakirtzes deals with artefacts which are more or less well-attested in the archaeological record. He employs artistic representations not in constructing a typology of these vessels, but as an aid in visualizing their use in daily contexts. From my own point of view his work is important because it highlights both the potential and the limitations in using Byzantine pictorial evidence in archaeological investigations. It demonstrates that Byzantine artists did indeed introduce reflections of familiar contemporary vessel-types in their work. On occasion they did so at the expense of remaining faithful to the letter of the biblical or other written accounts which they were illustrating.⁷ On the other hand, his study also makes evident that not all vessel-types in use at any given period were reflected in contemporary art and that sometimes artists would not hesitate to sacrifice precision in the rendering of a vessel for the purpose of highlighting a critical moment in the narrative of the illustrated episode.⁸ One should keep these observations in mind when using artistic evidence to reconstruct facets of Byzantine material culture concerning which archaeological evidence has not been forthcoming.

Devices,' *JÖB* 32/3 (1981), pp. 479–491; A. Bryer, 'Byzantine Agricultural Implements: The Evidence of Medieval Illustrations of Hesiod's *Works and Days*,' *BSA* 81 (1986), pp. 45–80; *Les outils dans les Balkans du Moyen Âge à nos jours*, ed. A. Guillou, 2 vols. (Paris, 1986); 'A. 'Ορλάνδος, 'Παραστάσεις εργαλείων τινών ξυλουργού, μαρμαρογλύπτου καὶ κτίστον ἐπὶ παλαιοχριστιανικῶν καὶ βυζαντινῶν μνημείων,' in *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Θ' Διεθνoῦς Βυζαντινολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου* (Athens, 1955), I, pp. 329–339; G. Vikan and J. Nesbitt, *Security in Byzantium: Locking, Sealing, and Weighing* (Washington D.C., 1980); F. de' Maffei, 'Gli strumenti musicali a Bisanzio,' in *Da Bisanzio a San Marco. Musica e Liturgia*, ed. G. Cattin (Venice, 1997), pp. 61–110. See, also, V. Han, 'Prořani namještaj na našoj srednjovjekovnoj fresci,' *ZbMPrimUmet* 1 (1955), pp. 7–52, for an investigation of household furniture represented in byzantinizing monumental painting in Serbia.

⁶ X. Μπακιρτζής, *Βυζαντινά τσουκαλολάγνα* (Athens, 1989).

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

The importance of costume and paraphernalia in religious iconography not as evidence on material culture but as a significative element of the pictorial language of Byzantine art has always been recognized. Art-historians, however, do not usually make the effort to establish the degree to which depictions of such items reflected contemporary types. The only notable exceptions are imperial and official dress though even in these cases the identifications offered are not always precise or even correct. There is, however, one study which must be acknowledged separately because it exemplifies my own approach, though its object dates to the sixth century and is much more limited in scope. In his illuminating study of the Trial miniatures in the *Rossano Gospels* (Pl. 89), Loerke employs a minute analysis of the represented costume and paraphernalia—which reflected the trappings of imperial administration and justice at the time of the execution of the manuscript and not of the actual event—to reconstruct the subtler nuances of meaning with which the unknown artist had endowed his images. These would have been obvious to a sixth-century beholder familiar with the reality to which the image was referring, though invariably lost to a modern one.⁹

My own approach differs from that of earlier studies in that I treat the occurrence of *realia* in different monuments not as isolated instances, but as manifestations of a single, complex artistic phenomenon. Moreover, in my attempt to define this phenomenon, I employ the study of *realia* as a probe to examine questions relevant to the creative sources of religious iconography, patterns of chronological and regional variation, artist-patron relationships and viewer-response. As I hope to demonstrate, the examination of the circumstances that resulted in the depiction of *realia* can complement other iconographic and stylistic methods of inquiry aimed at enhancing our understanding of the workings of Byzantine religious art.

Religious iconography spans the range of media employed for artistic expression in Byzantium, from monumental, miniature, and panel painting, to the products of the minor arts, to coins and seals. This study focuses on monumental painting, though representations on other media are also considered. The implicit assumption behind

this choice was that monumental painting would be more appropriate for the study of general trends in the attitude of Byzantine art towards the portrayal of the sensible world independent of the temperament of individual donors. When I embarked on this investigation I believed that monumental painting would lend itself better to the kind of combined archaeological and art-historical inquiry in which I was interested, firstly, because of its greater potential for narrative representation compared to panel painting and the decorative arts and, secondly, because of its more public character and its being addressed to a more varied audience compared to illuminated manuscripts. However, as it will become evident, the vocabulary of the represented *realia* is more or less common to all media. The occurrence of representations of contemporary artefacts was rather influenced by the availability of suitable iconographic contexts than by Byzantine pictorial language being less conventional in one medium than in another. Moreover, it will become apparent that, as far as the depiction of *realia* is concerned, the personality of the patron could on occasion be equally influential in monumental painted ensembles as in other more 'personal' commissions.

The geographical limits of the present study coincide with the political frontiers of the Byzantine empire, because I wished to study Byzantine art in the context of the society and state that created it. Because of practical limitations, it was not possible to include a detailed discussion of religious art created in Byzantium's neighbouring Orthodox states, especially in Bulgaria, Serbia, and the part of Byzantine Macedonia that came under Serbian rule in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; nor was it possible to carry out a detailed comparison between Byzantine art and, on the one hand, the religious art of the Catholic West and, on the other, the courtly art of the Islamic East. I shall limit myself only to certain general observations which will hopefully suffice to contextualize Byzantine practices within the broader framework of artistic creativity in the Middle Ages.

The chronological delimitation of the work was dictated by art-historical considerations. Originally I intended to limit the investigation to the Late Byzantine period. It is commonly acknowledged that the pictorial art of this period reveals a preference for the depiction of 'realistic' details and genre themes incorporated in expanded narrative cycles. This tendency, I assumed, would have created favourable conditions for the representation of elements of

⁹ For example, some of the large earthenware pithoi in representations of the Wedding at Cana were often depicted as being red, an allusion, according to Bakirtzes, to the miraculously transformed wine they contained, see *ibid.*

⁹ W.C. Loerke, 'The Miniatures of the Trial in the Rossano Gospels,' *ArtB* 43 (1961), pp. 171–195.

contemporary material culture. The decision to expand the limits backwards into the eleventh and the twelfth centuries was imposed by the fact that the Palaiologan development had its roots in Komnenian art and, consequently, could not be understood in isolation from it. The eleventh and twelfth centuries are considered by art-historians as a period of significant stylistic developments towards greater realism in Byzantine art, especially as far as the expression of feeling and the rendering of convincing spatial relationships are concerned. I wished to discover whether the change in mentality and sensibility evidenced by these developments had also affected the traditionally indifferent attitude of Byzantine art towards the depiction of contemporary daily life. As it turned out, indeed it had.

An understanding of the traditional attitude of Byzantine religious art towards the representation of the sensible world is a prerequisite of appreciating any deviations observed. In order to acquire this understanding one needs to become familiar with the iconographic schemes, the creative processes, and the theoretical/theological premises of Orthodox Christian art in its formative stages during the Early Byzantine period and in its period of consolidation which followed the end of Iconoclasm, that is in the ninth and tenth centuries. In the following chapters references to monuments dating to these two periods are constant for the purpose of highlighting new developments or of underlining continuity as the occasion arises.

The categories of secular artefacts that could benefit from a systematic examination of artistic representations include imperial, official, aristocratic, and commoners' costume, arms and armour, furniture, furnishings, musical instruments, domestic utensils, and implements. However, because of constraints of space, it is not possible to include a detailed discussion of all of these in the present work. In agreement with the objectives outlined above, I chose for discussion as case-studies the following categories: imperial, official, aristocratic, and military costume, furniture, furnishings, and implements. These categories, I believe, illustrate best both the potential and the limitations of using the visual evidence in reconstructing aspects of mediaeval Byzantine material culture concerning which we are otherwise poorly informed. At the same time, these same categories present themselves for semiotic analysis. Musical instruments were not selected for discussion because, with the exception of the flute in the hand of the young shepherd in the Nativity and of the instruments in certain Late Byzantine representations of the Mocking of Christ, they

are rarely represented in monumental religious pictorial contexts. A detailed survey of Middle and Late Byzantine manuscripts where most illustrations of musical instruments may be found is beyond the scope of the present work.¹⁰ Though the visual evidence can prove invaluable in reconstructing the commoners' costume in Byzantium, the commoners' costume was not selected for discussion since there is not much that can be said about its symbolic function in religious iconography. I was obliged to omit a discussion of domestic utensils for the same reason. Nevertheless, examples of realistic representations of both commoners' costume and utensils are taken into consideration in the final chapter of the book which investigates the artistic and cultural circumstances that led to the occurrence of *realia* in religious pictorial contexts. Because generalized renderings of commoners' costume and utensils were iconographically adequate for personal characterization or as signposts of domestic activities, any elaboration is possibly indicative either of a change in the attitude of Byzantine religious art towards the representation of material culture or of the personal interests of the patron and/or the artist, and thus deserves attention. The consideration of representations of utensils, especially of ceramics, is particularly informative as in their case one can use the actual artefacts as a control on artistic creativity, as Bakirtzes did in his study. A brief discussion of representations of domestic utensils at this point becomes pertinent as it contributes to validating the methodological approach adopted for the investigation of other artefact-categories concerning which extant materials are lacking.

The inventory of domestic utensils represented in mediaeval Byzantine artistic contexts does not reflect the variety of such items actually employed in Byzantium during the Middle and Late Byzantine periods.¹¹ Christian iconography, especially in a monumental context, offered limited scope for the depiction of domestic utensils other

¹⁰ The subject of Byzantine musical instruments and their depiction in art has been explored recently by de' Maffei, 'Gli strumenti musicali a Bisanzio' and by G. Galavaris, 'Musical Images in Byzantine Art,' in *Λιθόστροφον. Studien zur byzantinischen Kunst und Geschichte. Festschrift für Marcell Restle* (Stuttgart, 2000), pp. 79–91.

¹¹ See, selectively, Φ. Κουκουλέ, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμός*, 6 vols. (Athens, 1948–1957), II/2, pp. 61–116; V, pp. 136–205; N. Oikonomides, 'The Contents of the Byzantine House from the Eleventh to the Fifteenth century,' *DOP* 44 (1990), pp. 211–212; G.R. Davidson, *Corinth XII. The Minor Objects* (Princeton, 1952) (hereafter Davidson, *Minor Objects*), pp. 68–122; *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors. being a First Report on the Excavations carried out in Istanbul on behalf of the Walker Trust*

than tablewares, washing sets, and pithoi, the latter in the Wedding at Cana. When they do occur, representations of utensils are as a rule generalized, and parts of the vessels, such as bases and handles, are often exaggerated (Pls. 185, 187, 237 [small jug]). Yet, basic forms like the bowl, the jug, the jar, and the goblet, remained easily identifiable and served their iconographic function adequately. There are, however, examples where the artists have represented uncommon vessel-types with their proportions correct and with a convincing impression of the material out of which the object was made, that is clay, glass, or metal, and of its decoration. Comparisons of such unconventional, 'innovative' representations of vessels with extant artefacts demonstrate that often the former reflected the latter in shape or in decoration or in both.¹² This observation justifies the assumption that unconventional, carefully executed, and detailed representations of artefacts could reflect contemporary objects even in the cases when there are no extant materials to be used as controls.

In devising a methodology for extracting information on Byzantine material culture from religious pictorial contexts, even when there are no comparative extant materials to help identification, I was aided by the work of Carver, who studied representations of contemporary artefacts illustrated in Late Saxon manuscripts.¹³ Though my own investigation could not be as refined as his because of the diverse nature of the material I had to survey, the principle is the same: the search for innovations, in other words, the search and isolation of forms not encountered in artistic contexts earlier than the monuments investigated. Such innovations could have been due to a mistake or a misunderstanding of an artistic model, to the imagination of the artist, or to the fact that the artist had reproduced a contemporary type. If the same 'innovation' appears in a number of contemporary or later artistic contexts created independently from

one another this would suggest that the representation concerned was not due to a mistake or the imagination of the individual artist but that it had become a current form in the artistic vocabulary of the period. In order to decide whether it actually reflected a contemporary artefact it is necessary to consider the iconographic context, the quality and the amount of detail in the rendering of the artefact, and whether the represented object gives the impression that it could have been functional. Comparisons with extant examples from areas beyond the political frontiers of the Byzantine empire, but within its sphere of cultural interchange, the careful use of ethnographic material in the case of functional objects, like agricultural implements, which were slow to develop typologically, and a consideration of the written evidence can help decide the matter in each case. Similar controls could also apply to the cases of unique innovative representations. However, there are certain limitations that one should keep in mind when trying to identify representations of *realia* or when using artistic representations as an aid to dating developments in material culture. Artefacts in real use may not have been immediately reflected in artistic contexts. We are not in a position to estimate with confidence the time that elapsed between the appearance of a new type of artefact in real life and its first reflection in art. Moreover, the continuous representation of an artefact in artistic contexts cannot be accepted uncritically as evidence for the continual use of the same in real life. If the said artefact is accurately represented and shown in use in an appropriate context then it may be assumed that the artist was familiar with it and, consequently, that it was still in use.¹⁴ If, on the other hand, the rendering is misunderstood, this might indicate that the artist was not familiar with the artefact, either because it lay beyond his expertise or simply because it had become obsolete.¹⁵ Therefore, the concept of 'contemporaneity' in artistic representations of artefacts needs to be understood in a very broad sense.

The first step in this study of *realia* in Byzantine religious art was becoming familiar with the material culture of the period under investigation, so as to be able to recognise contemporary forms reflected in pictorial contexts. A significant part of the present work

(*The University of St. Andrews 1935-1938*), eds. G. Brett, W.J. Macaulay, R.B.K. Stevenson (London, 1947) (hereafter *Great Palace, 1st Report*), pp. 31-63; C.H. Morgan, *Corinth XI. The Byzantine Pottery* (Cambridge, Mass., 1942); Μπακιρτζής, *Βυζ. τσουκαλολάγνα*; D. Papanikola-Bakirtzi, *Byzantine Glazed Ceramics. The Art of Sgraffito* (Athens, 1999).

¹² Cp. Pl. 233 with Pls. 234, 235. Cp. also Pl. 244 [Bath of the child: contemporary cooking pot] with Μπακιρτζής, *Βυζ. τσουκαλολάγνα*, p. 42, pls. 2(4-6), 3, and contrast to Pl. 232 [Bath of the child: conventional jug]. More examples are mentioned in Chapter 6.

¹³ M.O.H. Carver, 'Contemporary Artefacts Illustrated in Late Saxon Manuscripts,' *Archaeologia* 108 (1986), pp. 117-145.

¹⁴ Μπακιρτζής, *Βυζ. τσουκαλολάγνα*, p. 13.

¹⁵ Bryer, 'Byz. Agricultural Implements', p. 50; Carver, 'Contemporary Artefacts', p. 120.

is dedicated to the task of collecting and examining systematically the surviving evidence, which comprises extant artefacts, references in a variety of written sources, and artistic representations. The second stage of investigation involved the survey of religious pictorial ensembles for the purpose of identifying occurrences of *realia*. This survey was largely based on published materials and the holdings of the Dumbarton Oaks Photographic Archive. *In situ* observation by the author included monuments in Constantinople, northern Greece, and Cyprus. The final stage was taken up by the interpretation of the findings of the survey. It involved, firstly, an examination of the semiotic function of *realia* and an attempt to trace associations between the occurrence of specific artefact-types in artistic contexts and contemporary historical conditions and, secondly, an inquiry into the processes, purposive or unreflective, which had led to the introduction of *realia* into religious art in the first place.

The presentation of the results of this endeavour is divided in two thematic parts. The first part comprises the case-studies, namely five chapters, each dedicated to a specific artefact-category. These are imperial costume; official and aristocratic costume; military costume; furniture and furnishings; and implements. All five have the same basic structure. Methodological considerations and problems particular to each artefact-category are discussed briefly in the introduction of each chapter. This is followed by a discussion of the actual artefacts and their development in form and function. Artistic representations are here considered mainly from an archaeological point of view. The discussion of the semiotic function of *realia* comes next, followed by a conclusion. The second part of the book is dedicated to the commentary. This final chapter constitutes an attempt at a synthesis and interpretation of the results yielded by the individual case-studies. It includes (a) a discussion of the motivation and the sources of 'realism' in the representation of artefacts in Byzantine religious art, (b) an attempt to delineate chronological and geographical patterns in the occurrence of this 'realism', and (c) an inquiry into the influence of creators and recipients of Byzantine art on the process of the introduction of *realia* into religious iconography.



11. Coislin 79, f. 2r (1071-1081). Michael VII Doukas (1071-1078) enthroned, flanked by four officials (from left to right): the *proedros* and *epi tou kanikleiou*; the *protoproedros* and *protovestiarios*; the *proedros* and *dekanos*; and, the *proedros* and *meas primikerios*. (photo Bibliothèque nationale de France)

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24. Par. gr. 1242, f. 5v (completed in 1375), John VI Kantakouzenos (1347-1354) presiding over the Church Council of 1351. (photo Bibliothèque nationale de France)



64. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, cod. Vitr. 26-2 (Madrid Skylitzes), f. 42v (mid-twelfth century). The Proclamation of Theophilos (photo Laboratorio Fotográfico de la Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid)



74. Oxford, Lincoln College, ms. gr. 35 (*Lincoln Typikon*), f. 1v (1327-1342). The *sebastokrator* Constantine Palaiologos and Eirene. (© Lincoln College, Oxford)



79. Vat. gr. 1851, f. 2v (illustrated *epithalamion* of 1179). Arrival of a messenger to Constantinople. (© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)



82. Vat. gr. 752, f. 449v (c. 1059), The Dance of Myriam. (© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)



85. Arta, Panagia Bellas (1295/6), John Tzimiskes, brother of the donor, and his wife Anna. (photo 8° Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities)



241. Cüceir, church of St. Nikita (1208-1210). Detail from the fresco of the coronation of Basil II (photo from Benchev)

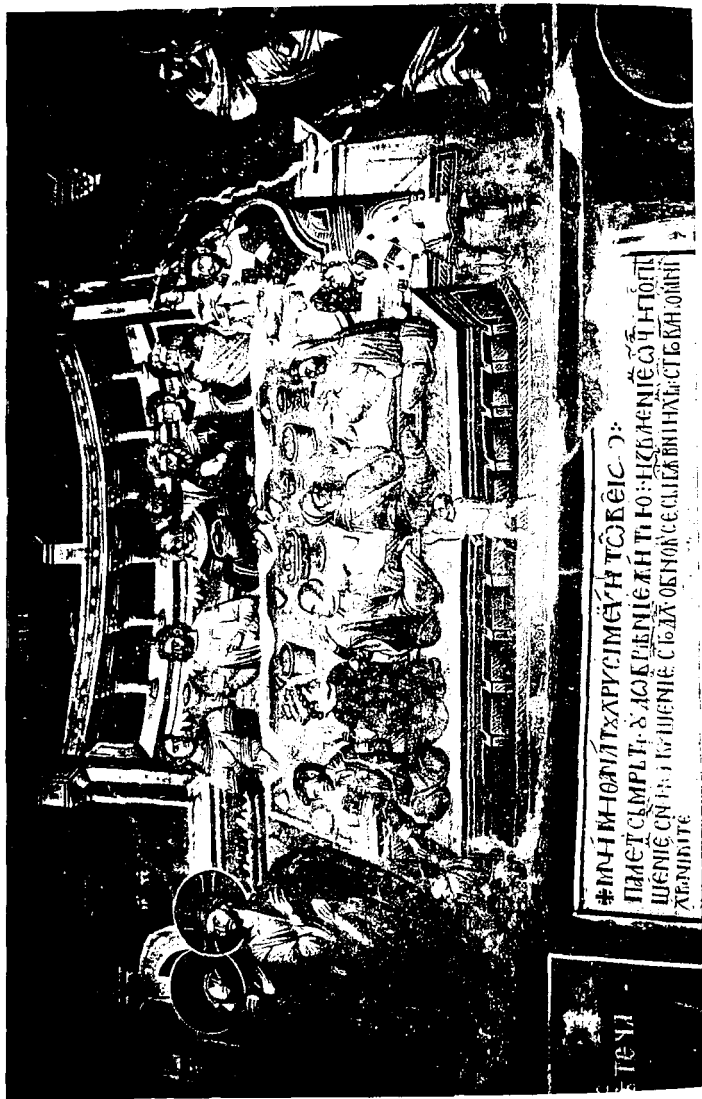
CHAPTER ONE

IMPERIAL COSTUME

The *chlamys*-costume and the *loros*-costume (Pls. 1-5) were the ceremonial vestments *par excellence* worn by the Byzantine imperial couple during the most solemn moments of court ritual, as described in ceremonial handbooks. Furthermore, they were the two types of apparel employed by official art to propagate the image of imperial power within and beyond the frontiers of the empire, as attested by surviving portraits in different media, from effigies on coins and seals to portraits on the walls of churches (see Appendix 2). Other garments from the imperial wardrobe referred to in Middle and Late Byzantine written sources, like the *skaramangion*, the *sagion*, the *kab-badion*, the *skiadion*, the *epilaurikon*, and the *phakeolis*, though worn by the emperor during processions and other public appearances, were, as a rule, not adopted in imperial portraiture, most probably because, in contrast to the *chlamys* and the *loros*, they were devoid of any specific imperial symbolism which would have made their use semantically significant.¹

In the first part of what follows I will concentrate on tracing the development of the *chlamys*- and the *loros*-costume, and that of the accompanying insignia, namely the crown, footwear, the sceptre, the *labarum*, the *akakia*, and the orb, employed by the Byzantine emperors. The discussion is, by necessity, based on the study of surviving imperial portraits and literary sources, since actual Byzantine regalia surviving to the present day are almost non-existent. In the second

¹ Exceptions are rare. See, for example, Constantine VIII as co-emperor on coins of Basil II [DOC III/2, p. 602, pl. XLV, nos. 15a-15b.4], Michael VII Doukas in *Castin* 79, f. 2v (Appendix 2, no. 22; Pl. 6), Manuel I Komnenos of Trebizond (Appendix 2, no. 50; Pl. 7), and Theodora, wife of Alexios III Komnenos of Trebizond (Appendix 2, no. 51). Late Byzantine emperors were portrayed in costume other than the *chlamys* and the *loros* in works by western artists, like Pisanello and B. Gozzoli (Pl. 8), or in portraits executed under western influence, see I. Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts* (Leiden, 1976) (hereafter Spatharakis, *Portrait*), pp. 51-53; M. Vickers, 'Some Preparatory Drawings for Pisanello's Medallion of John VIII Palaeologus,' *ArtB* 60 (1978), pp. 417-424; *The City of Mystras*, acad. supervision P. Kalamara and A. Mexia (Athens, 2001) (hereafter *City of Mystras*), fig. 154.



241. Cučer, church of St. Nicholas (mosaic from Bentshev)

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part, I will discuss the use of imperial costume as a pictogram in religious iconography.

THE COSTUME

The Chlamys-Costume

The *chlamys* was an ankle-length mantle of semicircular cut, usually fastened at the right shoulder with a fibula. Attached to the edges of the garment, beginning at the armpit and reaching down to the waist, was a pair of *tablia*, rectangular textile panels of a colour and decoration different to that of the actual mantle. In representations it is only the front *tablion* that is usually visible (Pl. 1). Ever since the Early Byzantine period the *chlamys-costume* constituted the distinctive attire of Byzantine dignitaries. It was worn by the emperor as his state civilian costume.² As a prerogative, his was the purple *chlamys* with a pair of golden *tablia*, while that of the dignitaries was often white with purple *tablia*.³ The Early Byzantine imperial *chlamys-costume* can be seen worn by Justinian (527–565) on the mosaic panel at San Vitale, Ravenna (Pl. 9). Among women only the empress had the right to wear a *chlamys*.⁴

The Middle Byzantine imperial *chlamys* (Appendix 2, nos. 6, 21, 23, 24) (Pls. 11, 12), compared to its Early Byzantine predecessor, was an extremely ornate garment, with embroidered or woven decorative borders trimmed with pearls and jewels, which were introduced in this period.⁵ The fabric itself was patterned with decorative

motifs, such as medallions, ivy leaves, and single or double fleurs-de-lis. The *tablion* had its own distinctive decoration so it could stand out amidst this elaborate background.

The shape of the fibula that held the garment in place is difficult to distinguish in representations. However, it seems that the Early Byzantine circular fibula with the three pendants, seen illustrated on the *missorium* of Theodosios I in Madrid⁶ and in Justinian's panel at Ravenna (Pl. 9), went out of use and was replaced by a plain round type or an arch-topped rectangular one, most probably set with gems or enamelled (Appendix 2, no. 21; Pl. 11). None is extant.

The *chlamys* was worn over a full-length tunic with long sleeves, identified by scholars with the *divetesion* mentioned in the tenth-century *De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae*. This tunic, made out of patterned silk, was worn girt and was lavishly decorated with ornamental attachments around the hem and collar, the upper arms, and the cuffs (Appendix 2, no. 21; Pl. 11).

In the Middle Byzantine period, the *chlamys* along with the crown, comprised the insignia with which the emperor was invested during his coronation.⁷ The latest mention of the *chlamys* as part of the coronation insignia, as far as I know, refers to the ascension of Manuel I Komnenos to power (1143).⁸ The latest mention, to my knowledge, of the *chlamys* as a part of imperial costume in general also refers to the reign of Manuel I.⁹ Perhaps, the latest representation of the reigning emperor in the *chlamys-costume*, on a medium other than coins and seals, is that of Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118) in *Vat. gr.* 666, f. 2r, a manuscript commissioned sometime after

² G.P. Galavaris, 'The Symbolism of the Imperial Costume as Displayed on Byzantine Coins,' *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 8 (1958), pp. 102–103.

³ Cf. *Malalae Ioannis Chronographia*, ed. I. Thurn (Berlin and New York, 2000) (hereafter *Malal.*), pp. 24–25.

⁴ See, for example, two ivory panels with portraits of Ariadne(?) (†515) [R. Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1929), nos. 51, 52], and the mosaic panel at San Vitale, Ravenna, with a portrait of Theodora, wife of Justinian (Pl. 10).

⁵ The adornment of all imperial vestments and insignia, not just the *chlamys*, with a profusion of pearls and jewels was obviously an expression of the opulence of the emperors and a manifestation of Byzantine taste for the precious and the luxurious. It may be argued that it also served a symbolic function. Pearls and precious stones had a specific mystical symbolism. Throughout the Byzantine period, they were considered as symbols of faith, piety, wisdom, and the knowledge of God, see *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, ed. F. Drexel (Leipzig, 1925), pp. 200, 201, 202; *Anecdota Graeca*, V, ed. J.F. Boissonade (Paris, 1833), p. 163, no. 4, vs. 8–9. The pearl was even

considered to be a symbol of Christ Himself, see Lampe, *Lexicon*, p. 827; F. Graffin, S.J., 'Les hymnes sur la perle de Saint Ephrem,' *L'Orient syrien* 12 (1967), pp. 129–149. The precious stones adorning imperial vestments were consequently perceived as alluding to the faith, wisdom, and piety metaphorically adorning the emperor, see Michel Italikos, *Lettres et discours*, ed. P. Gauthier (Paris, 1972), p. 76, lines 1–7; Σπ. Λάμπρος, 'Ἐκφρασὶς τῶν ἑξολοκοντατῶν τοῦ κραταυροῦ καὶ ἁγίου ἡμῶν αὐθέντου καὶ βασιλέως, Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων 5 (1908), p. 17. See, also, A. Arnulf, 'Eine Perle für das Haupt Leons VI,' *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 32 (1990), pp. 83–84. I thank Dr. B. Flood for alerting me to the mystical symbolism of pearls and jewels and for providing me with bibliographical references on the subject.

⁶ Delbrueck, *Consulardiptychen*, no. 62.

⁷ *De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae*, ed. I. Reiske, 2 vols. (Bonn, 1829, 1830) (hereafter *De cer.*), pp. 192–193, 440.

⁸ Cinnami Joannis, *Epitome rerum ab Ioanne et Manuele Comnenis gestarum*, ed. A. Meineke (Bonn, 1836) (hereafter *Kinn.*), p. 28.

⁹ *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. I.A. Van Dieten, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1975) (hereafter *Nik. Chon.*), pp. 108–109.

1109–1111 (Pl. 12). The *chlamys*, sometimes shown worn over the *loros*,¹⁰ continues to appear on imperial effigies on coins and seals down to the first half of the fourteenth century.¹¹ In the absence of

¹⁰ A combination of the *chlamys* and the *loros* in a single outfit seems to me highly unlikely, since they were two vestments with clearly distinct symbolism and ceremonial function. There is no evidence to suggest that they were ever worn together, or, indeed, that any kind of mantle was worn over the imperial *loros*, but a series of effigies on coins and a relief marble tondo with the image of an emperor now in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection. A mantle, identified by editors of coin-catalogues as a *chlamys* or a *sagion*, appears for the first time worn over the *loros* on the coinage of Manuel I Komnenos [M. Hendy, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire* (Washington D.C., 1969), p. 117, pl. 15.1–4; *DOC IV*, pp. 307–308, pl. XIV. B11a.1–11b.3]. I believe that this combination is possibly the result of a fusion of two independent effigy-types, one representing the emperor in the *chlamys* (Hendy, *Coinage*, pl. 12) and one in the *loros-costume* (Hendy, *Coinage*, pl. 14.5–6), perhaps due to a misunderstanding on the part of the die-sinker, and should not be assumed to reflect contemporary practice. On the possibility of confusion between the two vestments on coinage, see *DOC IV*, pp. 153–154, note 41, pl. XVII.2 (coinage of Andronikos I). As for the marble tondo at Dumbarton Oaks, dated to the twelfth or the early thirteenth century [G. Vikan, *Catalogue of the Sculpture in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection from the Ptolemaic Period to the Renaissance* (Washington, D.C., 1995), pp. 104–108; *The Glory of Byzantium. Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843–1261*, eds. H.C. Evans and W.D. Wixom (New York, 1997) (hereafter *Glory of Byzantium*), no. 137], the rendering of the imperial costume is conventional (the crown is an open circlet, not closed as it should be according to twelfth-century practice; the emperor wears the crossed *loros* and not the current simplified version of it), even misunderstood (the train of the *loros* has been fused into the lining of the mantle). It has been pointed out that the effigy on the tondo bears a great similarity with twelfth-century coinage-types. It is tempting to think of these as its prototypes and, consequently, as partly responsible for the conventional and confused rendering of imperial costume on the tondo, which, as has also been suggested, may not be Byzantine in origin. One should be careful in admitting it as a reliable source for the study of imperial costume. Cf. E. Piltz, 'Middle Byzantine Court Costume,' in *Byzantine Court Culture*, p. 41. It is true that Robert de Clari in his description of the coronation of the Latin emperor Baldwin I in 1204 mentions a rich mantle (*mantel*) worn over the 'palle', which, judging by its description, should be identified with the *loros*, see Robert de Clari, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. P. Lauer (Paris, 1924), pp. 93–95. However, given the peculiar circumstances of the ceremony described, it is more likely that in this case we are dealing with a hybrid rite, combining elements of western ritual (cf. *DOC V*, p. 73) with what the crusaders thought a Byzantine imperial coronation might have comprised, rather than with a faithful imitation of Middle Byzantine ceremonial. In my opinion, it would be unwise to employ this description as evidence for Byzantine ceremonial practices in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Images of the Byzantine emperor—and of the Norman kings Roger II and William II at Martorana and at Monreale—wearing the *loros-costume* and being crowned by Christ might very well have given rise to the misconception that the Byzantine emperor actually wore his *loros* as one of his coronation insignia and could have led to Baldwin's donning the *palle/loros* beneath the mantle on the occasion of his own coronation, even though this was inappropriate, cf. *DOC IV*, p. 151.

¹¹ S. Bendall and P.J. Donald, *The Later Palaeologan Coinage* (Bristol, 1979) (here-

any other corroborative evidence either written or pictorial I am reluctant to accept the evidence of coin- and seal-effigies as conclusive proof of the use of the *chlamys* in the Late Byzantine period, since they reproduce types that were first established in the twelfth century¹² and their character is obviously conventional.

It is certain that by the middle of the fourteenth century the *chlamys* no longer constituted one of the coronation insignia: it is not mentioned as such by Kantakouzenos or pseudo-Kodinos. Yet, they both mention that, during the religious service following his coronation, the newly crowned emperor led the Great Entrance procession wearing a 'golden mantle' (*μανδύαν χρυσού*) over the tunic and the *loros*. In addition, he held the cross-topped sceptre in his right hand and a staff called the *narthex* in his left.¹³ The *narthex* was one of the insignia of the *depatatos*, a minor office in the ecclesiastical hierarchy held by the emperor at the time.¹⁴ Hendy has suggested that the *mandyas* was probably the equivalent of the *chlamys*,¹⁵ but I do not think that this was the case. In my opinion the *mandyas* worn by Late Byzantine emperors while leading the Little and Great Entrances following their coronation should be identified with the vestment worn by the church *depatatoi* when performing their duties during mass.¹⁶ Such an identification finds support in the writings of Symeon of Thessalonike (†1429), where it is stated that the *mandyas* was worn by the emperor following his coronation in his role of *depatatos*; it was a symbol of the order, reverence, and peace that the emperor should bring to the Church and strive to maintain.¹⁷ A more detailed description of the mantle worn by the emperor while he led both

after Bendall and Donald, *Coinage*, pp. 36, 38, 48, 52, 56, 58, 60, 208, 218, 222, 232; *DOC V*, pls. 7.113–116, 8.123–124, 11.169–172, 41.722–728, 46.816–819; G. Zacos, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, 2 vols. in 6 pts [vol. I co-authored with A. Vegliery, vol. II ed. J.W. Nesbitt] (Basel and Berne, 1972–1984) (hereafter Zacos, *Seals*), 1/1, no. 124a (the latest catalogued example of an emperor in the *chlamys*).

¹² Cp. with Hendy, *Coinage*, pls. 12, 14, 15; *DOC IV*, pl. XIV.

¹³ Pseudo-Kodinos: *Traité des offices*. Introduction, texte et traduction par J. Verpeaux (Paris, 1966) (hereafter pseudo-Kod.), pp. 264, 266–267; *Cantacuzeni Ioannis imperatoris, Historiarum libri IV*, ed. L. Schopen, 3 vols. (Bonn, 1828, 1831, 1832) (hereafter Kantak.), I, pp. 200–201.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* See, also, Symeon of Thessalonike, *PG* 155, col. 352 (read '*depatatou*' instead '*despotatou*'); correct reading in Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 280; J. Darrouzès, *Recherches sur les offices de l'église byzantine* (Paris, 1970), pp. 270 n. 6, 284 n. 4, 569.

¹⁵ Hendy, *Coinage*, p. 65.

¹⁶ Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 280, s.v. '*despotatou*'.

¹⁷ *PG* 155, col. 356 (read '*depatatou*' instead of '*despotatou*').

the Little and the Great Entrance processions following his coronation is given by Ignatius of Smolensk, who attended the coronation of Manuel II in 1392. He speaks of 'a short little purple "phelonion" reaching to the waist'.¹⁸ This obviously cannot be mistaken for a *chlamys*. Because of the similarity of context in the Byzantine and Russian descriptions of coronations, it is reasonable to assume that the *mandyas* and the *phelonion* refer to the same garment.¹⁹

Given the absence of any positive evidence, it would seem that the *chlamys* no longer constituted part of the imperial wardrobe, though a descendant of it did survive as one of the insignia of the highest-ranking officials of the imperial court, like the *despotes* and the *sebastokrator* (see below). It is tempting to think of the disruption caused in the Byzantine political system by the catastrophe of 1204 as the event which actually caused the discontinuation of the use of the *chlamys* as one of the imperial insignia. Why so? The answer may be sought in an investigation of the symbolism of the imperial *chlamys* during the Middle Byzantine period. The *chlamys* along with the crown was one of the coronation insignia. Moreover, it was the garment worn by the emperor when he received his court on important feast-days,²⁰ when he sat on the so-called throne of Solomon in the Magnaura,²¹ and when he presided over the investiture of state officials and dignitaries.²² In the famous miniature of *Coislin* 79, f. 2r (Appendix 2, no. 21; Pl. 11), Michael VII Doukas is portrayed enthroned, in his *chlamys-costume*, flanked by four court officials, three of whom also wear the *chlamys*. Behind the throne of the emperor stand the personifications of Truth and Justice. In *Vat. gr.* 666, f. 2r (Appendix 2, no. 24; Pl. 12), Alexios I Komnenos, wearing his *chlamys*, receives from a group of Church Fathers a copy of the *Panoplia Dogmatike*, a treatise directed against all heresies. The miniature is a visual expression of the emperor's commitment as a ruler to be guided in his policies and support of Orthodoxy by the counsels of

the Church Fathers contained in the work. Both the literary and the pictorial evidence, therefore, indicate that the *chlamys-costume* was perceived, above all, as the attire of the emperor in his role as the head of state, the arbiter of justice, lawgiver, the protector of peace and order.²³ It was the costume of the emperor as the source of all authority from which all offices and dignities were obtained, and as the pinnacle of the bureaucratic machinery responsible for the administration of the empire. In more practical terms, it was the costume worn by the emperor as the head of the *chlamys*-clad Byzantine officialdom, as illustrated in *Coislin* 79, f. 2r (Pl. 11). The administrative machinery of the empire had collapsed under the catastrophic blows of the Fourth Crusade. The system of government adopted by the Laskarid emperors of Nicaea depended largely on members of the imperial household rather than on professional bureaucrats organized in departments.²⁴ This development must have also had serious repercussions on ceremonial, especially within the confines of the imperial palace, since it was these same bureaucrats who had largely constituted the participants and the audience of the imperial ceremonies in the Middle Byzantine period. Partly because of this relaxation in protocol and partly because of external influences, the character of the attire of officials underwent a change during the course of the thirteenth century, with the general abandonment of the *chlamys-costume* for more fashionable caftan-like garments (see below). One could argue that, as their head, the emperor need not wear the *chlamys* if they did not. Under these circumstances, and given that the priorities of the Nicaean emperors concentrated on the military and political effort for the reconquest of Constantinople rather than on cultivating the image of immutable imperial grandeur and opulence for internal consumption,²⁵ it is easy to imagine how the use of the imperial *chlamys* could have become obsolete.

The empress was invested with the *chlamys* on her coronation.²⁶ I have not found any references to other occasions on which the

¹⁸ G.P. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington, D.C., 1984), pp. 108, 110.

¹⁹ In the practice of the Orthodox Church the two terms denoted two distinct types of ecclesiastical vestments, see P. Bernardakis, 'Les ornements liturgiques chez les Grecs,' *Échos d'Orient* 5 (1901-1902), pp. 131-132, 136. Perhaps, the Russian traveler did not know the proper Greek name of the vestment he saw.

²⁰ *De cer.*, pp. 137-139, 171-172.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 567.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 202.

²³ For a slightly different interpretation of the symbolism of the *chlamys* see Galavaris, 'Symbolism,' pp. 109-110.

²⁴ M. Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile. Government and Society under the Laskarids of Nicaea (1204-1261)* (Oxford, 1975), pp. 148-150.

²⁵ Cf. Georges Pachymères, *Relations historiques*, ed. A. Failler, 5 vols. [vols. I-II: French translation by V. Laurent] (Paris, 1984, 1999, 2000) (hereafter Pachym.), I, pp. 61-63.

²⁶ *De cer.*, pp. 202-203.

empress wore the *chlamys*. Byzantine empresses appear in official portraiture wearing the *chlamys* very rarely. The only representations known to me from the Middle Byzantine period, are those of Theophano, first wife of Leo VI (c. 875–895/6), in the *Menologium* of Basil II, no. 249 (sometime after 979, probably early eleventh century),²⁷ of empress Eudokia on the famous Romanos ivory in the Cabinet des médailles, Paris (Appendix 2, no. 9; Pl. 14),²⁸ and of Euphrosyne Doukaina, wife of Alexios III Angelos (1195–1203), on a seal.²⁹

The Loros-Costume

The *loros-costume* is named after its most distinctive element, a very long scarf embroidered with gold and encrusted with pearls and jewels,³⁰ draped round the torso. The Byzantine imperial *loros* had developed out of the *trabea triumphalis*, the purple toga embroidered with gold, which was worn by the Roman consuls when presiding over the games or participating in triumphal processions.³¹ The transition from the *trabea* (a broad garment first folded and then draped) to the *loros* (a much narrower scarf) must have taken place during the course of the sixth century, when the term '*loros*' is first attested in the written sources.³² The earliest pictorial representations of the *loros* are found on coin-effigies of Justinian II (coins of 687–692).³³

²⁷ *Il Menologio di Basilio II* (cod. vaticano greco 1613), 2 vols. (Torino, 1907) (hereafter *Il Menologio*), no. 249.

²⁸ There is an open discussion with regard to the date of the ivory. Its re-attribution to the reign of Romanos IV (1068–1071) by Kalavrezou-Maxeiner has been recently questioned by Cutler, who identifies the imperial figures with Romanos II and his wife Eudokia (†949), see I. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, 'Eudokia Makrembolitissa and the Romanos Ivory,' *DOP* 31 (1977), pp. 305–325; A. Cutler, 'The Date and Significance of the Romanos Ivory,' in *Byzantine East, Latin West: Art Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, ed. D. Mouriki et al. (Princeton, 1995), pp. 605–610. Elsewhere I too argue in favour of the tenth-century date, see M. Parani, 'The Romanos Ivory and the New Tokali Kilise: Imperial Costume as a Tool for Dating Byzantine Art,' *CA* 49 (2001), forthcoming.

²⁹ Zacos, *Seals*, 1/1, no. 111, pl. 28.

³⁰ See above, note 5.

³¹ Delbrueck, *Consulardiptychen*, pp. 53–54. For illustrations see, for example, *ibid.*, nos. 9, 11, 12, 20, 21.

³² A.C. Bandy, *Ioannēs Lydos. On Powers or The Magistracies of the Roman State. Introduction, Critical Text, Commentary and Indices* (Philadelphia, 1983), p. 84.

³³ Galavaris, 'Symbolism,' pp. 105–107; J. Breckenridge, *The Numismatic Iconography of Justinian II (685–695, 705–711 A.D.)* (New York, 1959); *DOC* II/2, pp. 569–570; P. Grierson, *Byzantine Coins* (London, 1982), p. 31. On the transition from the *trabea*

The earliest fashion of wearing the *loros* crossed over the breast was reminiscent of the manner in which the Roman consuls donned their *trabea*. Judging by representations,³⁴ the scarf was first placed over the right shoulder. One end hung down the front while the other was brought to the front under the right armpit and then crossed over the breast and taken to the back over the left shoulder. It was then brought to the front again under the right arm, round the abdomen finally to be draped over the left forearm.³⁵ Alternatively, after being placed over the right shoulder, the back end could have been brought to the front over the left shoulder, forming a loop at the back, then crossed over the breast and taken back under the right armpit, taken through the loop and, finally brought to the front under the right arm (Pl. 16).

During the Middle Byzantine period a modification of the *loros* took place, which made the garment easier to wear. Instead of being crossed over the breast, the bejewelled scarf was provided with an opening and was pulled on over the head. It retained the long train, which was draped in the same manner as before. The earliest evidence suggesting a change in the character of the *loros* is provided by effigies on coins of Basil I (867–886),³⁶ though the same emperor appears in the crossed *loros* in *Par. gr.* 510, f. Cv (Appendix 2, no. 1). It is on imperial effigies on solidi of Constantine VII (913–959) and Romanos I (920–944) that we have the earliest secure representation of the modified *loros* (Pl. 15).³⁷ The modified *loros* worn by the emperor on the Romanos ivory is comparable to the tenth-century representations on coins (Pl. 14). In other media, the earliest representation is the portrait of Nikephoros II Phokas (963–969) in the Pigeon House Church, Çavuşin, Cappadocia (Appendix 2, no. 10; Pl. 17). The shoulders and upper part of the breast of the

to the *loros* see, also, E. Condurachi, 'Sur l'origine et l'évolution du *loros* impérial,' *Arta și arheologia* 11–12 (1935–6), pp. 37–45.

³⁴ The correct manner of draping the crossed *loros* is seen, for example, on the ivory panel with an unidentified male imperial figure at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, D.C., see *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 139, with a summary of the discussion on the possible identification of the figure (St. Constantine, Leo VI, or Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos) and bibliography.

³⁵ Grierson, *Byz. Coins*, p. 31.

³⁶ *DOC* III/1, p. 121.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 120–121. On the ivory panel, now in Moscow, Constantine VII appears wearing the crossed *loros*, which is shown draped incorrectly (Appendix 2, no. 8).

emperor are covered by a broad collar. The front portion of the *loros* appears as a narrow rectangular piece suspended from the lower edge of the collar. The painter appears to have misunderstood his model in the treatment of the train, since it is draped over both forearms. One should note, that roughly at the same time with its introduction in imperial portraiture, the simplified *loros* was also adopted by religious art.³⁸

Compared to the representations on the coins of Constantine VII, the eleventh-century simplified *loros* was narrower, allowing the broad, bejewelled collar which covered the shoulders and upper part of the breast to become visible underneath it (Appendix 2, nos. 12–14, 16, 19) (Pls. 18, 29). The crossed *loros* did not disappear from eleventh-century portraiture. Two emperors, Constantine X Doukas and his son Michael VII appear wearing it in contexts which cannot be dismissed as conventional or unreliable (Appendix 2, nos. 15, 17, 18, 20) (Pls. 19, 30). Especially in the case of the portrait of Michael VII and Maria of Alania in *Coislin* 79, f. 1(2bis)v (Appendix 2, no. 20; Pl. 19), the garments of the emperor and empress are rendered with great attention to realistic detail: the crossed *loros* is correctly draped and the attire of the empress obviously reflects eleventh-century practices (see below). Therefore, one can assume that, in the eleventh century, the crossed version of the *loros* was still employed. The same cannot be claimed for the twelfth century. In surviving portraits of Komnenian emperors it is the simplified *loros* which is invariably represented (Appendix 2, nos. 25, 27–29; Pls. 13, 20–22).³⁹

³⁸ It can be seen, for example, worn by the archangel in the north niche of the Pigeon House Church, Çavuşin, or by some of the archangels (in enamel) on the Limburg reliquary of the True Cross (968–985), see L. Rodley, 'The Pigeon House Church, Çavuşin,' *JOB* 33 (1983), p. 321, fig. 7a–b; J. Lowden, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (London, 1997), figs. 128–129.

³⁹ The Norman kings of Sicily Roger II, portrayed in the Martorana (founded by George of Antioch, 1143–1151), and William II, in his foundation at Monreale (c. 1175–1190), appear in Byzantine imperial costume, see O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (London, 1949), pls. 58A, 76A–B. Yet, they wear the crossed *loros* and an open crown, as opposed to the simplified *loros* and the hemispherical crown of the Komnenoi. As Kitzinger has pointed out, it is unlikely that this differentiation was a result of a deliberate decision on the part of the Norman kings to revert to the use of older and, by then, obsolete types of imperial insignia. It more likely reflects the use of an older Byzantine pictorial model for the Sicilian portraits, which would have been similar to the ivory panel now in the Pushkin Museum in Moscow depicting Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (Appendix 2, no. 8), see E. Kitzinger, *The Mosaics of St. Mary's of the Admiral in Palermo* (Washington, D.C., 1990), pp. 191–195. These observations have implications on the question of the place of or-

Unlike the *chlamys*, the *loros* continued to be in use as an imperial vestment in the Late Byzantine period, as attested by surviving imperial portraits (Appendix 2, nos. 30–31, 33–34, 36–41, 43–49, 51–52, 54) (Pls. 3, 23, 24). Its development in the thirteenth century, prior to the reconquest of Constantinople in 1261, is difficult to follow because of the almost total absence of any evidence other than that of imperial effigies on coins and seals, which, by this time, are usually quite conventional in their rendering of costume. In an imperial portrait preserved in the narthex of Mileševa in Serbia (c. 1220–1228), which could portray John III Doukas Vatatzes (1222–1254), the emperor wears the simplified *loros* (Appendix 2, no. 30). On the embroidered 'Pallio of San Lorenzo', which was probably executed in a Byzantine workshop during the months preceding the reconquest of Constantinople in July 1261 and which was created for the purpose of being sent as a diplomatic gift to Genoa, Michael VIII Palaiologos is portrayed wearing the simplified *loros* adorned with a row of crosses (Appendix 2, no. 33). From the period after the reconquest of Constantinople there has survived an imperial family portrait, unfortunately badly effaced, in the exonarthex of the church of the Virgin at Apollonia, (1272–1282), representing Michael VIII Palaiologos, this time with his son Andronikos II and the former's wife (Appendix 2, no. 34). Michael wears a *loros* similar to that worn by his Komnenian predecessors. Apparently, Michael VIII was also portrayed in the simplified *loros* in a now-lost mosaic in the refectory of the Monastery of the Peribleptos in Constantinople, known to us only by means of a number of seventeenth-century reproductions (Appendix 2, no. 37).⁴⁰

gin of the mosaicists responsible for the two Sicilian ensembles. It is generally accepted that they were in all probability Byzantine and well-informed on stylistic and iconographic developments in twelfth-century painting (Demus, *Norman Sicily*, pp. 73–177). Yet, both at the Martorana and Monreale the crossed *loros* appears to have been preferred in the portrayal of the archangels as well. The simplified *loros* appears only occasionally at Monreale and there inappropriately worn under a mantle, see E. Kitzinger, *The Mosaics of Monreale* (Palermo, 1960, pls. 89, 95). It would seem then that the mosaicists were not directly acquainted with developments in twelfth-century Byzantine imperial portraiture in Constantinople, and that they had to rely on older models or on coin-effigies, as the combination of the simplified *loros* and the mantle suggests. If this is indeed the case one should perhaps seek their place of origin outside Constantinople.

⁴⁰ Note, however, that the same emperor appears wearing the crossed *loros* in a portrait on the exterior of the south wall of the narthex of Panagia Mavriotissa, Kastoria (1259–1264), and in the rock-cut chapel of St. Erasmios, near Ohrid

The simplified *loros* is represented in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century portraits almost without exception (Appendix 2, nos. 38–41, 43–49, 51–52, 54) (Pls. 3, 23, 24). By the fourteenth century it had reached the final stage of its development. It lost the typical square-panel decoration which characterized it from its earliest representations in the Middle Byzantine period. It also appears as if the scarf itself was actually sewn onto the tunic. The only part which was clearly detached was the train coming from the back, round the waist, finally to hang over the left forearm. Despite its ubiquity in Late Byzantine portraiture, the term '*loros*' does not appear in fourteenth-century descriptions of imperial insignia. Pseudo-Kodinos mentions, however, the term '*diadema*', which was not a head-dress but a kind of belt. According to him, 'what is now called *diadema*, was called a military belt in the past signifying honour.'⁴¹ Elsewhere, he includes the *diadema* in a list of imperial insignia: 'the belt, which now . . . is called *diadema*, [signifying] his (the emperor's) being a soldier.'⁴² When the emperor wore the imperial crown, he wore no

(Appendix 2, nos. 32, 35). I doubt that the actual garment was still in use at this late a date. Perhaps its appearance at Panagia Mavriotissa and at St. Erasmus resulted from the repetition of a, by now, conventional type, in the absence of a more up-to-date contemporary model. The latest portrait of a living Byzantine emperor in the crossed *loros*, as far as I know, is that of the emperor of Trebizond portrayed in the *Alexander Romance* of the Greek Institute in Venice. He has been tentatively identified with Alexios III Komnenos of Trebizond (1349–1390) (Appendix 2, no. 53). The costume of the emperor in this manuscript has a conventional outlook. The rendering of the crossed *loros* is very schematic. The white sash wound around the torso of the emperor over the *loros*—a feature that was never a part of the actual costume, but which is sometimes encountered in religious iconography (Pl. 52)—also alerts us to the conventional character of this representation. It has been suggested that the artists responsible for this manuscript originated from Georgia, see Ν.Σ. Τραχουλιάνη, *Κώδιξ 5 Ελληνικού Ινστιτούτου Βενετίας. Το Μυθιστόρημα του Αλεξάνδρου* (Athens, 1997), p. 17. Their foreign origins may account for their lack of familiarity with the current way of representing imperial costume, which may be seen in the two securely identified portraits of Alexios III Komnenos where the emperor is portrayed in the Late Byzantine simplified *loros* (Appendix 2, nos. 51, 52). The conventional and misunderstood rendering of the imperial costume in the Venice manuscript seems to me to cast doubt on the suggestion that it was the portrayed emperor who had commissioned the manuscript, see Τραχουλιάνη, *Κώδιξ 5*, pp. 12, 27. It is more likely that the emperor was portrayed in it as the intended recipient. Alternatively, the emperor's portrayal may have been simply an honorific gesture on the part of the unknown donor. The crossed *loros* was employed in religious iconography without interruption throughout the Middle and the Late Byzantine periods and can be considered as a standard component of the repertoire of painters.

⁴¹ Pseudo-Kod., p. 199.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 201.

other tunic but the *sakkos* (a black tunic) and the *diadema*.⁴³ All other insignia described by pseudo-Kodinos are easily identified in each of the Late Byzantine imperial portraits. No other item of costume which could be identified with the *diadema*/belt is represented but what we know as the simplified *loros*. If, as the portraits suggest, this was no longer a real scarf, but a band attached to the tunic, with a detached part brought from the back to the front round the waist, then its definition as a belt does not appear unlikely.

The emperor wore the *loros* over a full-length tunic with long, narrow sleeves. The tunic, either purple or dark blue, sometimes shown in representations as being richly patterned, was additionally adorned with gold-trimmed bands around the hem, cuffs, and upper arms. In the Late Byzantine period the tunic, called the '*sakkos*', is described as being black.⁴⁴ The costume was complemented by the crown, the red shoes, the *labarum* or the cross-topped sceptre, and the *akakia*.

According to the *De cerimoniis*, the Byzantine emperor wore his *loros*-costume on Easter Sunday, on the feast of the Pentecost, and, exceptionally, on other feast-days when important guests or ambassadors happened to be in attendance.⁴⁵ Despite being so rarely worn, the *loros* came to dominate the imperial portraiture of the Middle Byzantine period in all media. Official art obviously wished to propagate the image of the emperor dressed thus, rather than in any other costume. It is in the investigation of the symbolism of the *loros*, as set down in the texts and as deduced from imperial portraits, that the explanation for this discrepancy lies. From its very origins, the *loros*, descendant of the consular *trabea triumphalis*, was imbued with the idea of imperial triumph and perpetual victory.⁴⁶ In the Early Byzantine period it was in fact worn by the emperor during triumphal processions.⁴⁷ By the tenth century, the triumphal imperial symbolism of the *loros* had acquired a mystical dimension.⁴⁸ Worn on Easter Sunday by the emperor and twelve dignitaries, the scarf's

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 200. The term '*diadema*,' signifying a belt rather than a head-dress, is also employed by Kantakouzenos, see Kantak., I, pp. 200–202.

⁴⁴ Pseudo-Kod., p. 201. See, also, Appendix 2, nos. 43, 44, 47, 48, 51, 52.

⁴⁵ *De cer.*, pp. 25, 26, 187; 62, 65, 68, 69; 591.

⁴⁶ A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris, 1936), p. 12; Breckenridge, *The Numismatic Iconography of Justinian II*, pp. 37–38.

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⁴⁷ See note 32.

⁴⁸ On the stages of this transition from the sixth to the tenth century see Galavaris, 'Symbolism,' pp. 104–109; Breckenridge, *The Numismatic Iconography of Justinian II*, pp. 39–45.

convolutions, reminiscent of a winding sheet, signified Christ's burial, while its golden trimming was a symbol of the brilliance of His Resurrection. While the twelve dignitaries were thought to impersonate the Apostles, the emperor in his *loros* was the image, as far as that was possible (*κατὰ τὸ ἐφικτόν*), of God.⁴⁹ The emperor appears in his *loros-costume* in all portraits where he is represented crowned by Christ, the Virgin, or an angelic messenger (Appendix 2, nos. 1, 3, 5, 8, 9, 13, 15–17, 19, 20, 28) (Pls. 14, 19, 21, 34). The *loros-costume* transmutes him not simply into a divinely appointed ruler, but into the representative—if not the image—of Christ on Earth.⁵⁰ This symbolism is implicit in the *loros* even in portrayals where no coronation is taking place (Appendix 2, nos. 4, 12, 18, 25, 27) (Pls. 13, 18, 20, 30) or where imperial figures do not appear in the presence of heavenly personages (Appendix 2, nos. 7, 10, 14, 29) (Pls. 17, 22, 29). The portrait of the emperor in the *loros-costume* was an image of glorification of imperial power. With this in mind it is easy to appreciate the popularity of the *loros* in Byzantine official portraiture and its precedence over the *chlamys*.⁵¹ The symbolism of the *loros-costume* in the Late Byzantine period, given that we accept the identification of the *loros* with the *diadema*, became less pretentious. The *loros/diadema* signified that the emperor was a soldier, called to fight for the preservation of a state beset with difficulties, while the black colour of the tunic/*sakkos*, stood for the unfathomability of the imperial office (*τὸ τῆς βασιλείας κρύφιον*).⁵² The emperor was invested with both the *sakkos* and the *diadema* on the day of his coronation.⁵³ The newly-found humility of the emperor was visually expressed on coins issued under Andronikos II, on which the emperor, dressed in the *loros*, appears in *proskynesis* in front of Christ.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ *De cer.*, pp. 637–638.

⁵⁰ See Galavaris, 'Symbolism,' p. 111.

⁵¹ This precedence can be seen visually expressed in the two portraits of Alexios I Komnenos in *Val. gr.* 666 (Appendix 2, nos. 24, 25; Pls. 12, 13). While accepting the gift of the *Panoplia Dogmatike*, he appears in the *chlamys-costume*, in his role as the head of state who assumes the responsibility to defend Orthodoxy. When he, in his turn, presents the codex to Christ, he is represented in the *loros*, in his attribute as Christ's worthy vicar on Earth.

⁵² Pseudo-Kod., p. 201.

⁵³ After being raised on the shield, but before he was actually anointed and crowned, see *ibid.*, p. 256.

⁵⁴ Bendall and Donald, *Coinage*, pp. 34, 38, 40, 205; *DOC* V, p. 69, pl. 14. Cp. with the famous image of a Middle Byzantine emperor in *proskynesis* at the feet of the enthroned Christ on the mosaic panel in the narthex of Hagia Sophia at

Though, as far as I know, there is no mention of the empress wearing the *loros-costume* in the written sources, the artistic evidence is explicit in this respect. To begin with, the empress donned the *loros* crossed over the breast like the emperor, as seen in the portrait of Eudokia, wife of Basil I, in *Par. gr.* 510, f. B (c. 880) (Appendix 2, no. 2) and in the portrait of the late ninth- or early tenth-century empress on the lid of the ivory casket in the Palazzo di Venezia (Appendix 2, no. 3). A change in the manner of wearing the *loros* seems to have taken place around the beginning of the tenth century, roughly at the same time when the change in the *loros* of the emperor took place. The simplified version of the *loros* adopted by the empresses differed from that worn by the emperors in the treatment of the train. This was longer, noticeably broader, and was brought to the front from the level of the right ankle. The free end hung loosely over the left forearm or, most commonly, was tucked in the belt (Appendix 2, nos. 13, 20, 27) (Pls. 19, 20). The part of the train brought at the front acquired a shield-like appearance in representations and was often decorated with a cross (Appendix 2, nos. 14, 15, 17, 19, 26, 29) (Pls. 22, 27, 29).⁵⁵ The earliest evidence of this development is derived from portraits of female imperial saints.⁵⁶ The shield-like element, characteristic of the female *loros-costume* in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, disappeared in the Late Byzantine period (Pl. 5). This development must have taken place already in the thirteenth century, as suggested by a seventeenth-

Constantinople (Appendix 2, no. 6). He, nevertheless, wears the *chlamys* not the *loros*, appropriately so for its period, since the mosaic panel obviously was not intended to glorify the ruler, but to bring out his Christian humility and his piety.

⁵⁵ For a detailed history of the development of the Middle-Byzantine female *loros* in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and for a list of monuments on which it appears, see M. Σωτηρίου, 'Τὸ λεγόμενον θαράκιον τῆς γυναικείας αὐτοκρατορικῆς στολῆς,' *ΕΕΒΣ* 23 (1953), pp. 524–530; G. de Jerphanion, 'Le "thorakion" caractéristique iconographique du onzième siècle,' in his, *La voix des monuments. Études d'archéologie. Nouvelle série* (Rome and Paris, 1938), pp. 263–278; W.H. Rudt de Collenberg, 'Le "thorakion". Recherches iconographiques,' *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen Âge—Temps Modernes* 83 (1971), pp. 263–361; *DOC* III/1, pp. 123–125.

⁵⁶ Marble inlay icon of St. Eudokia from the Monastery of Constantine Lips (907) (Pl. 25); see S.E.J. Gerstel, 'Saint Eudokia and the Imperial Household of Leo VI,' *ArtB* 79 (1997), pp. 699–707; St. Helena, New Tokali küsse (mid-tenth century), see A. Wharton-Epstein, *Tokali Kilise. Tenth-century Metropolitan Art in Byzantine Cappadocia* (Washington, D.C., 1986), fig. 116; St. Theodora, the restorer of Orthodoxy, in the *Menologium* of Basil II, no. 392 (sometime after 979, probably early eleventh century), see *Il Menologio*, p. 392; St. Helena, Sts. Anargyroi, Kastoria, (first layer of painted decoration: second half of tenth or first half of eleventh century) (Pl. 26).

century engraving of the portrait of Theodora, wife Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259–1282), in the refectory of the Monastery of the Peribleptos in Constantinople (Appendix 2, no. 37). In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the *loros* of the empress became similar to that worn by the emperor, with a narrow train brought to the front round the abdomen and then draped over the left forearm (Appendix 2, nos. 42, 46, 47, 49, 54) (Pl. 28).

The Byzantine empress wore the *loros* over a purple or red gown with a tall neck and long sleeves. According to the evidence of imperial portraits on seals, enamel works, and in miniature painting, the loose sleeves of the early eleventh century (Appendix 2, nos. 12–14) (Pls. 18, 29) were replaced by the third quarter of the same century with sleeves exceedingly wide at the wrist (Appendix 2, nos. 17, 19, 20) (Pl. 19). Such immense sleeves were apparently very fashionable at the time, both inside and outside the court (see below). Their adoption for the costume of the empress is noteworthy, since Byzantine ceremonial attire was by definition conservative and traditional. It is tempting to think that this concession to contemporary fashion was due to an initiative of the beautiful and formidable Eudokia Makrembolitissa (1059–1071), in whose effigies on coins and seals such sleeves appear for the first time (Pl. 27).⁵⁷ The sleeves of the dress of the empress retained their impressive size down to the fifteenth century (Appendix 2, nos. 26, 27, 29, 37, 42, 46, 47, 49, 54) (Pls. 20, 22, 28). The *loros-costume* of the empress was complemented by a magnificent crown and jewellery, by the red shoes, and a sceptre.

The sources are silent with regard to the symbolism of the female imperial *loros*. It was created in imitation of the male *loros* and was

⁵⁷ Zacos, *Seals*, I/1, nos. 92 (1068), 93a–d (1067–1071) [pp. 82–83, pl. 24]. In the first layer of the painted decoration of Sts. Anargyroi at Kastoria, dated on stylistic grounds either in the second half of the tenth century or in the first half of the eleventh, St. Helena is portrayed wearing a dress with trumpet-shaped sleeves (Pl. 26). Their size, which appears rather modest when compared to the magnificent examples of the second half of the eleventh century, suggests that St. Helena's sleeves could reflect an early stage in the development of this feature. However, because of the uncertainty surrounding the date of the execution of this image, it is difficult to establish its exact chronological relation to the surviving imperial portraits on which the reconstruction of the development of these sleeves is based. It has been pointed out, nevertheless, that the sleeves of St. Helena's dress appear to be more compatible with an eleventh-century date for the frescoes rather than a tenth-century one, see P. Kalamara, *Le système vestimentaire à Byzance du IV^e jusqu'à la fin du XI^e siècle*, 2 vols. (Lille, 1997), note 724.

one of the insignia of imperial power, but this is no reason to suppose that it too carried the mystical connotations of the *loros* of the emperor. Only in the cases of empresses who governed as sole rulers, like Zoe and Theodora in 1042, and again Theodora in 1055/6, or Eudokia Makrembolitissa in 1067, and who appear in the *loros-costume* on their coins, can it be supposed that the particular costume symbolized specifically their attribute as divinely appointed sovereigns.

The Crown

The crown was the symbol of the power of the emperor and it remained the most important of the coronation insignia both in the Middle and in the Late Byzantine periods.⁵⁸ The numerous portraits in which the emperor, sometimes accompanied by his spouse and/or the junior emperor(s), receives the crown from Christ, the Virgin, or an angelic mediator are an unambiguous statement of the divine origin of the authority that it stood for (Appendix 2, nos. 1, 3, 5, 8, 9, 11, 15–17, 19, 20, 28) (Pls. 14, 19, 21, 27, 34, 110).⁵⁹

A few surviving examples of Byzantine crowns have come down to us from outside the confines of the Byzantine empire.⁶⁰ The best known are the so-called Holy Crown of Hungary, now housed in the Hungarian Parliament, and the crown of Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–1055), in the National Museum, Budapest (Pls. 29, 30). Yet, it is improbable that these ever formed part of Byzantine imperial insignia. The first one, judging by the iconography of the enamel plaques which decorate it, was especially made to be sent as a gift by Michael VII Doukas (1071–1078) to the Hungarian king Géza.⁶¹ The second was made out of enamel plaques, three of which bear the portraits of the emperor Constantine IX and the empresses Zoe and Theodora.⁶² In Byzantium imperial portraits were perceived

⁵⁸ *De cer.*, pp. 192–193; pseudo-Kod., pp. 259, 261.

⁵⁹ C. Walter, 'The Iconographical Sources for the Coronation of Milutin and Simonida at Gračanica,' in *Symp. Gračanica*, pp. 183–200.

⁶⁰ P.E. Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart, 1954–1956), II, pp. 379–384, 418–422, 426–449, 638–642; III, pp. 731–754.

⁶¹ K. Wessel, *Byzantine Enamels* (Shannon, 1969), pp. 111–115; É. Kovács and Z. Lovag, *The Hungarian Crown and Other Regalia* (Budapest, 1980), pp. 18–57, 75–81.

⁶² *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 145 [pp. 210–212]. See, also, E. Kiss, 'The State of Research on the Monomachos Crown and Some Further Thoughts,' in *Perceptions of Byzantium and Its Neighbors (843–1261)*, ed. O.Z. Pevny (New York, 2000), pp. 60–83.

as replacing the emperor—and by extension, the empress—in his or her absence and as being the vehicles of imperial authority.⁶³ It is, therefore, unlikely that the crown under discussion would have been worn by any of the three imperial personages portrayed on its plaques.⁶⁴

In eleventh-century portraits the crown of the emperor appears as a solid circlet of gold decorated with rows of pearls and a great gemstone set in the centre (Pl. 31a–c).⁶⁵ It was sometimes surmounted by a cross (Appendix 2, nos. 12, 16) (Pl. 18) or a spray of three pear-shaped pearls (Appendix 2, nos. 18, 19, 23). Two strings of pearls, terminating in trefoil ornaments in well-preserved depictions (Pl. 31b), were attached to the lower rim of the crown framing the face. They are commonly called *prependoulia*. In the *Alexiad*, a text of the mid-twelfth century, they are called the '*ornathoi*' and are described as being specific to imperial usage.⁶⁶

A change in the shape of the emperor's crown seems to have taken place towards the end of the eleventh century, during the reign of Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118): it became a closed crown, with a low, hemispherical bowl.⁶⁷ This change is first witnessed in art in portraits of John II Komnenos (1118–1143) (Appendix 2, nos. 27, 28; Pls. 20, 21). The Komnenian closed crown was surmounted by a cross or a spray of pearls, but the *prependoulia* terminated in crosses rather than trefoil ornaments (Pl. 31d–e). Since the time of John II Komnenos the new closed crown replaced completely the earlier open one in imperial portraiture, with the exception of imperial effigies on coins, probably due to the conventionalism as a rule characterizing representations in this medium. Only in the Palaiologan period was the closed crown introduced into imperial coinage.⁶⁸ The

⁶³ Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art*, pp. 5–8.

⁶⁴ Cormack suggested that it was sent as a gift to king Andrew of Hungary, thus dating it between 1046 and 1050, see R. Cormack, 'But is it Art?', in *Byzantine Diplomacy. Papers from the Twenty-fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Cambridge, March 1990*, eds. J. Shepard and S. Franklin, (Cambridge, 1992), p. 231.

⁶⁵ Cf. Αι. Χριστοφιλοπούλου, 'Τὰ εἰς τοὺς ναοὺς τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως αὐτοκρατορικά στέμματα,' *Ἑλληνικά* 15 (1957), pp. 279–285.

⁶⁶ *Anne Comnène Alexiade*. Texte établi et traduit par B. Leib, 3 vols. (Paris, 1937, 1943, 1945). Indices par P. Gautier (Paris, 1976) (hereafter *An. Komn.*), I, pp. 113–114.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ Bendall and Donald, *Coinage*, pp. 34, 134, 152–157, 160–175, 246; *DOC* V, pp. 70–71, pls. 65, 66.

open crown was employed in religious iconography throughout the Byzantine period.

The Late Byzantine closed crown, compared to its Komnenian predecessor, was taller and commonly surmounted by a single jewel (Pl. 31f–i) or, more rarely, a cross (Appendix 2, nos. 51, 52). Judging by surviving portraits, its decoration also changed, incorporating a greater number of set gems surrounded by pearls both on the headband and the bowl. The *prependoulia* became strings of pearls alternating with jewels and terminating in trefoil ornaments. On occasion, Late Byzantine crowns appear with a pair of *prependoulia* suspended from the lower rim on either side of the face (Appendix 2, nos. 37, 38, 51, 52) (Pls. 23, 31f). Palaiologan crowns look indeed impressive in artistic representations, but in reality they may not have been as richly adorned as they appear. A fourteenth-century historian, Nikephoros Gregoras laments the fact that at the coronation of John VI Kantakouzenos (1347–1354)—in the aftermath of a devastating civil war—the imperial crowns were made of gilded leather while the jewels adorning them were nothing more than coloured glass.⁶⁹

The crown of the empress was taller and more elaborate than that of the emperor. The upper rim of her crown was adorned with arched or pointed projections. When in the late eleventh century the crown of the emperor acquired a closed dome, that of the empress retained its open shape. Effigies of eleventh-century empresses on coins and seals show the *prependoulia* suspended from the lower rim of their crowns.⁷⁰ *Prependoulia* are not always distinguishable in imperial portraits in other media. While in some examples they may simply have been effaced with time, in others they were clearly not there from the beginning. Zoe, for example, in a mosaic panel at Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, seems to have some kind of bejewelled flap(s) coming down the back of her head (Pl. 32a). Spouses of Komnenian emperors do not have *prependoulia*, but impressive earrings instead. They also seem to have a veil or flap suspended from the crown at the back (Pl. 32c–d). In all surviving portraits of Middle Byzantine empresses, the crown rests directly on the hair (Appendix 2, nos. 9, 12–14, 19, 20, 26, 27, 29) (Pls. 14, 18–20, 22, 29).

⁶⁹ Gregoras Nicephorus, *Historia Byzantina*, vols. I–II, ed. L. Schopen (Bonn, 1829, 1830); vol. III, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1855) (hereafter *Greg.*), pp. 788–789.

⁷⁰ *DOC* III/1, p. 130.

In the Palaiologan period the female crown acquired a tall, cylindrical shape with sides that flare out (Pl. 32c). It retained the pinnacles along its upper rim. The use of the *prependoulia* does not appear to have been consistent. Theodora, the wife of Alexios III Komnenos of Trebizond, for example, wears large crescent-shaped earrings instead, attached to the crown with strings of pearls (Appendix 2, no. 51). The crown in the Palaiologan period rested on a veil or net which covered the hair and upper part of the shoulders (Appendix 2, nos. 37, 42, 47) (Pl. 28).

The Shoes

The use of red footwear by the emperor, adorned with pearls and precious stones (Pl. 11), can be traced back to the Early Byzantine period, as attested by Justinian's portrait at San Vitale, Ravenna (Pl. 9). According to the written sources, in the Middle and Late Byzantine periods the red shoes were considered, along with the crown, to be the most distinctive amongst the Byzantine regalia, a fact which explains why they were always among the first symbols of imperial power to be appropriated by pretenders to the throne.⁷¹ Apparently, they were worn by the emperor and the empress not just on ceremonial, but on all occasions. The emperor even wore red boots on campaign.⁷² A pair of such boots, worn by the emperor in military costume, can be seen in the portrait of Basil II (976–1025), in *Marc. gr. Z. 17, f. IIIr* (Appendix 2, no. 11; Pl. 110). Though references to empresses or imperial princesses—the latter in the absence of male heirs—wearing red shoes are rare,⁷³ the testimony of imperial portraits is explicit in this respect (Appendix 2, nos. 13, 14, 19, 26, 29, 42).

⁷¹ Michel Psellos, *Chronographie ou Histoire d'un siècle de Byzance (976–1077)*. Edition et traduction par É. Renaud, 2 vols. (Paris, 1926, 1928) (hereafter Psellos, *Chron.*), I, p. 17, II, p. 144; *Attaliotae Michaelis: Historia*, eds. I. Bekker and W. Brunet de Presle (Bonn, 1853) (hereafter Attal.), pp. 59, 247; *Syllitzae Ioannis Synopsis historiarum*, ed. I. Thurn (Berlin and New York, 1973) (hereafter Skyl.), p. 500; *Bryennii Nicephori Historiarum libri quattuor*. Introduction, texte, traduction et notes par P. Gautier (Brussels, 1975) (hereafter Bryen.), pp. 57, 231, 301; An. Komn., I, pp. 86, 87, 99, 115–116, II, 172; *Zonarae Ioannis Epitome Historiarum*, eds. M. Pinder and T. Büttner-Wobst, 3 vols. (Bonn, 1841–1897) (hereafter Zon.), III, pp. 540, 541, 556–557, 730, 733; Eustathios of Thessalonike, *PG* 136, col. 49; Pachym., I, p. 137; II, pp. 653–655, 657, 667; Greg., p. 803; Kantak., I, p. 392, II, p. 166, III, p. 269.

⁷² Psellos, *Chron.*, I, p. 39.

⁷³ An. Komn., III, pp. 239, 240; Greg., p. 69.

In the Middle Byzantine period imperial footwear was decorated with pearls and precious stones.⁷⁴ In the twelfth-century anonymous description of the jousts of a Byzantine emperor, in all probability Manuel I, the imperial shoes are described as red, adorned with eagles executed in pearls. According to the anonymous author, the white colour of the pearls alluded to the emperor being spotless, while the eagles to his being high-flying like them.⁷⁵ The boots of the emperor, called the 'izangia', continued to be ornamented with eagles on the instep and the sides in the Late Byzantine period as well.⁷⁶ Yet, in portraits of Palaiologan emperors, the shoes appear decorated with pearls and jewels (Appendix 2, nos. 43, 44) (Pl. 24), as they did in the Middle Byzantine period (Appendix 2, nos. 1, 2, 7, 13, 21, 24, 25, 28). It is in a Bulgarian manuscript executed in 1356, *Brit. mus. add. 39627* (*Curzon* 153), f. 3r, where we actually encounter a representation of a pair of red boots with golden double-headed eagles on the instep; they are worn by the Bulgarian tsar Ivan Alexander (1331–1371).⁷⁷ A similarly adorned boot can be seen on the fragment of the lower part of a funerary effigy on the marble lid of a sarcophagus said to have belonged to the same Ivan Alexander, now in the Archaeological Museum at Turnovo.⁷⁸

The Sceptre and the Labarum

The sceptre, surmounted by an eagle, was originally an attribute of the Roman consuls adopted by Early Byzantine emperors and transformed into one of the imperial insignia.⁷⁹ Already in the Early Byzantine period, the cross had replaced the eagle.⁸⁰ A tenth-century gold cross garnished with crystals, semi-precious stones, and pearls, now in the treasury of the cathedral at Tournai, probably belonged to a Byzantine imperial sceptre (Pl. 33).⁸¹ The cross-topped

⁷⁴ Bryen., p. 281.

⁷⁵ Λάμπρος, 'Εκφρασις,' p. 17; discussed by H. Maguire, 'The Heavenly Court,' in *Byzantine Court Culture*, p. 253.

⁷⁶ Pseudo-Kod., p. 171.

⁷⁷ L. Zhivkova, *Chetveroevangelieto na tsar Ivan Aleksandŭr* (Sofia, 1980), pl. 2. See, also, Maguire, 'Heavenly Court,' p. 254.

⁷⁸ T. Velmans, 'Le portrait dans l'art des Paléologues' in *Art et société*, fig. 58.

⁷⁹ Delbrueck, *Consulardiptychen*, pp. 61–62.

⁸⁰ *DOC* II/1, pp. 87–88.

⁸¹ M. Ross, 'A Byzantine Imperial Scepter for Easter and a Pectoral Cross,' *Jahrbuch der österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft* IX (1960), pp. 91–95.

sceptre, sometimes styled simply as the 'cross', is often mentioned in Middle and Late Byzantine written sources.⁸² It had no constitutional significance; it was the symbol of the emperor's faith in Christ and of his piety.⁸³ In portraits of Late Byzantine emperors the cross-topped sceptre, held in the right hand,⁸⁴ is invariably associated with the *loras-costume* (Appendix 2, nos. 31, 35–37, 40, 41, 43, 44, 46–48, 51, 52, 54) (Pls. 3, 24). It is only exceptionally represented in the hands of the empress (Appendix 2, nos. 19, 54). I have not come across any mention of her holding it in the written sources. The sceptre of the empress, as described by pseudo-Kodinos in the fourteenth century, had a top set with pearls and precious stones and was called the '*baion*'.⁸⁵ In both Middle and Late Byzantine portraiture, empresses hold a staff with a top adorned thus (Appendix 2, nos. 13, 14, 20, 26, 29, 42, 46, 47) (Pls. 19, 22, 28, 29).

The ivory fragment (0.103 x 0.10 x 0.02m) at the Museum für Spätantike und Byzantinische Kunst, Berlin, adorned with busts of Christ flanked by Sts. Peter and Paul (front), of the Virgin crowning emperor Leo VI (886–912), while the archangel Gabriel attends (back), and of Sts. Kosmas and Damianos (sides) (Pl. 34), is sometimes identified as the tip of a sceptre.⁸⁶ However, if indeed this was the case, the presence of Leo's portrait on the ivory would argue against the sceptre's being held by the emperor himself.

A different kind of sceptre, if indeed this is what it is, appears in a number of portraits of emperors of the Middle Byzantine period (Appendix 2, nos. 1, 14, 16–20, 28, 29) (Pls. 2, 19, 21, 22, 29, 30). It has the appearance of a standard: a long staff surmounted by a square panel, usually decorated with precious stones. The term commonly used by scholars to describe it is the '*labarum*'. The *labarum* was a Constantinian standard, which, following a long period of disuse commencing in the late fourth century, reappeared in imperial portraiture in the ninth century and remained popular throughout

the Middle Byzantine period.⁸⁷ Its connotations in iconography are both military and triumphal, since it stands for victory in war and triumph over the enemy.⁸⁸ The *labarum* does not appear, as far as I know, in portraits of Late Byzantine emperors, with the exception of effigies on coins down to the reign of John VI Kantakouzenos.⁸⁹ Its late appearance in this medium should be attributed to the imitation of Middle Byzantine models.

The Akakia

In portraits the red, cylindrical, scroll-like object shown held by the emperor, either in the right or, commonly, in the left hand (Appendix 2, nos. 2, 7, 13, 17, 20, 21, 28, 29, 31, 32, 37, 39, 41, 43–49) (Pls. 2, 3, 19, 21, 22, 24), is identified by scholars with the *akakia*, referred to in Byzantine texts as one of the emperor's insignia.⁹⁰ It is considered a descendant of the *mappa*, the ceremonial kerchief with which the Roman consuls signalled the beginning of the games in the hippodrome.⁹¹ Its association with the *mappa*, however, does not go beyond a superficial similarity in shape. In the tenth century, because of its scroll-like appearance, it was considered a symbol of Christ's teachings and commandments.⁹² By the fourteenth century it had developed into a cylindrical pouch of silk tied with a kerchief and containing a handful of dust. The dust and the kerchief served as reminders to the emperor of his own mortality and of the transitional character of temporal power respectively, thus inducing him to humility.⁹³

The Orb

Early Byzantine emperors, in the footsteps of their Roman predecessors, had adopted the orb in their official portraiture as a symbol

⁸⁷ *DOC* III/1, pp. 134–138.

⁸⁸ Walter, 'Iconographical Sources,' pp. 192–193.

⁸⁹ See, for example, Bendall and Donald, *Coinage*, pp. 34–140; *DOC* V, pls. 10, 11, 13, 31, 32, 36, 38, 40.

⁹⁰ *De cer.*, pp. 25, 62, 187; pseudo-Kod., pp. 201–202, 224–225; Symeon of Thessalonike, *PG* 155, col. 356.

⁹¹ Delbrueck, *Consulardiptychen*, pp. 62–63; *DOC* III/1, pp. 133–134.

⁹² *De cer.*, p. 638.

⁹³ Pseudo-Kod., pp. 201–202; Symeon of Thessalonike, *PG* 155, col. 356. The kerchief with which the *akakia* was tied is clearly visible in the nineteenth-century drawing of the mosaic portrait of John V Palaiologos in Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, see Appendix 2, no. 45.

⁸² *De cer.*, p. 25; W. Hörandner, *Theodoros Prodromos. Historische Gedichte* (Vienna, 1974), no. VI, lines 165–167 (p. 225); pseudo-Kod., pp. 200–202, 224, 264; Kantak., p. 200.

⁸³ Pseudo-Kod., p. 201; Symeon of Thessalonike, *PG* 155, col. 356.

⁸⁴ For the custom of holding the sceptre in the left hand during the Middle Byzantine period see *De cer.*, p. 25; Hörandner, *Theodoros Prodromos*, no. VI, lines 165–167 (p. 225).

⁸⁵ Pseudo-Kod., pp. 260–261.

⁸⁶ K. Corrigan, 'The Ivory Scepter of Leo VI: A Statement of Post-iconoclastic Imperial Ideology,' *ArtB* 60 (1978), p. 407–416.

of world dominion. Pagan in origin, this symbol was soon christianised by being surmounted by a cross. In the new order of things it became a symbol of the universal authority of the emperor which he exercised as the representative of Christ, the one true *Kōsmokrator*.⁹⁴ In the Middle Byzantine period the orb, most often surmounted by a cross, was common as one of the imperial insignia on coins⁹⁵ but was only rarely introduced into imperial portraits in other media (Appendix 2, nos. 2, 5, 7, 16) (Pl. 34). Indeed it has been suggested that the orb never existed as a real object.⁹⁶ The fact that it is not mentioned in any account of Byzantine ceremonial and that a man as educated and as intimately involved in court politics as Michael Psellos did not recognize its meaning when he saw it in the hands of archangels in the eleventh century, lends support to this suggestion.⁹⁷ This further implies that its representation on coins was conventional and did not have a specific symbolic connotation. The popularity of the orb, even on coin effigies, gradually died out in the Palaiologan period.⁹⁸ The orb made one last appearance in the hand of Theodora, wife of Alexios III Komnenos of Trebizond, portrayed on a chrysobull of 1374 granted to the Dionysiou Monastery on Mount Athos (Appendix 2, no. 51).⁹⁹ Apparently the Great Komnenoi of Trebizond were the only Late Byzantine ruling house who continued to employ the orb on coinage.¹⁰⁰ It remained one of the standard attributes of the archangels in religious iconography throughout the Late Byzantine period.

USE IN RELIGIOUS ICONOGRAPHY

Rulers, Biblical and Non-Biblical

Middle and Late Byzantine art employed Byzantine imperial costume, as well as other accoutrements of imperial power, such as the

throne, the footstool, and bodyguards, in order to make evident to the beholder the one attribute that was of importance and which all the figures in this category had in common: that of sovereignty. This was done irrespective of the moral character of the personages concerned. Good and bad rulers shared the same Byzantine imperial insignia. First and foremost among the rulers represented anachronistically in imperial costume were the two prophet-kings, David and Solomon. The most common iconographic context in which they appear in monumental painting is Christ's Descent into Hell (Pls. 35, 36, 40).¹⁰¹ Their portraits were also included among the prophets represented on the drum of Middle and Late Byzantine domes, surrounding the bust of the Pantokrator (Pl. 37) or, more rarely, that of the Virgin,¹⁰² or among the chorus of prophets in Last Judgment compositions (Pl. 46). David and Solomon, in their role as prophetic witnesses to New Testament events, were also portrayed in the proximity of narrative compositions, holding open scrolls inscribed with the relevant Old Testament text.¹⁰³ Other biblical rulers who appear in imperial costume are the following: king Herod, in scenes from the Infancy cycle of Christ (Pl. 38),¹⁰⁴ Herod, the tetrarch of Galilee, in scenes from the life of St. John the Baptist (Pl. 39), and the royal ancestors of Christ in dome programmes.¹⁰⁵ Among non-biblical rulers represented in imperial costume one may include the royal couple whose daughter was saved from the dragon by St. George,¹⁰⁶ and king Abgar of Edessa in the cycle illustrating the apocryphal story of the Mandylion.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰¹ On their role in this particular iconographic context see A.D. Kartsonis, *Anastasis. The Making of an Image* (Princeton, 1986), pp. 186–203.

¹⁰² See, for example, P.A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, 3 vols. (New York and Princeton, 1966–1975), pls. 71, 72.

¹⁰³ See, for example, 'A. Ὁρλάνδος, *Ἡ ἀρχιτεκτονική καὶ αἱ βυζαντινὰι τοιχογραφίαι τῆς Μονῆς τοῦ Θεολόγου τῆς Πάτμου* (Athens, 1970), p. 233, pl. 93. This was an old practice already encountered in illuminated gospel-books of the sixth century, like the *Rossano* and the *Sinope Gospels*, see Lowden, *Early Christian and Byz. Art*, pp. 84–87.

¹⁰⁴ See, also, G. Millet, *Monuments byzantins de Mistra* (Paris, 1910), pl. 66.4 (Metropolis).

¹⁰⁵ W. Grape, 'Zum Stil der Mosaiken in der Kilise Camii in Istanbul,' *Pantheon XXXII/1* (1974), figs. 1–2; Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, pls. 73–78.

¹⁰⁶ See, for example, Στ. Πελεκανίδης, *Καστοριά ἢ βυζαντινὰι τοιχογραφίαι. Πινάκες* (Thessalonike, 1953), pl. 32b (church of Sts. Anargyroi).

¹⁰⁷ See K. Weitzmann, 'The Mandylion and Constantine Porphyrogenetos,' *Ct* 11 (1960), pp. 163–184.

⁹⁴ P.E. Schramm, *Sphaira. Globus. Reichsapfel* (Stuttgart, 1958), pp. 12–19; *DOC* II/1, p. 85.

⁹⁵ *DOC* III/1, pp. 131–133.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*; Schramm, *Sphaira*, pp. 24–27.

⁹⁷ C. Mango, 'St. Michael and Attis,' *ΔΧΑΕ* 12 (1984), pp. 39, 44.

⁹⁸ Bendall and Donald, *Coinage, passim*; *DOC* V, *passim*.

⁹⁹ The orb also appears in the left hand of the emperor in the *Alexander Romance* of the Greek Institute in Venice (Appendix 2, no. 53). On the conventional character of this portrait see above, note 40.

¹⁰⁰ Schramm, *Sphaira*, pp. 27–28.

The practice of representing biblical rulers in Byzantine imperial costume had already been established in the Early Byzantine period, when the purple *chlamys* with the golden *tablion* and the open crown with the *prependoulia* served as their distinguishing attributes.¹⁰⁸ Middle Byzantine artists continued this practice though the character of the insignia they used changed in agreement with contemporary developments in imperial costume. The *chlamys* continued to be employed though now it became more elaborate, with decorative bejewelled borders and an overall decoration of floral or geometrical motifs, as seen, for example, at Daphni (Pl. 37) and Kurbinovo (Pl. 35). The portrayal of biblical kings in the *loros-costume*, as early as the tenth century, constitutes a Middle Byzantine innovation.¹⁰⁹ The hemispherical crown of the Komnenian emperors was introduced in twelfth-century religious iconography, as attested by the representations of David and Solomon at Kurbinovo (Pl. 35) and at Panagia Arakiotissa, Lagoudera.¹¹⁰ Even the combination of the *loros* with the mantle, which first appeared on coins of Manuel I Komnenos,¹¹¹ is encountered roughly at the same time in the representation of biblical kings.¹¹² Old and new styles continued to be used side by side in the Late Byzantine period. Biblical rulers continued to appear in the *chlamys-costume*—as emperors did on coins—long after the actual garment had become obsolete (Pls. 36, 38).

One wonders whether the use of the *loros-costume* in the portrayal of biblical rulers in the Middle Byzantine period was merely a reflection of the growing importance of this costume in official art or whether its symbolism, especially its triumphal connotations, had been a determining factor in its being selected for representation instead of the more traditional *chlamys-costume*. There is evidence to

suggest that, at least on certain occasions, the choice had been purposive. In the miniatures of the *Theodore Psalter* (1066), for example, a product of the scriptorium of the Stoudios Monastery at Constantinople, David and other Old Testament rulers participating in narrative compositions wear the *chlamys-costume*. However, in scenes representing a coronation, a royal unction, the raising of a ruler on a shield, a ruler tramping his enemies, or a ruler in the presence of Christ or being blessed by the Hand of God, it is the *loros-costume* which is employed as the most appropriate garment for the representation of the concepts of majesty, triumph, and divinely sanctioned kingship. The thematic content of these compositions leaves no doubt, to my mind, as to the ultimate source of their inspiration, i.e. Byzantine imperial ideology and ceremonial.¹¹³

If one wishes to seek ideological justification for the use of imperial costume in the portrayal of figures of biblical rulers, beyond the need for characterization, one could do so in the case of the two prophet-kings. David was one of the favourite prototypes for the Byzantine emperor in Byzantine political thought, because of his attribute as one selected to rule by divine will and because of his piety. Solomon was another favourite prototype, firstly, as the embodiment of wisdom and justice and, secondly, though to a much lesser degree, because of his patronage of the arts, especially of ambitious building programmes.¹¹⁴ By endowing these two prophet-kings with Byzantine imperial costume, the comparisons made by imperial panegyrist were given a concrete, visual dimension. However, I do not think that, at least in the majority of the examples, such a comparison was intended consciously on the part of the painter, though one can not exclude the possibility that it might have passed through the mind of the reflective beholder, especially in the case of monuments where a portrait of the Byzantine emperor was also incorporated in the iconographic programme. In one case, nevertheless, the intention of the artist, or most probably, of the founder(s), to draw a parallel between a prophet-king and the reigning emperor seems evident. One has in mind the portrayal of Solomon in the Descent

¹⁰⁸ G. Cavallo et al., *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis, Commentarium* (Rome, 1987), pl. XXIV.32; C. Cecchelli, *The Rabula Gospels. Facs. Edition of the Miniatures of the Syriac Manuscript Plut. I, 56 in the Medicean-Laurentian Library* (Olten and Lausanne, 1959), fasc. 21 (f. 4b); A. Grabar, *Les peintures de l'Évangéliaire de Sinope* (Geneva, 1953), pls. I–IV; O. Mazal, *Kommentar zur Wiener Genesis. Faksimile-Ausgabe des Codex theol. gr. 31 der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien* (Frankfurt, 1980), figs. 34, 35, 36.

¹⁰⁹ C. Jolivet-Lévy, *Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce. Le programme iconographique de l'abside et ses abords* (Paris, 1991), pp. 28 (Çavuşin, Güllü dere no. 1), 53 (Çavuşin, Haçlı kilise).

¹¹⁰ A. Nikolaidēs, 'L'église de la Panagia Arakiotissa à Lagoudera, Chypre: étude iconographique des fresques de 1192,' *DOP* 50 (1996), figs. 42, 45.

¹¹¹ See above, note 10.

¹¹² See note 110; see, also, Kitzinger, *Monreale*, pl. 95.

¹¹³ S. Der Nersessian, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs du Moyen Âge, II. Londres, Add. 19.352* (Paris, 1970), pp. 82–83, figs. 32, 33, 37, 77, 91, 112, 113, 122, 148, 149, 173, 325.

¹¹⁴ F. Dvornik, *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy*, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1966), II, pp. 644, 645, 736, 781–782, 799, 823. See, also, H. Maguire, 'The Art of Comparing in Byzantium,' *ArtB* 70 (1988), pp. 89–94.

into Hell in Nea Mone, Chios, where the painter appears to have portrayed the biblical ruler not only with the costume but also with the facial features of Constantine IX Monomachos, who was a patron of the monastery (Pl. 40).¹¹⁵

Emperors and Empresses

In this category are included saintly figures who had been, or were believed to have been, of imperial rank, like Sts. Constantine, Helena, Catherine, and Eirene (Pls. 41–44). Constantine appears also in scenes of the hagiographic cycle illustrating the life of St. Nicholas (Pls. 45, 95).¹¹⁶ Other Late Roman emperors represented in Byzantine imperial costume comprise those portrayed in hagiographic cycles and *menologium* scenes, like, for example, Maximian and Diocletian in the cycles of St. Demetrios and St. George respectively.¹¹⁷ One may also include here the anonymous figures of emperors who appear among the damned in Last Judgment compositions (Pl. 46).¹¹⁸

As a rule, the costume employed in the portrayal of saintly emperors and empresses in iconic images is the *loros-costume*, complemented by the crown.¹¹⁹ Emperors in narrative scenes are, more often, represented in the *chlamys-costume*, though examples where they appear in the *loros-costume* are also encountered, especially in the Late Byzantine period (Pl. 45). During the Middle and the Late Byzantine periods changes in the character of the *loros* and the imperial crown were reflected roughly at the same time in the portrayal of saintly impe-

rial figures, as they had done in the portrayal of rulers discussed in the previous section. We have already pointed out that the earliest evidence for the change in the character of the Middle Byzantine female *loros* is provided by representations of imperial female saints. The simplified male *loros* was employed in representations of St. Constantine soon after its introduction in imperial portraits. At the Pigeon House Church, Çavuşin, where, as pointed out before, we have the earliest surviving portrait in monumental painting of a Byzantine emperor in the simplified *loros*, St. Constantine was represented in a similar garment, without the train though (Pl. 41). The hemispherical crown of the Komnenian emperors is worn by St. Constantine at Kurbinovo and at the Enkleistra of St. Neophytos, Paphos (Pls. 42, 43). The crown of St. Helena at Kurbinovo (Pl. 43) resembles that worn by the wives of Komnenian emperors in official portraiture (Pls. 20, 22). In the Late Byzantine period female imperial saints appear in gowns with exceedingly wide sleeves, wearing the simplified *loros* with the narrow train and an open crown resting on a veil or hairnet in the manner of Late Byzantine empresses (Pl. 44).¹²⁰

As in the case of biblical rulers, the attribution of imperial costume to the figures included in this category was, above anything else, an iconographic device of characterization employed for Christian and non-Christian emperors, good or bad. Only in the context of the Last Judgment may the portrayal of anonymous figures in imperial costume be said to constitute a comment on the morality of rulers in general. The inclusion of these figures in Last Judgment compositions would both offer consolation to the humble and serve as a reminder to the powerful that all are equal in front of the tribunal of Christ.¹²¹ Irrespective of their exalted status in this life, emperors too will be subject to the final judgment and to the consequent reward or condemnation according to their deeds, as any other human being.

¹¹⁵ D. Mouriki, *The Mosaics of Nea Moni on Chios*, 2 vols. (Athens, 1985), pp. 137–138. Cf. R. Cormack, 'The Emperor at St. Sophia: Viewer and Viewed,' in *Byzance et les images*, p. 227. Cp. with the attribution of the facial features of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos to king Abgar on a tenth-century icon, now at Sinai, see Weitzmann, 'The Mandylion'.

¹¹⁶ N.P. Sevcenko, *The Life of Saint Nicholas in Byzantine Art* (Turin, 1983), pp. 115–119, 123–126.

¹¹⁷ S. Pelekanides, P. Christou, Ch. Tsioumis, S. Kadas, *The Treasures of Mount Athos. Illuminated Manuscripts*, 2 vols. (Athens, 1973, 1975) (hereafter Pelekanides et al., *Treasures*), II, figs. 330–332 (*Ephigmenou* 14, ff. 52v, 90r, 90v: *menologium* scenes); Millet, *Monuments byz. de Mistra*, pl. 69.1 (Metropolis, cycle of St. Demetrios); H. Maguire, *The Icons of Their Bodies. Saints and Their Images in Byzantium* (Princeton, 1996), fig. 163 (Sinai, thirteenth-century biographic icon of St. George).

¹¹⁸ See, also, Millet, *Monuments byz. de Mistra*, pl. 81.2 (Metropolis).

¹¹⁹ Very rarely Sts. Constantine and Helena appear holding the orb. See, for example, M. Restle, *Byzantine Wall-painting in Asia Minor*, 3 vols. (Recklinghausen, 1967), pl. 15 (Göreme, El Nazar); N. and M. Thierry, *Nouvelles églises rupestres de Cappadoce. Région du Hasan Dağ* (Paris, 1963), p. 107, pl. 53 (Hasan Dağ, Yılanlı kilise); Wharton-Epstein, *Tokali Kilise*, fig. 116.

¹²⁰ Cp. with Pl. 28.

¹²¹ D. Mouriki, 'An Unusual Representation of the Last Judgment in a Thirteenth Century Fresco at St. George near Kouvaras in Attica,' *ΔΧΑΕ* 8 (1975–1976), pp. 157–158. See, also, P. Magdalino and R. Nelson, 'The Emperor in Byzantine Art of the 12th Century,' *BF* 8 (1982), p. 125, for a Byzantine description of a Last Judgment composition in the palace, incorporating a portrait of Alexios I Komnenos. According to the editors, Alexios was probably portrayed on the left side of the throne of Christ, the side of the damned, but not necessarily among them.

One wonders whether imperial costume was employed in the portrayal of Sts. Constantine and Helena in order to promote a favourable comparison between the reigning emperor and these saints. St. Constantine, the first Christian emperor and founder of Constantinople, was considered the spiritual forefather and a model of piety to be emulated by the Byzantine emperors.¹²² His mother, St. Helena, was particularly venerated because of the role she was believed to have played in the discovery of the True Cross. The attempt at an assimilation of living emperors to these saintly ancestors through the use of the same insignia would have aimed at suggesting that they also shared the same attributes, especially piety, and the same roles as guardians of Orthodoxy and as propagators of the true faith. There is evidence to suggest that in certain monuments such an attempt had been consciously made, though, it should be said, that imperial costume was employed in association with other iconographic means in order to achieve it. In the tenth-century Pigeon House Church, Çavuşin, Sts. Constantine and Helena were exceptionally represented in the bema, on the semicylinder of the central apse (Pl. 41). According to Jolivet-Lévy, they were visible only to one standing at the north side of the aisle of the naos. The gaze of a viewer positioned thus would encompass simultaneously both the portraits of the imperial saints and those of the emperor Nikephoros II Phokas and his family, portrayed in the conch of the north apse of the bema (Appendix 2, no. 10; Pl. 17).¹²³ Thus, the imperial family would appear to the beholder to share not only the same costume, but also the same space with Sts. Constantine and Helena, something which would underline the proximity between the emperor and his saintly prototypes even further. It has been said that by his visual association to the imperial saints, the donors of the monument, who probably belonged to the provincial Cappadocian gentry, sought to promote the legitimacy of the claim of the usurper Nikephoros to imperial dignity¹²⁴ and, one might add, to express their own allegiance to this emperor, who was a native of Cappadocia. In two other monuments, dating to the late twelfth century, Kurbinovo (1191) and the Enkleistra of St. Neophytos, Paphos (after 1197, at a time when Cyprus was no longer part of the Byzantine empire), Sts. Constantine and Helena

acquire not only the costume but also facial characteristics which can be said to resemble those of the members of the ruling dynasty of the Komnenoi and the Angeloi (Pls. 22, 42, 43).¹²⁵ This may have been done intentionally and on the demand of the donors—an unidentified military man or an ecclesiastic in the case of Kurbinovo, and St. Neophytos in the case of the Enkleistra—in their wish to flatter or to express their allegiance to the Byzantine ruling house.¹²⁶ Tempting as this suggestion is, it is equally probable that the artists responsible simply reproduced the facial types, along with elements of costume, as they found them in the contemporary secular prototypes at their disposal.

Personifications

In the scene of the Pentecost one or more male figures dressed in the imperial *loros-costume* appear at the head of the personifications of the Nations, the Tribes, and the Languages.¹²⁷ They can be taken to represent the Byzantine state. They can also be taken to embody the commonwealth of the orthodox nations at the head of which was Byzantium. In either case it is the concept of the primacy of the Byzantines among the peoples who accepted the Christian faith and their self-awareness as the new elect people which is highlighted. These ideas were nurtured in the tenth and eleventh centuries by the representatives of the Church and by imperial theorists.¹²⁸ It is significant that it is during the course of the tenth century, when these concepts were being developed, that the imperial figures were

¹²² L. Hadermann-Misguich, *Kurbinovo. Les fresques de Saint-Georges et la peinture byzantine du XII^e siècle* (Brussels, 1975), pp. 250–251; C. Grozdanov and L. Hadermann-Misguich, *Kurbinovo* (Skopje, 1992), p. 63; C. Mango and E.J. Hawkins, 'The Hermitage of St. Neophytos and Its Wall-paintings,' *DOP* 20 (1966), p. 159. Cf. the largely destroyed portrait of St. Constantine (much of the head and the right shoulder preserved) in the room above the southwest vestibule of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (870's), whose facial features are strongly reminiscent of the features of members of the Macedonian ruling house, see R. Cormack and E.J.W. Hawkins, 'The Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul. The Rooms above the Southwest Vestibule and Ramp,' *DOP* 31 (1977), pp. 230, 240–241, figs. C, 46–47; Cormack, 'The Emperor at St. Sophia,' pp. 229–231.

¹²⁶ Cp. with the case of Solomon at Nea Mone, Chios.

¹²⁷ Πελεκανίδης, *Καστοριά*, pls. 36, 37b (Sts. Anargyroi); Hadermann-Misguich, *Kurbinovo*, pp. 175–176, 179, fig. 88.

¹²⁸ H. Ahrweiler, *L'idéologie politique de l'empire byzantin* (Paris, 1975), pp. 50–51, 54–55.

¹²² Dvornik, *Political Philosophy*, pp. 757, 781.

¹²³ Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 18–19.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

introduced into the iconography of the Pentecost (Pl. 47).¹²⁹ Jolivet-Lévy considers the new iconography as a means of stressing the emperor's role as the successor of the apostles in propagating the Gospel.¹³⁰ As she points out, this also justified, to a certain extent, the imperialist and universalistic pretensions of the Macedonian emperors.¹³¹

In the Late Byzantine period the multiple personifications of the Nations, Tribes and Languages were often replaced by a single male figure in imperial costume, the personification of the Kosmos (Pl. 48). Even at this late a period when Byzantium was but a minor state, the idea of a Christianised *oikoumene* was best expressed by the timeless image of a Byzantine emperor, who alone of all Christian rulers, as 'basileus and autocrat of the Romans', had a true claim to universal authority. This concept of the emperor is found expounded as late as the closing of the fourteenth century in a letter of the patriarch of Constantinople, Anthony IV, to a Russian prince.¹³²

Angelic Orders

The conventional costume of angelic beings comprised the Late Antique *chiton*, *himation*, and sandals. Yet, in the iconographic contexts listed below archangels notably appear in imperial costume:

- flanking the Virgin, as a rule, with the Child, commonly in the central or one of the side apses of the bema (Pl. 49)¹³³
- flanking the Christ enthroned in the prophetic visions in the altar apses of ninth-, tenth- and eleventh-century Cappadocian churches (Pl. 50)¹³⁴

¹²⁹ A different way of visually expressing this set of ideas is encountered in illuminated psalters of the tenth and eleventh centuries, where the personification of Zion or its guardian appear as an empress or a youthful emperor dressed in the *loros*-costume, see Der Nersessian, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs*, pp. 68, 85-86.

¹³⁰ In the tenth century the emperor actually wore his *loros*-costume on the feast of the Pentecost, see *De cer.*, pp. 62, 65, 68, 69.

¹³¹ C. Jolivet-Lévy, 'L'image du pouvoir dans l'art byzantin à l'époque de la dynastie macédonienne (867-1056)', *Byzantion* 57 (1987), pp. 458-460.

¹³² D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth. Eastern Europe, 500-1453* (London, 1971), pp. 342-343.

¹³³ See, for example, Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 21 (Çavuşin, Pigeon House Church), 84 (Göreme, El Nazar), 111 (Göreme, chapel no. 10a), 181-182 (Sinassos, Holy Apostles), 200 (Ortahisar, Hallaç Manastır kilisesi), 201 (Ortahisar, Balkan deresi no. 2), 256 (Soğanlı, Balık kilise), 306 (Hasan Dağı, Sümbüllü kilise); S. Pelekanides and M. Chatzidakis, *Kastoria* (Athens, 1985), fig. 7 on p. 71 (Panagia Mavriotissa); Mango and Hawkins, 'The Hermitage of St. Neophytos,' fig. 111.

¹³⁴ See, for example, Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 9 (Çavuşin, St.

- in Deesis compositions in the altar apses of tenth- and eleventh-century Cappadocian churches¹³⁵
- flanking the enthroned Christ or all three figures of the Deesis in Last Judgment compositions (Pl. 51)¹³⁶
- flanking the throne of *Hetoimasia* in dome programmes or in Last Judgment compositions (Pl. 52)¹³⁷
- in the dome, as members of the heavenly host surrounding the Pantokrator¹³⁸
- flanking the Virgin in the scene of the Ascension¹³⁹
- forming part of the escort of Christ in the scene of the Dormition (Pl. 53)
- in the composition commemorating the feast of the *Synaxis ton Asomaton*¹⁴⁰
- independently, either in the area of the sanctuary or in other parts of the church (Pls. 54, 55, 58)¹⁴¹
- the archangel Gabriel in the Annunciation (Pl. 56).

The iconography of the archangels in imperial costume had been established by the beginning of the sixth century. There is no satisfactory explanation concerning its origins. Representatives of the Church at the time regarded it with suspicion, because, probably, they saw it as an expression of an inordinate devotion to the archangels

Symeon), 28 (Çavuşin, Güllü dere no. 1), 34 (Çavuşin, Güllü dere no. 3), 113 (Göreme, chapel no. 11), 183 (Sinassos, Tavşanlı kilise), 268 (Soğanlı, Karabaş kilise), 290 (Hasan Dağı, Köy ensesi kilisesi), 327 (Hasan Dağı, Açık ağa kilisesi).

¹³⁵ See, for example, Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 81 (Avclar, Church of the Cistern), 130 (Göreme, Çarıklı kilise), 133 (Göreme, Karanlık kilise), 149 (Ürgüp, Ak kilise), 152 (Ayvalı köy), 191-192 (Sinassos, Hacı İsmail dere no. 1), 196 (Ortahisar, Cambazlı kilise), 324 (Hasan Dağı, Direkli kilise).

¹³⁶ See, also, Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, pl. 373.

¹³⁷ See, also, A. and J. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus. Treasures of Byzantine Art* (London, 1985), figs. 86 (Panagia Arakiotissa), 294 (Panagia of Trikomo); E. Constantinides, *The Wall-paintings of the Panagia Olympiotissa at Elasson in Northern Thessaly*, 2 vols. (Athens, 1992), pp. 95-96.

¹³⁸ See, for example, G. de Jerphanion, *Une nouvelle province de l'art byzantin: Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce*, 2 vols. in 4 pts., 3 albums (Paris, 1925-1942) (hereafter Jerphanion, *Églises rupestres*), pl. 126.2 (Çarıklı kilise); A.H.S. Megaw and E.J.W. Hawkins, 'The Church of the Holy Apostles at Perachorio, Cyprus, and Its Frescoes,' *DOP* 16 (1962) pp. 287, 292-295; P. Miljković-Pepek, *Veljusa. Manastir Sv. Bogorodica Milostiva na seloto Veljusa kraj Strumica* (Skopje, 1981), plan II, pl. X.

¹³⁹ Jerphanion, *Églises rupestres*, pl. 125.2 (Çarıklı kilise).

¹⁴⁰ Pelekanides *et al.*, *Treasures*, I, fig. 242 (*Dionysiou* 587m, f. 123v).

¹⁴¹ See, also, Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 80 (Avclar, Karabulut kilisesi), 91 (Göreme, chapel no. 4c), 116 (Göreme, chapel no. 11a), 124 (Göreme, Elmalı kilise); T. Chatzidakis-Bacharas, *Les peintures murales de Hosios Loukas. Les chapelles occidentales* (Athens, 1982), pp. 26-27, fig. 29.

as miracle-workers, healers, and protectors against the supernatural powers of evil. This concept of the archangels originated in apocryphal Judaic tradition and was in variance with the orthodox Christian beliefs according to which the archangels were simply the attendants and ministers of God.¹⁴² The Judaic belief that every nation had its own angelic protector¹⁴³—Michael is styled as 'one of the chief princes' in Dan. 10:13—might be at the root of their representation in purple robes 'like princes and kings' and the attribution to them of the orb, the symbol of universal authority.¹⁴⁴ Yet, the iconography of the archangels holding the globe may have had a different origin altogether. It has been suggested that it was in imitation of the iconographic type of the personifications of Rome and Constantinople or of Victories, who appear holding it on coins and on consular diptychs in attendance to the emperor or a consul, that the globe was attributed to archangels.¹⁴⁵ In the sixth-century apse mosaic of Panagia Angeloktiste, Cyprus, the archangels Michael and Gabriel, dressed in antique costume, turn towards the centre and appropriately offer the globes they hold to the Christ Child, who was the one personage truly entitled to this attribute.¹⁴⁶ The reaction of Severus of Antioch, however,¹⁴⁷ indicates that he feared that the orb had been appropriated in iconography as an attribute of the archangels in their own right. This further suggests that, even if the globe was originally an iconographic loan from imperial iconography, popular devotion could have led to a reading of this symbol in the hands of archangels that was suspect in the eyes of the official Church.¹⁴⁸ Despite initial objections, the veneration of the archangels, even in the highest strata of society, thrived¹⁴⁹ and their imperial iconography remained part of the repertoire of Byzantine religious art. Michael and Gabriel, for example, appear in the *chlamys-costume*—comparable

to that worn by Justinian in San Vitale, Ravenna—on the triumphal arch at San Apollinare in Classe in the same city (c. 549).¹⁵⁰ In their right hand they hold a *labarum* on which is inscribed 'ἄγιος, ἄγιος, ἄγιος,' the opening words of the praise of the seraphim to God (Is. 6:3).¹⁵¹

The earliest Middle Byzantine representations of archangels and, more rarely, of other angelic orders, like Dominations and Powers, in imperial costume date to the period immediately after the end of Iconoclasm in the ninth century. The archangel represented in the altar area of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (c. 867) appears in the *chlamys-costume* (Pl. 49). In his right hand he holds a staff or a *labarum* (top destroyed) and in his left the orb. The angelic orders represented in the bema of the Dormition church at Nicaea (after 843), now destroyed, were dressed in the crossed *loros-costume* (Pl. 57). They held the *labarum* with the 'ἄγιος, ἄγιος, ἄγιος' in one hand and the orb in the other.¹⁵² The innovation of the Middle Byzantine period would appear to be the widespread use of the image of the angelic orders, especially the archangels, in the *loros-costume*, the accompanying attributes remained the same.¹⁵³ The imperial *chlamys-costume* was rarely employed in Middle and Late Byzantine contexts (Pls.

¹⁵⁰ Lowden, *Early Christian and Byz. Art*, fig. 83. The angels attending the Virgin in a sixth-century mosaic in the chapel of the amphitheatre at Dyrrachium also appear in the imperial *chlamys-costume*, see R. Cormack, *Writing in Gold. Byzantine Society and Its Icons* (London, 1985), fig. 24. See, also, C. Jolivet-Lévy, 'Note sur la représentation des archanges en costume impérial dans l'iconographie byzantine,' *CA* 46 (1998), p. 127, note 6, for more pre-iconoclastic examples from Bawit, Saqqara, and Nubia.

¹⁵¹ 'Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hosts: the whole earth is full of his glory'. By the fourth century, this verse was sung as part of the prayer of the *anaphora* during the liturgy, see R. Taft, 'The Interpolation of the Sanctus into the Anaphora: When and Where? A Review of the Dossier,' *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 1991, pp. 281–308. I thank Juliette Day for this reference.

¹⁵² One should note that the ninth-century mosaic programme of the bema is believed to reproduce the pre-iconoclastic decoration, dated by most scholars towards the end of the seventh century or the beginning of the eighth, see C. Barber, 'The Koimesis Church, Nicaea. The Limits of Representation on the Eve of Iconoclasm,' *JÖB* 41 (1991), pp. 43–46; C. Mango, 'Notes d'épigraphie et d'archéologie. Constantinople, Nicée,' *TM* 12 (1994), pp. 350–353. Though, the incorporation of the imperial angelic orders in the programme would have been in agreement with pre-iconoclastic iconographic developments, it is doubtful that they would have been represented in the *loros-costume*, since, as I have tried to show, this costume had become popular in both secular and religious art only in the later Middle Byzantine period. Cf. Jolivet-Lévy, 'Note sur la représentation des archanges,' p. 128, note 31.

¹⁵³ For two pre-iconoclastic portrayals of archangels in the *loros* at Bawit and in Nubia, see Jolivet-Lévy, 'Note sur la représentation des archanges,' p. 127, note 6.

¹⁴² J.P. Rohland, *Der Erzengel Michael. Artz und Feldherr* (Leiden, 1977), pp. 105, 145–147; Mango, 'St. Michael and Attis,' *passim*; G. Peers, *Subtle Bodies. Representing Angels in Byzantium* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 2001), pp. 1–11.

¹⁴³ *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 2, cols. 958, 961, 963.

¹⁴⁴ Mango, 'St. Michael and Attis,' p. 43, quoting Severus of Antioch. See also Peers, *Subtle Bodies*, pp. 76–78.

¹⁴⁵ A. Grabar, 'Un médaillon en or provenant de Mersine en Cilicie,' *DOP* 6 (1951), p. 39, n. 28. See, also, *DOC* II/1, p. 85.

¹⁴⁶ Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus*, fig. 17.

¹⁴⁷ See above, note 144.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Peers, *Subtle Bodies*, p. 60.

¹⁴⁹ Mango, 'St. Michael and Attis,' pp. 61–62.

49, 58). Throughout the Middle and the Late Byzantine periods, the archangels appear commonly in either the crossed or the simplified *loros*. The simplified *loros* was introduced in the iconography of the archangels roughly at the same time as its actual adoption by Byzantine emperors, i.e. in the tenth century. Their feet were shod with the red boots trimmed with pearls. When in frontal pose, especially in iconic representations, they held a staff or the *labarum* inscribed with the beginning of the *sanctus* in their right hand, and the globe, surmounted by or enclosing a cross, in their left hand. They never wore a crown; only a textile band adorned their hair.

By the Middle Byzantine period, the non-orthodox origins of the imperial iconography of the archangels had been consigned to oblivion and the significance of the globe was misunderstood. One wonders whether their portrayal in imperial costume in mediaeval contexts was devoid of any symbolism and whether it merely constituted a repetition of a conventional Early Byzantine type, which was slightly modified by updating the costume.¹⁵⁴ The use of the imperial iconography of the archangels only in the specific contexts mentioned at the beginning of this section indicates that it was indeed endowed with specific connotations.¹⁵⁵ The underlying triumphal theme of

¹⁵⁴ Mango, 'St. Michael and Attis,' p. 62.

¹⁵⁵ Maguire and Jolivet-Lévy, as opposed to Mango, accept that the mediaeval imperial image of the archangels was not devoid of symbolic significance. Their interpretation, in contrast to the one proposed here, is centred upon the ideological association of the emperor with the archangels within the framework of Byzantine political philosophy and imperial panegyric. However, while Maguire sees in the assimilation of the emperor to the archangels (and vice versa) a means to glorify the former, Jolivet-Lévy understands it as a means of expressing the subservient position of the emperor to Christ, see H. Maguire, 'A Murderer among the Angels: The Frontispiece Miniatures of Paris. Gr. 510 and the Iconography of the Archangels in Byzantine Art' in *Sacred Image*, pp. 63-71; *idem*, 'Style and Ideology in Byzantine Imperial Art,' *Gesta* XXVIII/2 (1989), pp. 217-231; *idem*, 'Heavenly Court', Jolivet-Lévy, 'Note sur la représentation des archanges'. Peers also argues in favour of the opinion that the assimilation of the emperor to the archangels and other angelic powers by means of the *loros-costume* signified the earthly ruler's subservience to Christ, see G. Peers, 'Patriarchal Politics in the Paris Gregory (B.N. gr. 510),' *JOB* 47 (1997), pp. 53-57. Peers, however, claims that the concept of subservience formed part of the symbolism of the *loros-costume* and it is because of this symbolism that the garment was deemed appropriate for the portrayal of 'archangelic ministers' in Byzantine art. He bases his claim on the assumption that the Roman consuls, who wore the *trabea triumphalis*, from which the *loros* was derived, had themselves the role of 'ministers' and that, as a result, 'the idea of consular service was always part of the iconographic significance of the *loros* in imperial art'. As far as I know, there is no evidence to suggest that the Roman consuls were ever considered as 'minis-

these contexts would suggest that the change in the costume was more than a mere concession to fashion. It seems to me that, though mediaeval Byzantines ignored the original significance of the imperial image of the archangels and had preserved it 'in their conservatism',¹⁵⁶ they had endowed it with new content. During the ninth and the tenth centuries, 'imperial' angelic orders were incorporated in the decoration of the bema. They either formed the honorific guard of the Virgin, with or without the Child, or they participated in the theophanic prophetic visions which decorate the apses of Cappadocian monuments. Their role in these contexts is more than that of simple ministers. Their attitude is not one of adoration. As indicated by the inscription on their *labara*, they participate in the timeless and never-ending glorification of God by the angelic orders. Their *labarum*, itself a symbol of victory, and their *loros*, mystically signifying Christ's Entombment and Resurrection, must have been considered as appropriate attributes underscoring the triumphal theme of these iconographic programmes, at the same time celebrating the victory of the incarnate Christ over sin and death and glorifying the majesty of Christ the *Logos*.¹⁵⁷ The eleventh- and twelfth-century iconographic contexts in which the imperial image of the archangels was introduced equally shared the underlying theme of Christ's triumph, and may be interpreted as visions of Christ in His divine glory (theophanies). One has in mind Byzantine dome programmes, the Deesis (either as an independent composition or incorporated in the Last Judgment), the *Hetoimasia*, the Dormition, and the Ascension (understood not as a historical scene, but as a dogmatic composition alluding to Christ's Second Coming).¹⁵⁸ The function of the imperial images of the archangels in these contexts must have been comparable to the one they had served in the earlier representations of theophanic visions, namely that of emphasizing the triumphal theme.

ters', see, for example, R. Guiland, *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines*, II (Berlin and Amsterdam, 1967), pp. 44-46.

¹⁵⁶ See above, note 149.

¹⁵⁷ On the triumphal connotations of the presence of the imperial angelic powers in the iconographic scheme of the bema in the church of the Dormition at Nicaea, see Jolivet-Lévy, 'Note sur la représentation des archanges,' p. 123.

¹⁵⁸ N. Thierry, 'À propos des peintures d'Ayvalı köy (Cappadoce). Les programmes absidaux à trois registres avec Deisis, en Cappadoce et en Géorgie,' *Zograf* 5 (1974), pp. 5-22; Hadermann-Misguich, *Kirbinovo*, pp. 185-186; Demus, *Norman Sicily*, p. 312.

The archangel Gabriel is dressed in imperial costume in a number of Late Byzantine representations of the Annunciation, incorporated either in the cycle of the Great Feasts or in that of the *Akathistos Hymn* (Pl. 56).¹⁵⁹ This is quite surprising, since in earlier representations Gabriel was always portrayed in antique dress, as became his role as messenger. One would have thought that the imperial image of Gabriel was introduced in this particular iconographic context as a result of lack of discrimination on the part of the painters who were simply reproducing what had become a conventional type. Yet, this was not necessarily the case. In a twelfth-century sermon on the Annunciation, Gabriel is said to be of royal aspect himself, because he was the herald of the 'royal advent'.¹⁶⁰ The wording of the relevant passage suggests that the author, James Kokkinobaphos, may be describing an actual illustration of the Annunciation.¹⁶¹ Yet, in twelfth-century representations of the Annunciation the archangel appears in the traditional *himation* and *chiton*. At Sts. Anargyroi, Kastoria, and at Kurbinovo, though, he wears imperial red boots, studded with pearls, an attribute that would have been indication enough of royalty in the eyes of a Byzantine beholder.¹⁶² The surviving evidence is not sufficient to prove that the sermon of Kokkinobaphos was the source of inspiration for the Late Byzantine *loros*-clad image of Gabriel in the Annunciation. Still, this sermon demonstrates that this iconographic type was not devoid of symbolism and that its introduction in that particular context was probably not accidental, at least not in the early stages of the iconographic development.

Maguire has suggested that the popularity of the imperial image of the archangels after Iconoclasm may be partly attributed to its

being exploited for the purposes of imperial visual panegyric.¹⁶³ It is beyond question that the emperors or those who wished to flatter them did exploit the imperial image of the archangels to exalt the imperial status. The best known examples of this type of imperial visual panegyric and propaganda are the miniature in *Par. gr. 510*, f. Cv, in which Basil I is crowned by the archangel Gabriel and receives the *labarum* from the prophet Elijah, the 'angel incarnate' (Appendix 2, no. 1);¹⁶⁴ and the ivory fragment in Berlin, on which Leo VI appears crowned by the Virgin, who ranked higher than all the angelic orders, while the archangel Gabriel attends (Appendix 2, no. 5; Pl. 34). In both, the emperor and the archangel appear in the same *loros-costume*. The representation of the emperor in the same plane with angelic and other beings who held the highest ranks in celestial hierarchy aimed at conveying the idea that he too shared with them the greatest proximity to God.¹⁶⁵

The evolution in both form and symbolism of the imperial *chlamys*- and *loros*-costumes and of their accompanying insignia was examined in the first section of this chapter. These vestments stood out for examination not simply because they were worn by the imperial couple during the most solemn moments of court ritual, but mostly because they were the two types of costume employed in official art for the dissemination of the image of imperial authority and majesty. They were the vestments worn by the emperors as represented on the coins and seals which were circulated in all parts of the empire. Even though coin-effigies were, as a rule, conventional in character, the distinctive elements of imperial costume were always identifiable. One can assume, on the basis of what has survived, that it was in either the *loros* or the *chlamys* that the ruling emperors appeared in

¹⁵⁹ Most surviving examples are encountered in monuments in northern Greece, Yugoslav Macedonia, Serbia, and Bulgaria, see Pelekanides and Chatzidakis, *Kastoria*, fig. 7 on p. 97 (Taxiarches of the Metropolis); J. Popović and V. Petković, *Monumenta serbica artis mediaevalis I: Staro Nagoričino, Psača, Kalemegdan* (Belgrade, 1933), p. 44, pl. XIV (Staro Nagoričino); C. Grozdanov, *Ohridsko zidno slikarstvo XIV veka* (Belgrade, 1980), pls. 101 (Ohrid, Peribleptos), 121 (Ohrid, Virgin Bolniča); V. Petković and D. Bošković, *Manastir Dečani*, 3 vols. (Belgrade, 1941), pl. CLXXI; G. Millet and T. Velmans, *La peinture du Moyen Âge en Yougoslavie*, Fasc. IV, (Paris, 1969), pl. 83.156 (Markov Manastir); L. Mavrodinova, *Zemenskata tsirkva* (Sofia, 1975), fig. 33; E. Bakalova, *Stenopisile na tsirkvata pri selo Berende* (Sofia, 1976), fig. 13.

¹⁶⁰ Constantines, *The Wall-paintings of Panagia Olympiissa*, p. 141.

¹⁶¹ PG 127, cols. 644–645.

¹⁶² Pelekanides and Chatzidakis, *Kastoria*, fig. 14 on p. 34; Grozdanov and Hadermann-Misguich, *Kurbinovo*, pl. 32.

¹⁶³ Maguire, 'A Murderer among the Angels,' pp. 68–69; *idem*, 'Style and Ideology,' esp. p. 223.

¹⁶⁴ It is fascinating to think that the donor of *Par. gr. 510* and, consequently, the one responsible for devising the image was neither the emperor nor a member of the imperial milieu, but, in all probability, the patriarch Photios himself, see L. Brubaker, 'Politics, Patronage and Art in Ninth-century Byzantium: The Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus in Paris (B. N. Gr. 510),' *DOP* 39 (1985), pp. 1–13.

¹⁶⁵ On this subject see E.H. Kantorowicz, 'Ivories and Litanies,' *JWarb* 5 (1942), pp. 56–81. For an alternative interpretation of these two imperial portraits as expressing the subordination of the emperor to God see Jolivet-Lévy, 'Note sur la représentation des archanges,' pp. 123–124; Peers, 'Patriarchal Politics in the Paris Gregory.'

portraits displayed in the cities of the empire.¹⁶⁶ These observations become significant for our understanding of the formation processes of Byzantine religious iconography, once we realize that the latter had adopted only these two types of imperial costume. It was to imperial portraiture that the authors of religious compositions turned for inspiration. They must have felt confident that their audience, familiar with Byzantine regalia through the medium of official art, would have been able to recognize these attributes and understand their function in narrative and iconic religious compositions.

The practice of turning to secular prototypes for the means to express the ideas of power and sovereignty was known from the Early Byzantine period.¹⁶⁷ The imperial iconography of certain of the categories examined here had already been established at that time. Yet, in the later periods this iconography was constantly updated, closely reflecting changes in the character of imperial costume. This suggests that Byzantine artists turned to their contemporary imperial portraiture in search of models as well as reproducing Early Byzantine ones. Perhaps they did so because they considered that the content of a religious image would be more readily understood by the beholder if it incorporated contemporary-looking regalia or simply because contemporary secular models were more readily accessible. One possibility does not necessarily exclude the other; in fact, both could have influenced this process of updating. Whatever the cause, borrowing from official portraiture—without an ulterior political motive necessarily in mind—was apparently a standard practice of Byzantine religious art at all periods and in all areas of its domain. Yet, the borrowing from secular prototypes was not always an unreflective process of mechanical reproduction of external features. The pictorial evidence suggests that, at least on some occasions, those responsible for the creation of the images appear to have been aware of the symbolism of imperial insignia and employed them appropriately and intelligently.

¹⁶⁶ Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art*, pp. 4–8; Magdalino and Nelson, 'The Emperor in Byz. Art of the 12th c.', pp. 133–134; P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180* (Cambridge, 1993) (hereafter Magdalino, *Manuel I Komnenos*), pp. 312–313. An interesting reflection of the practice of displaying imperial portraits is found in the *Theodore Psalter*, f. 102r, where the image of a painted panel with an imperial figure in the *loros*-costume was employed to render the 'image of gold' set up by Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. 3:1), see Der Nersessian, *L'illustration des sauteurs grecs*, pp. 104–105, fig. 318.

¹⁶⁷ Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art*, pp. 189–261.

CHAPTER TWO

OFFICIAL AND ARISTOCRATIC COSTUME

Byzantine official costume comprised the prescribed dress and insignia of dignitaries and civil servants characteristic of their rank and office. This definition encompasses ceremonial garments as well as the costume worn by such persons when performing their duties outside a ceremonial setting. Written evidence in the form of portraits and, more rarely, of narrative secular paintings are more informative concerning the former rather than the latter. In the case of the female members of the Byzantine court the evidence is less forthcoming.¹ Yet, there must have existed some sort of dress code for the ladies in the entourage of the empress and for the wives and widows of officials when they participated in court rites. Byzantine aristocratic costume comprised the dress of the members of the upper classes, male and female, including officials when not in official costume.² Certain designs, like the long, long-sleeved tunic in the Middle Byzantine period and the caftan in the Late, were common to both official and aristocratic costume. Others, like the *loros* of the prefect (eparch) and the *chlamys* adorned with a pair of *tablia* in the Middle Byzantine period and the head-dress adorned with the portrait of the emperor and footwear adorned with emblematic motifs in the Late, were specific to official costume.

In what follows the evolution of mediaeval Byzantine official and aristocratic costume is presented in outline. For the purposes of description generic English terms are used. The Byzantine names are recorded only in those cases when the equivalence of a

¹ The only relevant information found in the *De ceremoniis* reflecting tenth-century practice concerns the *koubikoularaia*, see *De cer.*, p. 623.

² On the composition of the aristocracy, encompassing the nobility of rank as well as those whose claims were based on land-ownership and lineage, see G. Ostrogorsky, 'Observations on the Aristocracy in Byzantium,' *DOP* 25 (1971), pp. 1–32; A. Laiou, 'The Byzantine Aristocracy in the Palaeologan Period: A Story of Arrested Development,' *Viztor* 4 (1973), pp. 131–151; *The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX to XIII Centuries*, ed. M. Angold (Oxford, 1984); J.-C. Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963–1210)* (Paris, 1990), pp. 249–259.

Byzantine term and a specific item of costume is proven or can be convincingly argued. The discussion is limited to the most distinctive components of the costume and their development over time. This should suffice as the basis for a comparison between actual practices and the representation of official and aristocratic costume in Byzantine religious art. This comparison and a discussion of the significance of official and aristocratic costume in religious contexts is presented in the second part of this chapter.

THE COSTUME

Male Costume

The main source of information on official costume in the latter part of the Middle Byzantine period is the tenth-century *De cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae*, that is those chapters of it that describe late ninth- and tenth-century practices.³ Unfortunately, there is nothing comparable from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, only scant references to costume found in historiographical and poetical works. The textual evidence is complemented by the artistic evidence of surviving portraits of officials (Appendix 3, nos. 1-3, 7, 11-12, 15, 17, 19, 23-26, 28, 31, 33) and representations of the Byzantine court in the illuminated mid-twelfth-century manuscript of the chronicle of John Skylitzes now in Madrid (*Madrid Skylitzes*)⁴ and in the illustrated *epithalamion* Vat. gr. 1851 of 1179.⁵ Surviving primary material is almost nonexistent.

³ See the tabulated chronological synopsis of the sources of the *De cerimoniis* in the ODB I, pp. 596-597. See, also, J.B. Bury, 'The Ceremonial Book of Constantine Porphyrogenetos,' *The English Historical Review* 22 (1907), pp. 209-227, 417-439.

⁴ Probably, produced in Palermo, Norman Sicily. For our purposes the most useful of its illustrations are those which obviously reproduce slightly earlier Middle-Byzantine models (up to f. 87), see A. Grabar and M. Manoussacas, *L'illustration du manuscrit de Skylitzès de la Bibliothèque nationale de Madrid* (Venice, 1979) (hereafter Grabar and Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*), pp. 148-155, 174-183.

⁵ Created on the occasion of the wedding of Alexios, son of Manuel I Komnenos, to Agnes of France, see Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 210-230, pls. 161, 164. In a recent article, Iacobi argued in favour of a Palaiologan date for the manuscript, which, according to him, was created on the occasion of the marriage of Andronikos II to Anna of Hungary in 1272, see his 'L'epithalamio di Andronico II. Una cronaca di nozze dalla Constantinopoli Paleologa,' in *Arte profana e arte sacra*, pp. 361-410, with a review of the earlier stages of the discussion. His arguments, however, are not conclusive and the debate continues. In the present work it is the twelfth-century date that is adopted.

The basic components of Middle Byzantine official dress were the tunic and the mantle, as had been the case in the Early Byzantine period. A comparison between the garments worn by the officials accompanying Justinian and Theodora on the panels at San Vitale, Ravenna, (Pls. 9, 10) and Middle Byzantine portrayals (Appendix 3, nos. 1, 2, 17, 19, 26, 31) (Pls. 11, 59, 61) highlights developments in the design and decoration of the outfit. The most striking is the Middle Byzantine costume's variety of colour and richness of decoration, which contrasts with the simplicity of Early Byzantine official attire. The Early Byzantine *chlamys* had been a heavy, ankle-length mantle with a pair of large square purple panels (*tablia*) attached at its vertical edges,⁶ and was worn fastened at the right shoulder with a crossbow fibula.⁷ Its Middle Byzantine descendant was made out of silks patterned with ivy leaves, spades, hearts, or fleurs-de-lis on a white, red, or purple field, and with decorative (most probably gold-embroidered) borders which enhanced its colourful aspect. The *tablia* were often embroidered in gold (Appendix 3, nos. 17, 26) (Pl. 11).⁸ They do not, however, appear consistently in representations of mantles worn by Middle Byzantine officials (Appendix 3, nos. 1, 2, 19, 31) (Pls. 59, 61). The omission appears to be intentional.⁹ The Middle Byzantine *chlamys* was not always full-length, but sometimes reached only to mid-calves and its cut did not form a perfect semi-circle (Appendix 3, nos. 17, 19) (Pl. 11), as the Early Byzantine one had done. It was fastened at the right shoulder as had been the earlier practice or, what seems to be a mediaeval development, at the front with one or two clasps (Appendix 3, nos. 1, 2, 17) (Pls. 11, 59).¹⁰

⁶ According to Malalas, the purple *tablia* signified that the bearer was a dignitary of the Roman state. They were also symbols of obedience, apparently to the authority which had conferred that dignity, hence their purple colour, see Malal., p. 24.

⁷ Actual examples of such Early Byzantine fibulae have been recovered from archaeological contexts, see, for instance, J.P.C. Kent and K.S. Painter, *Wealth of the Roman World, A.D. 300-700* (London, 1977), nos. 19-25; J. Garbsch and B. Overbeck, *Spätantike zwischen Heidentum und Christentum* (Munich, 1989), nos. 11, 13-15; Ai. Yeroulanou, *Diatriba. Gold Pierced-work Jewellery from the 3rd to the 7th Century* (Athens, 1999), pp. 52-54, nos. 170-179. This type of fibula was discontinued in the mediaeval period.

⁸ *De cer.*, pp. 24, 72, 101, 110, 142, 162, 180-181, 440.

⁹ One wonders whether the mantle without the *tablia* was still considered a *chlamys* or whether it had a different name. Piltz has suggested that perhaps the lack of a *tablion* was indicative of (lower?) rank position, see Piltz, 'Middle Byz. Court Costume,' p. 49.

¹⁰ *Kletorologion* of Philotheos, ed. N. Oikonomides in his *Les listes de préséance byzantines du IX^e et du X^e siècle* (Paris, 1972) (hereafter Philotheos, *Kletor.*), pp. 167, 189.

The character of the tunic over which the mantle was worn had also evolved in the mediaeval period. In addition to becoming more colourful and ornate in appearance, it was now ankle-length, whereas its Early Byzantine predecessor had reached only to the knees.¹¹ The full-length tunic with the long sleeves was the most common type in the Middle Byzantine period. Its collar, cuffs, and hem were often embroidered. What appears to be a Middle Byzantine development was the substitution of arm-bands for the square or circular attachments seen in the same position on Early Byzantine tunics. Middle Byzantine arm-bands often bear pseudo-kufic inscriptions (Appendix 3, nos. 8, 11, 22; *Madrid Skylitzes*, ff. 10v, 14va).¹² The use of arm-bands was probably inspired by the *tirāz*, worn by Muslim nobles already by early Islamic times. The *tirāz* was a fabric band of a different colour from that of the sleeve, which was attached to its upper part and which bore an honorific or religious inscription.¹³

The tunic was worn under the mantle or on its own, girt or without a belt (Pls. 11 [second figure from the left], 62). The fashion of wearing a shorter tunic over a longer under-tunic seems to have been introduced in official attire by the eleventh century (Appendix 3, nos. 11, 12, 15, 17, 28) (Pls. 11, 62). The outer tunic, reaching down to the calves, was provided with an opening at the front of the skirt. The under-tunic was visible through this opening and from

under the hem of the outer tunic.¹⁴ This combination could be worn under a mantle or on its own.¹⁵

A variation on the traditional tunic had exceedingly long sleeves and was worn without a mantle. If I am not mistaken, the earliest occurrences of such tunics are to be found in a *menologium* of possibly Constantinopolitan origin, *Esphigmenou* 14, ff. 90r, 90v, which is dated usually to the eleventh century.¹⁶ They are worn by attendants to imperial figures in two scenes from the cycle of Sts. Eugenios, Makarios, and Artemios. This type is also illustrated in the *Madrid Skylitzes* (Pl. 64). The Byzantine dignitaries who wear it have their hands crossed at the breast, with the empty portions of the sleeves hanging freely at the front. Tunics and coats with extremely long, narrow sleeves which were gathered in folds around the wrists, when not hanging freely, were known in the Middle East by the ninth century if not earlier and continued to be employed long after the fifteenth.¹⁷ It is to an influence from that region that the Byzantine development should be attributed.

A second variation of the traditional tunic was one provided with a V-shaped collar and lapels. As far as I know, this type of tunic or coat is encountered for the first time in Chapel 11 (St. Eustathios) at Göreme (beginning of tenth century) and at the church of St. Theodore, near Ürgüp (ninth or tenth century; largely repainted at

¹¹ Cp. Appendix 3, nos. 1, 17, 19, 26, 31 (Pls. 11, 59, 61) with the portrait of Stilicho on an ivory panel of 395 in Delbrueck, *Consulardiptychen*, no. 63, and those of the officials on the panel of Theodora at San Vitale, Ravenna (Pl. 10).

¹² Grabar and Manoussacas, *Skylitzes*, pl. I, fig. 7.

¹³ L.A. Mayer, *Mamluk Costume. A Survey* (Geneva, 1952), p. 33; S.S. Blair, 'Inscriptions on Medieval Islamic Textiles,' in *Islamische Textilkunst des Mittelalters: Aktuelle Probleme*, *Riggisberger Berichte* 5 (1997), pp. 97–100. See, also, T. Talbot-Rice, 'Some Reflections on the Subject of Arm-bands,' in *Forschungen zur Kunstasiens in Memoriam Kurt Erdmann*, eds. O. Aslanapa and R. Naumann (Istanbul, 1969), pp. 262–277. That the practice of granting textile bands bearing honorific inscriptions to state officials was known in Byzantium is suggested by the find of a red silk band with a woven Greek inscription in honour of a *protospatharios* Ivanos in an eighth-century burial context in the region of northern Caucasus, see A. Ierusalimskaja, 'Un chef militaire byzantin au Caucase du Nord? Le ruban de soie de Moščevaja Balka,' in *Αἰθιοπία. Studien zur byzantinischen Kunst und Geschichte. Festschrift für Marcel Restle* (Stuttgart, 2000), pp. 125–130. The band is too long (two fragments measuring 41.4 and 4.5 cm) to have been attached to the sleeve of a garment. Rather, it could have served as a border- or hem-band for a mantle—if, that is, it was meant to be attached to a garment in the first place. Its original function is difficult to ascertain, given that the band was discovered in a context where it had been cut in at least two pieces and put to secondary usage.

¹⁴ The earliest representation of such a combination in Byzantine art known to me is found in *Par. gr.* 510, f. 149 (c. 880), see H. Omont, *Facsimiles des miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du VI^e au XI^e siècle* (Paris, 1902), pl. XXXIV. It is worn by the rich man in the parable of poor Lazarus (Luk. 16:19–25). Having an opening at the front of the skirt of the tunic is a feature, as far as I can tell, unknown to Late Roman costume. Its introduction is an innovation of the Middle Byzantine period, in all probability under the influence of oriental (Arab) fashions. On the oriental origin of this costume in general, see Thierry, *Nouvelles églises*, pp. 138, 139 n. 2. Its earliest appearance in Byzantine portraiture is the portrait of Constantine at Sts. Anargyroi, Katoria (second half of tenth or first half of eleventh century) (Appendix 3, no. 6; Pl. 26).

¹⁵ See examples already cited.

¹⁶ Pelekanides *et al.*, *Treasures*, II, figs. 331, 332.

¹⁷ Two caftans made of wool with decorative attachments of silk, possibly of Sassanian origin (sixth or seventh century), found at Antinoë in Egypt, have sleeves exceeding one meter in length, see M. Martiniani-Reber, *Lyons, Musée Historique des Tissus. Soieries sassanides, coptes et byzantines, V^e–XI^e siècles* (Paris, 1986), nos. 22, 23. For exceedingly long sleeves as a feature of costume in the mediaeval Islamic East see A. Mazaheri, *La vie quotidienne des musulmans au Moyen Âge, X^e au XIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1951), p. 72; Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, p. 22. For illustrations see R. Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting* (Geneva, 1962), *passim*.

a later date).¹⁸ However, I am sceptical as to whether these representations should be admitted as evidence that the garment with the lapels had been adopted in Byzantium already in the tenth century. It has been claimed that the decorative programme of Chapel 11, at least, evidences Armenian influences.¹⁹ There is, therefore, the possibility that the particular garment might have been reproduced as a result of the imitation of a non-Byzantine artistic model.²⁰ Whatever the case, the tunic or coat with the V-shaped collar and the lapels appears to have been adopted in Byzantium by the eleventh century, when it becomes relatively common in Byzantine artistic contexts, especially in miniature painting.²¹ It is most often represented worn by Julian the tax-collector in illuminated manuscripts of the Homilies of St. Gregory of Nazianzos, as, for example, in *Dionysius* 61, f. 28v (second half of eleventh century) (Pl. 65).²² One may be sure that Julian's costume reflects eleventh-century practices, not only because of the unconventional character of the garment, but also because it is worn in association with the white head-dress often worn by Byzantine officials at that time. This type of tunic or coat can also be seen worn by the unidentified male figure of a donor or deceased portrayed in the narthex of the church of St. George Diasorites at Naxos, probably dated to the twelfth century (Appendix 3, no. 32). The male figure represented in relief on a

¹⁸ Jerphanion, *Églises rupestres*, pls. 37.4 (worn by Herod in the Massacre of the Innocents), 147.1 (worn by two scribes in the Massacre of the Innocents).

¹⁹ Jerphanion, *Églises rupestres*, I, pp. 162–163; II, pp. 94–97, 229–234, 398.

²⁰ That garments, especially coats, with V-shaped collars and/or lapels were known in the Caucasus, even before the tenth century, is attested by surviving portraits from that region, see, for example, J.G. Davies, *Medieval Armenian Art and Architecture. The Church of the Holy Cross, Aghtamar* (London, 1991), pp. 51, 83, pls. 10, 26; J.-M. Thierry, *Armenian Art* [principal sites by P. Donabédian with the assistance of J.-M. and N. Thierry] (New York, 1989), figs. 210, 256; A. Eastmond, *Royal Imagery in Medieval Georgia* (University Park, 1998), fig. 3; A. Eastmond and L. Jones, 'Robing, Power, and Legitimacy in Armenia and Georgia,' in *Robes and Honor. The Medieval World of Investiture*, ed. S. Gordon (New York, 2001), fig. 7.5.

²¹ It is tempting to think that the adoption of this orientizing garment in Byzantium was a result of influences coming from the Caucasus region, where tunics and coats with V-shaped collars and lapels appear to have been popular, see previous note. Given the increasing importance of Armenians and Georgians in the political and military establishment of the Byzantine empire during the later part of the Middle Byzantine period (see, for example, P. Lemerle, *Cinq études sur le XI^e siècle byzantin* (Paris, 1977), pp. 158–161; Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, pp. 396–402), this supposition appears to me quite plausible.

²² For more examples see G. Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus* (Princeton, 1969), pp. 42–46.

marble pillar, of unknown provenance, now in the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul, also wears a garment with a V-shaped collar and lapels (Appendix 3, no. 33). His garment, however, is furnished with exceedingly long sleeves. On the other hand, his head-dress is similar to that of Julian. Firath dates the relief to the twelfth-fourteenth centuries.²³

Surviving written and artistic evidence does not allow one to speak of Middle Byzantine aristocratic costume as clearly distinct from official costume, at least not before the twelfth century.²⁴ In twelfth-century written sources we come across descriptions of a type of costume different from what we have encountered thus far, worn by the male members of the upper classes outside a ceremonial setting. This comprised a short silk garment with long narrow sleeves and a skirt with slits on all sides for freedom of movement. It was worn without a mantle,²⁵ most probably, in combination with a pair of trousers (*anaxyrides*, *brakai*).²⁶ The textual descriptions, however, should not be taken as evidence that such a short tunic or coat was introduced in Byzantium for the first time only during the course of the twelfth century.²⁷ They may be more indicative of the new interests of twelfth-century authors in details of everyday life (see below) than of an actual innovation in costume. Be this as it may, there was

²³ In a recent article the pillar has been dated to the eleventh or twelfth century on the basis of the costume, see Π. Καλαμαρά, 'Ενδυμα: Η ταυτότητα της Βυζαντινής κοινωνίας. Το παράδειγμα του Γλυπτού 279 του Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου της Κωνσταντινούπολης,' *ΔΧΑΕ* 18 (1995), pp. 33–37.

²⁴ The problem is illustrated by the portrait of the unidentified donor of *Dionysius* 60, f. 1v, dated to the second half of the eleventh century (Appendix 3, no. 20; Pl. 60). His costume, which comprises a full-length dark blue tunic trimmed with gold and a purple mantle patterned with double fleurs-de-lis and spades, could equally belong to an official and to a nobleman. Neither the absence of *tablia* from the mantle nor that of a head-dress are sufficient to demonstrate that he held no office. On the *tablia*, see above. For the portrayal of a twelfth-century dignitary who does not wear a head-dress, see Appendix 3, no. 26.

²⁵ Odo of Deuil, *De professione Ludovici VII in Orientem*, ed. V. Giergick-Berry (New York, 1948) (hereafter Odo of Deuil), p. 27; Nik. Chon., p. 252.

²⁶ References to trousers, though not associated with the short garment just described, are found in Nik. Chon., p. 298; Eustathios of Thessalonike, *PG* 136, col. 76. See, also, A.P. Kazhdan and A. Wharton-Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the 11th and 12th Centuries* (Berkeley, 1985), pp. 76–77.

²⁷ It has been convincingly argued that the term 'skaramangion' so often mentioned in the tenth-century *De ceremoniis* refers to such a short 'rider's caftan,' see N. Kondakov, 'Les costumes orientaux à la cour byzantine,' *Byzantion* 1 (1924), pp. 7–49; F. Cumont, 'L'uniforme de la cavalerie orientale et le costume byzantin,' *Byzantion* 2 (1924), pp. 181–191.

indeed a change in the character of aristocratic costume by the end of the twelfth century. This is securely attested in the artistic record. One has in mind the portrait of John, son of Theodore Lemniotes, a member of the provincial gentry and donor of the second layer of the painted decoration in the church of Sts. Anargyroi at Kastoria (c. 1180) (Appendix 3, no. 27; Pl. 66 [right]). Over a long red undergarment with long narrow sleeves terminating in decorated cuffs, the young man wears a dark green garment with an overall decoration of spades and fleurs-de-lis. This garment, which reaches down to mid-calves, has a vertical opening all the way down the front and is held at the waist with what appears to be a brown leather belt, ornamented with metal attachments. It has sleeves which reach the elbows. The ends of the sleeves as well as the borders of the vertical opening at the front are decorated with what appear to be gold-embroidered bands. The arm-bands seem also to be embroidered with gold.

The caftan-like garment worn by John was to become typical of aristocratic and official costume after the twelfth century. By the end of the twelfth century Byzantine costume outside the conservative ceremonial context of the court had certainly moved away from Roman traditions. The Romans did not wear coats with a buttoned-up opening at the front and the combination of a short-sleeved garment over a long-sleeved one.²⁸ John's costume is one more testimony to the fact that the Byzantines were prone to adopt or be influenced by oriental fashions, even before the enforced transfer of the Byzantine court to Asia Minor after 1204 had brought them in closer contact with the peoples of the Muslim East.

From the thirteenth century onward males, whether officials or aristocrats, are shown wearing the caftan-like garment either on its own or under a mantle (Appendix 3, nos. 39–41, 43–55, 58, 60, 69, 76, 77) (Pls. 67–71, 74, 76, 85). Judging by the representations, the caftans were made of heavy, costly materials with an overall decoration of animal, floral, or geometrical motifs enclosed in medallions, geometric grids, or complicated interlacing patterns of a vegetal or geometric nature. They were also adorned with embroidered bands

attached to the collar, upper arms, cuffs, and vertical openings of the garment. As a rule they were worn with a belt.

Surviving portraits also attest to the many variations to the basic design of the caftan worn in the Palaiologan period. By far the most common was the ankle-length, tight-fitting caftan with the long narrow sleeves (Appendix 3, nos. 39, 43–48, 51, 54, 55, 58, 60) (Pls. 67, 68, 71, 74, 76). Other variations included loose-fitting caftans with long ample sleeves (Appendix 3, no. 41; Pl. 69) and caftans with elbow-length sleeves worn over a long-sleeved undergarment (Appendix 3, nos. 40, 49, 69) (Pl. 70). The sleeves of the undergarment were sometimes provided with small spherical buttons from wrist to elbow, which could have been functional or simply decorative. Actual buttons have been discovered in late mediaeval archaeological contexts in different parts of the Balkan peninsula. One assumes that those that formed part of the aristocratic costume were made of silver, gilt silver and, rarely, pure gold. The most elaborate examples were decorated with granulation or engraving; some were even of openwork construction.²⁹

Etzeoglou has been able to identify yet another variation of the caftan, worn by the unidentified male figure portrayed on the north wall of the southeast chapel of Sts. Theodores at Mistra (c. 1400) (Appendix 3, no. 65). This was a caftan the long sleeves of which were provided with a slit at the height of the armpit for the arms to come through. The empty portion of the sleeves was tucked in the belt at the back.³⁰ As Etzeoglou has pointed out, this type of caftan and the manner of wearing it corresponds very well to the description by pseudo-Kodinos of the '*lapatzas*', a garment worn by

²⁹ See, for example, Στ. Πελεκανίδης, 'Τὰ χρυσὰ βυζαντινὰ κοσμήματα τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης,' ΔΧΑΕ 1 (1959), p. 59; Ν. Μουτσόπουλος, 'Ἀνασκαφὴ τῆς βασιλικῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἀχιλλεῖου' (Thessalonike, 1972), pp. 206–207, pls. 30–33; *City of Mystras*, nos. 8, 9, 11; S. Georgieva, 'Nakiti i chasti ot tikani ot dvoretsa na Tsarevets,' *Tsarvigrad Turnov* 2 (1974), p. 415; M. Čorović-Jubinković, 'Prokupački nalaz srpskog srednjeevropskog nakita,' *ZbRadNarM* 1 (1956/7), p. 159; G. Trivunac-Tomić, 'Srebrna ostava iz Dobrog Dola kod Pirota,' *ZbRadNarM* 3 (1960/1), p. 205, figs. 13–16; D. Milošević, *Nakit od XII do XV veka iz zbirke Narodnog muzeja* (Belgrade, 1990), nos. 309–317. Buttons are sometimes mentioned in legal documents, as, for example, in the will of Theodore Sarantenos, a member of the provincial gentry from Verroia (1325), where forty-two buttons belonging to two different types are mentioned, see *Actes de Vatopédi*, I, eds. J. Bompair, J. Lefort, V. Kravari, C. Giros (Paris, 2001) (hereafter *Vatopédi*, I), p. 355.

³⁰ For a colour reproduction see *City of Mystras*, fig. 165.

²⁸ On Late Antique costume see M.L. Rinaldi, 'Il costume Romano e i mosaici di Piazza Armerina,' *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archéologia e Storia del arte XIII–XIV* (1964–1965), pp. 200–268.

certain officials in the Palaiologan court.³¹ The final variation of the caftan I would like to mention was a short one which, instead of a vertical opening at the front, had lapels over the breast which were fastened right over left or vice versa (Appendix 3, nos. 74, 75). The origin of this feature is again to be sought in the East, ultimately in the costume of nomad horsemen.³²

Scholars³³ identify the caftan worn by Late Byzantine officials and nobles with the 'kabbadion' which, according to pseudo-Kodinos, constituted the gala costume of all members of the court, from the emperor to the lowest-ranking official.³⁴ None of the other garments mentioned by pseudo-Kodinos (*lapatzas*, *epilourikon*, *tamparion*) can be identified with the caftan represented in the portraits.³⁵ This argument, however, is not sufficient to prove that the two should be equated. One needs first to examine what is known of the *kabbadion* itself. The name was probably derived from the Persian word 'qabā', denoting a tight-fitting coat with narrow sleeves, open down the front and worn girt, of ultimate Persian derivation.³⁶ This need not imply that the Byzantine *kabbadion* was of exactly the same design as the *qabā*, but it does suggest that the Byzantine garment was of oriental derivation and must have shared at least certain features with the Islamic one. Pseudo-Kodinos himself informs us that the *kabbadion* was an Assyrian garment taken over by the Persians, in other words that it was a garment of eastern extraction.³⁷ The earliest reference to the 'kabbadion', as far as I know, is found in the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (c. 900) where it is mentioned as being worn by members of the palace forces (Turks, Khazars, and others) on special

feast-days,³⁸ yet another testimony to its 'exotic' origins. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to suggest that the *kabbadion* should be identified with the caftan seen in Late Byzantine portraits given the oriental origin of both, provided that we accept a basic similarity in design between the *kabbadion* and the *qabā*.

Mantles appear rarely in portraits of dignitaries and nobles of the Late Byzantine period (Appendix 3, nos. 60, 63, 70) (Pls. 71–73).

³¹ Philotheos, *Kletor.*, pp. 177–179, 209. Later in the tenth century the *kabbadion* (sic), this time described as a short, short-sleeved garment, padded with cotton and coarse silk, is mentioned as an alternative to mail or lamellar armour in descriptions of the equipment of the infantry in Byzantine military manuals, see *Sylloge Tacticorum*, *quo olim 'Inedita Leonis Tactica' dicebatur*, ed. A. Dain (Paris, 1938) (hereafter *Syll. Tact.*), §38; E. McGeer, *Sowing the Dragon's Teeth: Byzantine Warfare in the Tenth Century* (Washington, D.C., 1995), pp. 12 (*Præcepta Militaria*), 88 (*Taktika of Nikephoros Ouranos*); cf. J.F. Haldon, 'Some Aspects of Byzantine Military Technology from the Sixth to the Tenth Centuries', *BMSG* 1 (1975), p. 36, note 124; T. Dawson, 'Kremasmata, Kabbadion, Klibanon: Some Aspects of Middle Byzantine Military Equipment Reconsidered', *BMSG* 22 (1998), pp. 38–42. It is possibly through the foreign mercenaries, with whom the *kab(b)adion* was associated initially, that the garment became known in Byzantium and came to be employed in the Byzantine army. That the use of the *kab(b)adion* was not confined to the military, but could extend to a civilian, non-court-related context is suggested by the *Oneyrokritikon* of Achmet (ninth or tenth century), where the term occurs three times, see *Achmetis Oneyrocriticon*, pp. 88, 114–115, 218; cf. Mavroudi, *The So-called Oneyrocriticon of Achmet*, pp. 466–470. Interestingly enough, in all three instances the *kab(b)adion* is equated with the *skaramangion* (καβάδι ἢτοι σκαραμάγγιν, καβάδι τὸ λεγόμενον σκαραμάγγιον, καβάδι δίκην σκαραμαγγίου). For the possibility of the *skaramangion* being a caftan-like garment see above, note 27. As far as I know, the term 'skaramangion' occurs for the first time in the eighth-century chronicle of Theophanes the Confessor, where the garment is mentioned as part of the military outfit of a Persian general, see *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. C. De Boor (Leipzig, 1883), p. 319. Apparently, by the time of Michael III (842–867) the *skaramangion* had become a component of Byzantine ceremonial costume, see *Leonis Grammatici Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1842), pp. 241, 245–246. The *skaramangion* is often mentioned in descriptions of imperial ceremonies in the tenth-century *De ceremoniis*, worn both by the emperor and by the male members of the court, see *De cer., passim*. On the other hand, there is no reference to a *kab(b)adion* in this text. The existing evidence does not provide a sufficient basis for the identification of the *kab(b)adion* with the *skaramangion*. It does suggest, nevertheless, that these two garments, both of oriental (Persian?) origin and having military associations, must have shared a number of common features, which are difficult to identify at present. References to *kab(b)adia* in the eleventh and twelfth centuries are sporadic. Apparently, the garment continued to be used in a non-military, non-official context, see *Poemes prodromiques en grec vulgaire*, eds. D.-C. Hesselung and H. Pernot (Amsterdam, 1910) (hereafter *Poemes prodromiques*), poem IV, lines 12a, 12g; its usage in a military context is less certain, cf. *Tzetzaze Ioannis Historiarum varianum chiliades*, ed. Th. Kiessling (Hildesheim, 1963), p. 471. To my knowledge, the earliest reference of a *kabbadion* (sic) as part of the wardrobe of a Byzantine official—though not necessarily as part of his official costume—is encountered in the will of the *kouropalates* Symbatios Pakourianos, dated to 1090, see *Actes d'Iviron*, II, eds. J. Lefort, N. Oikonomides, D. Papachryssanthou (Paris, 1990), p. 155.

³² Pseudo-Kod., p. 219. The Byzantine emperor wore a similar garment, though ungirt and with the sleeves hanging freely at the sides. *Ibid.*, pp. 218–219. Cf. B. Cvetković, 'Prilog proučavanju vizantijskog dvorskog kostima—γρονάτζα, λαπάτζας', *ŽRVI* 34 (1995), pp. 143–156.

³³ Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, pp. 21–22; D. Nicolle, *Early Medieval Islamic Arms and Armour. Gladius. Tomo especial* (Madrid, 1976), pp. 84, 86–87, 88–89.

³⁴ See, indicatively, the relevant article in the *ODB* 2, p. 1088.

³⁵ Pseudo-Kod., pp. 146–166, 200, 219–220, 274.

³⁶ On the *lapatzas*, see note 31; on the other two garments see below.

³⁷ B. Hemmerdinger, '158 noms communs grecs d'origine iranienne, d'Eschyle au grec moderne', *BS* 30 (1969), p. 28; M. Mavroudi, *The So-called Oneyrocriticon of Achmet: A Byzantine Book of Dream Interpretation and Its Arabic Sources* (doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1998), p. 467, note 33; Mazaheri, *Vie quotidienne*, p. 71; Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, p. 21; R. Levy, 'Notes on the Costume from Arabic Sources', *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1935/1, p. 324.

³⁸ Pseudo-Kod., p. 206.

The examples depicted are quite different from the sleeveless cloaks that were characteristic of the Early and Middle Byzantine periods, that were characteristic of the back wall of tomb C in the funerary chapel of the Chora Monastery (Kariye Camii) (fourteenth century) has a heavy and ample green coat lined with fur which lies loosely on his shoulders (Pl. 71). The coat has an out-turned collar and is furnished with a pair of exceedingly long sleeves which reach down almost to the ankles. The sleeves are provided with an opening at the height of the elbows for the forearms to come through. The man portrayed on the wall of tomb F in the outer narthex of the Chora (only the lower part is preserved) wears a mantle which is also provided with a pair of exceedingly long sleeves (Pl. 72). However, his was not lined with fur. This mantle is remarkable for its decoration: double-headed eagles and medallions enclosing the monogram of the Palaiologoi executed in gold on a blue field. Furnishing mantles with a pair of sleeves which hang empty at the sides appears to be an ancient probably oriental fashion, traced back, at least, to the fourth century.³⁹ In favour of an oriental origin of the feature one may cite the evidence of certain Georgian portraits of donors or rulers who wore comparable mantles long before these were adopted in Byzantium.⁴⁰

Another type of mantle, probably reflecting western rather than oriental influences, is worn by Manuel Laskares Chatzikes (†1445), who is portrayed on the south wall of the narthex at the Pantanassa, Mistra (Pl. 73). It is heavy and ample, of a reddish brown colour and apparently lined with fur. The ample sleeves of the garment appear to have been left unsworn from the wrist to the elbow, looking more like fur-lined panels of cloth than sleeves. The mantle is fastened down the front with what appear to be spherical buttons. This type of mantle fastened down the front reminds one of the mantles worn in Italy in the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries

³⁹ Worn, for example, by the right group of 'barbarians' represented on the north-west side of the pedestal of the obelisk of Theodosios I in the Hippodrome of Constantinople (c. 390), see Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art*, pl. XII.2.

⁴⁰ For example, the portraits of Demetrius on the east façade of the church at Jvari (586/7–605/6), see R. Mepisahvili and V. Tsintsadze, *The Arts of Ancient Georgia* (London, 1979), p. 86; of Ashot' II at Tbeti (891–918), see *ibid.*, p. 245, and of a male figure at Kumurdo (964), see G. Chubinashvili, *Voprosy istorii iskusstva* (Tbilisi, 1970), fig. 98.2.

though I have not been able to locate an exact western parallel which exhibits the same peculiar sleeves/flaps.⁴¹

The *chlamys*, the most distinctive garment of dignitaries since the Early Byzantine period, continues to appear in Palaiologan portraiture. Yet, given the number of portraits of dignitaries that have survived, the *chlamys* is attributed only to a limited few (Appendix 3, nos. 38, 43, 66) (Pl. 74). Of these, two bear the title of *despotes* (Appendix 3, nos. 38, 66) and one the title of *sebastokrator* (Appendix 3, no. 43). The *chlamys* is also encountered in portrayals of sons or close relatives of the reigning emperor, even though they did not hold any particular office (Appendix 3, nos. 37, 52, 66, 68). The *chlamys* worn by the *despotes* Constantine Palaiologos (1277–c. 1329) on his seal-effigy is patterned with lozenges and has no *tablia* (Appendix 3, no. 38). The mantles of the other two officials (Appendix 3, nos. 43, 66), represented in the more amenable medium of miniature painting, share the same decoration: double-headed eagles enclosed in medallions executed in gold on a red or purple field.⁴² One can hardly distinguish the golden *tablion* among the golden glow of the mantle, which is fastened at the right shoulder. The best-preserved representation is encountered in the portrait of the *sebastokrator* Constantine Komnenos Palaiologos in the *Lincoln College Typikon*, f. 1v (1327–1342) (Pl. 74), where the *chlamys* is clearly shown worn over a caftan. The pictorial evidence suggests that the Palaiologan descendant of the *chlamys* was confined to the use of only the highest-ranking dignitaries of the state or very close relatives of the emperor. Its presence in the Late Byzantine period may be attributed to the survival of a ceremonial garment, which would not be altogether surprising considering the conservatism of official insignia;

⁴¹ Cp. with the outer garments of the spectators in the painting by Masaccio and Filippino Lippi representing the Raising of the son of Theophilus by St. Peter in the Brancacci chapel (1426–1428), in U. Baldini and O. Casacca, *La capella Brancacci* (Milan, 1990), p. 195. A more obviously western influence on the costume of Manuel Chatzikes is discernible in the design of the narrow sleeves of the garment worn under the mantle, which have been extended to cover part of the hand. Cp. with examples of such sleeves dating from the late fourteenth century illustrated in R. Levi-Pisetzky, *Storia del costume in Italia*, 5 vols. (Milan, 1964–), II, pls. 3, 17.

⁴² On the double-headed eagle in Byzantium see A.V. Solov'ev, 'Les emblèmes héraldiques de Byzance et les Slaves,' *SemKond VII* (1935), pp. 119–164; D. Cernovodeanu, 'Contributions à l'étude de l'héraldique byzantine et postbyzantine,' *JOB* 32/2 (1982), pp. 412–415.

one has only to remember the long history of the imperial *loros*. Alternatively, in the case of the *chlamys* we may be facing a conscious revival of a garment which had fallen into disuse following the disruption in court ceremonial brought about by the dislocation of the imperial government to Nicaea after 1204. Such a revival could have taken place possibly as part of a broader attempt to reconstitute Middle Byzantine ceremonial following the return of the imperial government to Constantinople in 1261.⁴³ This would explain its limited use in the Late Byzantine period.

The term '*chlamys*' is not mentioned by pseudo-Kodinos. He does, however, mention the word '*tamparion*'. The *tamparion* was worn only by the highest officials in court, i.e. the *despotes*, the *sebastokrator*, the *panhypersebastos*, the *protovestiarios*, and, possibly, the *kaisar*.⁴⁴ That the *tamparion* refers to a kind of outer garment or cloak is suggested by the etymological kinship of the word to the Italian '*tabarro*', which denotes such a garment, but admittedly of a design different from the *chlamys*.⁴⁵ One may, nevertheless, construct a case of equivalence between the *tamparion* and the garment we have encountered in portraiture on the assumption that '*tamparion*' was employed as a generic term denoting a cloak rather than the specific Italian garment adopted as part of Byzantine court costume. That this is not unlikely is suggested by the fact that in the fourteenth-century paraphrase of the chronicle of Niketas Choniates the word '*chlamys*' was replaced by the word '*tamparion*'.⁴⁶ As far as I know there are no surviving portraits of a *panhypersebastos* or a *protovestiarios*, and the only type of mantle represented in portraits of *despotes* and *sebastokratores* is the Palaiologan descendant of the *chlamys*. What is more, the *tamparion* is the only mantle mentioned by pseudo-Kodinos as part of the insignia of these officials.

Turning now to the accessories that complemented the costume of Byzantine officials and aristocrats, with regard to the brooches and fibulae which were used to fasten their mantles, nothing as distinctive as the Late Antique crossbow fibula is attested for the Middle

⁴³ That such an attempt did take place is suggested by the copying, in the later part of the thirteenth century, of texts which dealt with Komnenian ceremonial. E. and M. Jeffreys, *Manganeios Prodromos: Text Seminar, Michaelmas Term 1996* (University of Oxford).

⁴⁴ Pseudo-Kod., pp. 143, 147–148, 149, 153.

⁴⁵ Levi-Pisetzky, *Storia del costume in Italia*, I, pl. 177; II, p. 54.

⁴⁶ Choniatae Nicetae, *Historia*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1835), p. 171, note 20.

and Late Byzantine periods. In portraits of eleventh- and twelfth-century officials and noblemen the devices by which their *chlamydes* were secured are not clearly distinguishable. Nevertheless, one can sometimes guess, rather than see, the presence of a brooch (Pls. 60, 61). Another type which could have been employed at that time was the pin-type fibula, seen on the mantle of St. George in the north church of the monastery of St. John Chrysostom at Koutsoventes, Cyprus (c. 1100).⁴⁷ Neither circular nor pin-shaped Middle Byzantine fibulae are extant.

Belts were always a very important item of Byzantine costume, since tunics and caftans were worn girt more often than not.⁴⁸ Beyond their functional and aesthetic purpose, belts also served as one of the insignia of office, at least in the Middle Byzantine period. In the tenth century, for example, the president of the senate received upon his promotion a purple belt set with precious stones.⁴⁹ In Middle Byzantine portraits belts are hardly ever illustrated (Pl. 66); in most cases we can only guess their presence under the folds of the upper part of the tunic. It is only during the Late Byzantine period that belts are prominently and ubiquitously represented in portraits of officials and aristocrats. The most common type was one probably made of leather or durable fabrics adorned with metal attachments.⁵⁰ These attachments, according to the artistic evidence, were either circular or propeller-shaped. The belt was fastened at the front by means of a buckle, while its free end (terminating in a rectangular or U-shaped sheath) hung down the left side (Appendix 3, nos. 40, 44–51, 54, 55, 65, 74, 75, 77) (Pls. 67, 68, 70, 85).⁵¹

⁴⁷ C. Mango, 'The Monastery of St. Chrysostomos at Koutsoventes (Cyprus) and Its Wall Paintings,' *DOP* 44 (1990), p. 89, pl. 8b, fig. 144.

⁴⁸ Judging by surviving portraits, tunics worn without a mantle were often ungirt (Appendix 3, nos. 11–12, 17, 34) (Pl. 11 [second figure from the left]). Examples of caftans worn without a belt are rare (Appendix 3, no. 73).

⁴⁹ *De cer.*, p. 440.

⁵⁰ Theodore Sarantenos owned six belts decorated with silver-gilt fittings (1325), see *Valopédi*, I, p. 355.

⁵¹ Even though complete examples of such belts have not survived, parts of them, like buckles, sheaths, and attachments made of gold, gilt silver, and silver, dating from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, do occasionally come up in archaeological contexts. It is possible that the group of nine silver gilt, circular attachments (diam. 0.015 m), now in the Benaki Museum, Athens, had once adorned a belt, see *To Βυζάντιο ως Οικουμενή*, επιστ. επιμέλ. Μ. Ευαγγελάτου, Ε. Παπασταύρου, Τ. Σκόττη (Athens, 2001), no. 50. Admittedly, all other examples I have encountered so far come from sites beyond the frontiers of the empire (Pl. 75). See, also,

Sashes or kerchiefs wound around the waist or tied in a knot at the front could also serve as belts, as attested by the portrait of the deceased man on the back wall of tomb C at the Chora (Pl. 71) and that of the unidentified male donor at the Peribleptos, Mistra (Appendix 3, no. 58). The practice was probably, as so many others in the Late Byzantine period, of ultimately oriental origin.⁵²

Other accessories complementing the costume of Late Byzantine officials and aristocrats were the handkerchief and, to a lesser extent, the purse. Judging by the artistic evidence, the handkerchief, tucked into the right-hand side of the belt, served as the finishing touch to the attire of fashionable gentlemen in the Late Byzantine period.⁵³ Such handkerchiefs are usually shown as being white with fringed edges (Appendix 3, nos. 39, 44–49, 55, 62, 65, 69, 77) (Pls. 67, 71, 72, 76, 85). Purses, on the other hand, are more rarely represented. When they do appear, they are shown hanging from a cord attached to the belt on the left side of the bearer (Appendix 3, nos. 39, 55) (Pl. 76).⁵⁴

Reference should also be made to staffs of office. While in the late ninth and tenth centuries such staffs served as the insignia of officials responsible for keeping order during imperial ceremonies or of those who served as messengers or spokesmen,⁵⁵ during the

G. Aleksandrov, 'Srednovekovno bulgarsko sukrovishte ot Mikhailovgrad,' *Arheologiya* 26 (1984), pp. 29–38, figs. 5, 6; M. Ross, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C., 1965), no. 107. A group of silver belt-fittings from Euboea in Greece, dating to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (when Euboea was under Latin rule), are undeniably western in appearance and quite different from the types depicted in Late Byzantine portraiture, see O. Dalton, *Mediaeval Personal Ornaments from Chalcis in the British and the Ashmolean Museums* (Oxford, 1911).

⁵² Mazahéri, *Vie quotidienne*, p. 71.

⁵³ Cf. *City of Mystras*, no. 7, for a possible discovery of such a kerchief, associated with a garment buttoned at the front, in a late fourteenth-early fifteenth-century burial at Mistra.

⁵⁴ I have not come across representations of either handkerchiefs or purses in Middle Byzantine portraits.

⁵⁵ Philotheos, *Kletor.*, pp. 89 (*silentiarii*: golden staff), 91 (*mandatores*: red staff), 127 (*ostiarior*: golden staff with precious stones at the tip); *De cer.*, pp. 10, 23, 92, 138, 139, 568, 640 (*ostiarior*: golden staff adorned with precious stones); 81, 100, 167, 640 (*silentiarii*: golden staff adorned with precious stones or silver-gilt); 99–100 (*mandatores*), 99–100, 130–131 (*scribonae*). I have not found references to officials holding staffs as insignia of office in eleventh- and twelfth-century written sources. However, in the *Epithalamion* of 1179, f. 2v, the official standing to the right of the enthroned emperor holds a red staff in his right hand (Pl. 79). The position of this figure next to the emperor, fully visible at the head of a group of officials, as well

Palaiologan period they were held by the great majority of the dignitaries in the court.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, in portraiture staffs appear only in the hands of the *despotes* (Appendix 3, nos. 38, 66).⁵⁷

As to head-dresses, apparently these did not become part of Byzantine official costume prior to the eleventh century. References to them are not found in the ceremonial handbooks of the ninth and tenth centuries. Moreover, in the tenth century no one was permitted to wear a hat in the presence of the emperor, even outside a ceremonial setting.⁵⁸ As far as I know, the only dignitary to wear a head-dress, namely a diadem (*stephanos*), as one of his insignia of office prior to the eleventh century was the *kaisar*.⁵⁹

The situation obviously changed in the eleventh century as attested by surviving portraits of Byzantine officials, who appear with their heads covered even when represented side-by-side with the emperor (Pl. 11). Two types of hats made their appearance at the time: a white cylindrical hat with a rounded top (Pl. 77e) and another with a tassel hanging to one side (Pl. 77a, f). A third type of head-dress which made its appearance in eleventh-century portraiture, though

as the fact that he is distinguished from the latter by means of the two stripes adorning his head-dress, suggest that his position in court was an elevated one. The red colour of the staff, which in the past had been distinctive of the staffs of imperial messengers, could be an indication that this official served a similar function in the Komnenian court. It is enticing to think that he was the head of the Byzantine embassy sent to request the hand of Agnes from Louis VII of France.

⁵⁶ Pseudo-Kod., pp. 151–166 (*dikanikia*). According to Pachymeres, granting a gold-and-silver staff as an insignia to those promoted to the highest positions in the senate was an innovation of Andronikos II, see Pachym., IV, p. 545 (in reference to the promotion of a *megas doux*). If my hypothesis concerning the status of the official holding the staff in the *Epithalamion* of 1179 is correct, then Andronikos's innovation should be understood as an extension of the right to a staff to a broader circle of officials than was the case before his reign.

⁵⁷ See, also, S. Gabelić, *Manastir Lesnovo. Istorija i slikarstvo* (Belgrade, 1998), fig. XLIV (the Serbian *despotes* Jovan-Oliver); Zhivkova, *Chetveroevangelieto*, pl. 1 (the Bulgarian *despotes* Constantine). Their staffs are red in colour as is that of the *despotes* Theodore (Appendix 3, no. 66). Note, however, that Pseudo-Kodinos makes no reference to a staff being held by the *despotes*. He is equally silent about staffs being held by the *sebastokrator* and the *kaisar*. Nevertheless, the evidence provided by the portraits just listed indicates that the silence of Pseudo-Kodinos should not be taken to imply that the three highest officials of the Palaiologan court held no staffs.

⁵⁸ Liudprand of Cremona, *Relatio de Legatione Constantinopolitana*, ed. B. Scott (Bristol, 1993) (hereafter Liudprand, *Relatio*), p. 42.

⁵⁹ Philotheos, *Kletor.*, pp. 97–99. In the only surviving tenth-century portrait of a *kaisar*, that of Bardas Phokas in the Pigeon House Church, Çavuşin (Appendix 3, no. 3; Pl. 17), he appears with his head bare.

it was actually in use much earlier, was the turban (Pls. 77c-d, 78).⁶⁰ The *kaisar* continued to wear the *stephanos* (Appendix 3, nos. 23, 24) and so did the *sebastokrator* from the end of the eleventh century, when this dignity was created by Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118).⁶¹

Once introduced, head-dresses became a standard component of Byzantine official costume. The white cylindrical hat with the rounded top continued to be represented in twelfth-century contexts (Pl. 61). It constitutes the most popular type of head-dress in the mid-twelfth-century *Madrid Skylitzes* (Pl. 64). I have not come across any twelfth-century—*or later* for that matter—representations of the red hat with the tassel.⁶² Two new types of hats may be identified in the miniatures of the *Madrid manuscript*. The first one is a hat or a cap with a hairy surface (felt or fur) (Pl. 77g). The second is more impressive and peculiar. It is triangular with a strong projection forward (Pls. 64, 77h).⁶³ Even more impressive and voluminous examples of this type of hat can be seen worn by Byzantine officials in the illustrated *epithalamion* of 1179, *Vat. gr.* 1851 (Pls. 77i, 79). Niketas Choniates, writing at the end of the twelfth century, speaks of a 'barbarian' black or grey head-dress with a pointed projection, shaped like a pyramid. Yet one cannot be certain that he is referring to the type of head-dress that we are discussing here, especially since Choniates

⁶⁰ For a reference to Constantine, son of Basil I, wearing a turban or head-scarf (*phakolion*) with his ceremonial armour on the occasion of a triumphal procession in celebration of a victory of Basil I on the eastern frontier (878), see J.F. Haldon, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Three Treatises on Imperial Military Expeditions* (Vienna, 1990), pp. 142, 279. For a reference to three turbans sent by Romanos I as presents to the Caliph in 938, see M. Hamidullah, 'Nouveaux documents sur les rapports de l'Europe avec l'Orient musulman au Moyen Âge,' *Arabica* 7 (1960), p. 286. Cf. Ludprand's comment on the Byzantines' wearing 'head-scarves' instead of hats, in his *Relatio*, p. 42.

⁶¹ Psellos, *Chron.*, p. 103; Bryen., pp. 263, 265; An. Komn., I, p. 114.

⁶² Pseudo-Kodinos in the fourteenth century mentions a red head-dress with a tassel on the top as one of the insignia of certain officials in the Palaiologan court, which might have been a descendant of the eleventh-century hat, see pseudo-Kod., pp. 163, 164, 165, 166.

⁶³ A comparable head-dress is worn by the rich man in the miniature depicting the vice of avarice in a twelfth-century manuscript of the Heavenly Ladder of St. John Climacus, see J.R. Martin, *The Illustrations of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus* (Princeton, 1954), p. 93, fig. 196. The earliest representations of this type of head-dress that I have come across are encountered in the *Vat. gr.* 752, ff. 90v, 163r (c. 1059) (Pl. 77b); in both instances the head-dress is attributed to Uriah the Hittite, see E. De Wald, *The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint. Vol. III. Psalms and Odes. Part 2: Vaticanus Graecus 752*, (Princeton, London, The Hague, 1942) (hereafter De Wald, *Vat. Gr.* 752), pls. XXIV, XXX.

mentions the pyramidal hat only in association with Andronikos I Komnenos prior to his rise to the throne and after his overthrow.⁶⁴ Nikephoros Gregoras, writing in the fourteenth century, mentioned that until the reign of Andronikos III Palaiologos (1328-1341) Byzantine dignitaries wore head-dresses shaped like a pyramid with a silk cover according to their office.⁶⁵ His testimony may be relevant to the peculiar hat that concerns us here. The triangular head-dresses of at least two officials in *Vat. gr.* 1851 are adorned with decorative bands, while those of the rest are plain (Pl. 79).⁶⁶

Eustathios of Thessalonike, writing after 1185, also refers to the black or grey head-dress of Andronikos I Komnenos, which, we now learn, he had acquired in Georgia.⁶⁷ Eustathios also informs us that the red hat of the incompetent general of Thessalonike, David Komnenos, a cousin of Andronikos, imitated Georgian fashions.⁶⁸ While the hat worn by Andronikos is peculiarly associated with him in the sources, that of David is more likely to reflect a type of head-dress that a fashionable aristocrat of the second half of the twelfth century would wear despite the disapproval of conservative Church prelates like Eustathios.

Judging by the detailed descriptions of official head-dresses given by pseudo-Kodinos and by the fact that he identifies various groupings of dignitaries by the colour of their hats, one can claim that in the Palaiologan period the head-dress had become the most distinctive item of official costume.⁶⁹ The *stephanos*, a circlet of gold set with pearls and gems and having one or more arched projections was worn by the *despotes* and the *sebastokrator* (Appendix 3, nos. 38, 66) (Pl. 74).⁷⁰ The other two types of head-dresses mentioned by pseudo-Kodinos, the *skaranikon* and the *skiadion*, were worn by all office-holders including the *despotes* (the *sebastokrator* did not wear a *skaranikon*).

⁶⁴ Nik. Chon., pp. 252, 271, 346.

⁶⁵ Greg., p. 567.

⁶⁶ See, also, Iacobini, 'L'epithalamio di Andronico II,' fig. 7.

⁶⁷ PG 136, col. 49.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, col. 76. PG 136, col. 49. See, also, our comments above on possible Caucasian influences on Byzantine costume during the Middle Byzantine period.

⁶⁹ Pseudo-Kod., *passim*. One derives the same impression from the detailed descriptions of official head-dresses in Late Byzantine historiographical sources. See, for example, Pachym., II, p. 433, III, p. 71; Greg., p. 170.

⁷⁰ Pachym., III, p. 221; pseudo-Kod., pp. 275, 276. The last *kaisar* to be granted the right to a *stephanos* was apparently Alexios Strategopoulos, the general who recaptured Constantinople in 1261, see Greg., p. 89.

The *skaranikon* was one of the official insignia and was worn by the dignitaries with their *kabbadia*.⁷¹ The *skaranika* of most dignitaries from the *meas domestikos* down to the *protoierarkarios* were adorned with portraits of the emperor standing, enthroned, or on horseback.⁷² It is by virtue of its incorporating an imperial portrait that the *skaranikon* has been identified with the cylindrical head-dress with the rounded or flat top adorned with a figure of an enthroned emperor which is depicted in portraits of Late Byzantine officials (Appendix 3, nos. 39, 44–48, 51, 54, 55) (Pls. 67, 68, 76, 77k–l).⁷³

The *skiadion* was also worn by all the members of the court, including the emperor himself.⁷⁴ It is sometimes identified with the peculiar hat of the emperor John VIII Palaiologos on the famous medallion by Pisanello (Pl. 8). Manuel Laskares Chatzikis at Pantanassa, Mistra, (†1445) wears a similar hat (Pls. 73, 77q). The hat with the triangular top and the broad brim, sometimes shown worn by Byzantine dignitaries, is another candidate for identification with the *skiadion* (Pls. 24, 77m, 77o). On the other hand, the magnificent and exotic head-dress of Theodore Metochites, portrayed as donor at the Chora Monastery, defies all identifications (Pls. 69, 77j). It reminds one of a turban⁷⁵ and we know from pseudo-Kodinos that the emperor and certain of his dignitaries did wear turbans (*phakeolis*).⁷⁶ The *logotheles tou genikou* however, the office of Metochites at the time of the execution of the portrait, was not one of them. It is possible that Metochites's head-dress was in fact a hat, consisting of a fabric cover and a light, wire frame or some kind of padding.⁷⁷

As for Palaiologan aristocratic head-dresses, we have the interesting testimony of Nikephoros Gregoras that the Byzantines during

the reign of Andronikos III Palaiologos enjoyed wearing strange and variegated head-dresses, imitating fashions coming from Western Europe, the Middle East, as well as Serbia and Bulgaria.⁷⁸ There is one other type of hat that may be called aristocratic as distinct from official. This was a dark-coloured hat, cylindrical with sides that flare out and a flat top (Appendix 3, nos. 60, 61) (Pls. 71, 77n).

Our information on male footwear is scant. No actual examples have survived⁷⁹ and the artistic evidence is not extremely helpful, since only the front edge of the shoes appear under the full-length garments. What little we know is derived from the written sources. These inform us that during the twelfth century members of the aristocracy wore shoes pointed at the toe.⁸⁰ This bizarre fashion is probably attributable to influences coming from the West.⁸¹ Special mention is made of the fashionable shoes of David Komnenos (1185), which were trimmed with gold and reached to his ankles.⁸² That footwear pointed at the toe continued to be worn in the Late Byzantine period as well is suggested by the portraits of the *meas doux* Alexios Apokaukos (Pl. 68) and of the unidentified male figure in tomb F at the Chora (Pl. 72).

All other information we have on footwear concerns that of the highest dignitaries of the state, since it constituted one of their insignia of office. The colour and decoration of their shoes distinguished them from other members of the court. The practice was already established in the Middle Byzantine period, when the prefect (eparch) wore a pair of yellow shoes (Pl. 91), the *kaisar* and the *sebastokrator* a pair of blue shoes, and the *protovestiarios* green.⁸³ In the Palaiologan

⁷⁸ Greg., pp. 567–568.

⁷⁹ Excavations of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century burials at Mistra have yielded a number of iron shoe-protectors, which were probably attached to the sole of the shoe, see *City of Mystras*, no. 6. No information is given concerning the gender of the deceased in whose tombs these shoe-protectors were found.

⁸⁰ *Poèmes prodromiques*, poem IV, line 6.

⁸¹ Levi-Pisetzky, *Storia del costume in Italia*, I, p. 157, pls. 67, 68.

⁸² Eustathios of Thessalonike, *PG* 136, col. 76; Nik. Chon., p. 298.

⁸³ *Die Gedichte des Christophoros Mitylenaios*, ed. E. Kurtz (Leipzig, 1903), no. 30, line 16; Kinn., p. 23; Hörandner, *Theodoros Prodromos*, no. XLV, lines 187–188, 240–242; Nik. Chon., pp. 395, 507. A propos the shoes of the prefect, note that according to the tenth-century Arab geographer Ibn Hauqal, writing almost a century before Mitylenaios, the prefect wore one red and one black shoe, see Ibn Hauqal, *Configuration de la terre*, tr. G. Wiet, revised J.H. Kramers (Beirut and Paris, 1964) (hereafter Ibn Hauqal), p. 191. On the other hand, post-eleventh-century sources refer to the shoes of the prefect as being yellow, down to the reign of

⁷¹ Pseudo-Kod., pp. 219–220, 274. The *skaranikon* is attributed an oriental origin, *ibid.*, p. 206.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 145–146, 152–162.

⁷³ The *skaranikon* of the *despotes* was adorned with pearls and precious stones, but did not bear the image of the emperor, see *ibid.*, pp. 145–146. See, also, Appendix 3, no. 67; Pl. 77p. If one is to judge by the head-dress, the unidentified figure portrayed in the south-east chapel of the church of Sts. Theodoros at Mistra could also be identified as a *despotes*, see Appendix 3, no. 65; Pl. 77r.

⁷⁴ Pseudo-Kod., pp. 132, 141, 145, 147–149, 151, 153–166, 180, 195, 207–208, 227. See, also, Symeon of Thessalonike, *PG* 155, col. 396.

⁷⁵ Cf. the high-rising turbans of Mamluk officials, see Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, p. 31.

⁷⁶ Pseudo-Kod., pp. 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 200, 227.

⁷⁷ Cf. the later tall, domed hat, padded with paper, worn by the members of the military aristocracy in the Mamluk sultanate, see Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, p. 31.

period the *despotes* wore red-and-white shoes, with eagles of pearls on the instep and sides; the *sebastokrator* wore blue shoes with eagles embroidered on a red field on the instep and sides, while the *kaisar* had blue shoes without the eagles; lastly, the *panhypersebastos* wore yellow shoes and the *protovestiaris* green.⁸⁴

Female Dress

The limited information we have on Byzantine female aristocratic costume is mostly derived from surviving portraits of Byzantine ladies and representations of female characters in monumental and miniature painting. The evidence of the portraits largely concerns gala costume, since it was in this that aristocratic ladies and wives of dignitaries were portrayed, as donors or supplicants, on the walls of churches or in the pages of manuscripts. The artistic evidence is complemented by the few descriptions and references to female attire in written sources, which include historiographical texts, poems, and legal documents. As for extant materials, special reference should be made to the recently published fragments of garments and shoes discovered in a female burial in the church of St. Sophia at Mistra. This find provides invaluable information on the character of female dress at Mistra during the first half of the fifteenth century.⁸⁵ Unfortunately, there have been no comparable finds dating to the period between the eleventh and the fifteenth century from other parts of the empire. The archaeological evidence informs us sufficiently on only one component of female costume, and this is jewellery.

The basic garments of Middle Byzantine ladies were the dress and the mantle, as they had been in the Early Byzantine period. Yet, the mediaeval garments were quite distinct in appearance from their Late Antique predecessors. According to the artistic evidence, Early Byzantine dresses, as a rule, had long ample sleeves and were sometimes girt below the breast. They are often shown worn over an undergarment with long tight sleeves.⁸⁶ Mantles were loosely draped

around the upper part of the body, as illustrated in the portrayal of the ladies in the entourage of Theodora at San Vitale, Ravenna (Pl. 10). By contrast, late tenth-century dresses had long narrow sleeves and were usually worn ungirt, while mantles were no longer draped around the body, but secured at the front by means of a brooch (Pl. 80).⁸⁷

Mantles were an impressive and expensive item of the wardrobe of a Middle Byzantine lady. Kale Pakouriane, the wife of the *kouropalates* Symbatios Pakourianos, and an extremely wealthy individual of the late eleventh century, owned at least six mantles, which varied in design (as suggested by the two different terms employed to describe them: *mandyas*, *sagion*), decoration, colour, and materials.⁸⁸ The most precious of them all were a red mantle trimmed with pearls and another of red velvet embroidered with gold thread.⁸⁹ The artistic evidence helps us visualize eleventh-century female mantles. Both ankle-length examples (Appendix 3, no. 5) and shorter capes reaching down to the knees or thighs (Pl. 81) are attested. Sometimes shown made of fabrics patterned with medallions (Appendix 3, nos. 5, 14, 30), they were fastened at the front above the breast with a brooch or clasp.

Turning to gowns, in the eleventh century we note a striking development in the design of the sleeves, which now became exceedingly wide at the wrists (Pl. 81). The new fashion seems to have been well established by the middle of the century, as suggested by its attribution to female characters in miniature painting at that time.⁹⁰ These same representations indicate that the gowns, made of plain or patterned fabrics, were adorned with broad, occasionally V-shaped, collar-bands, arm-bands, and a border around the hem. They usually had tall necks and were worn with or without a belt (Pl. 82).

The dress with the immensely broad sleeves remained in use as part of Byzantine female aristocratic costume during the following century as well. It can be seen worn by ladies of the Constantinopolitan

Andronikos II, when this privilege was removed from this official and granted to the *panhypersebastos*, see Pachym., IV, p. 365; Pseudo-Kod., p. 134.

⁸⁴ Pseudo-Kod., pp. 143-144, 148, 149, 152, 153.

⁸⁵ *Parure d'une princesse byzantine. Tissus archéologiques de Sainte-Sophie de Mistra* (Geneva, 2000).

⁸⁶ Rinaldi, 'Il costume Romano,' p. 244, figs. 24, 43; Delbrueck, *Consularadiptychen*, no. 63; J. Balty, *Mosaïques antiques de Syrie* (Brussels, 1977), pp. 94-99.

⁸⁷ See, also, *Il Menologio*, no. 167.

⁸⁸ *Actes d'Ivroun*, II, pp. 179, 180, 181 (will of 1098).

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

⁹⁰ See, for example, H. Omont, *Évangiles avec peintures byzantines du XI^e siècle. Reproduction des 361 miniatures du manuscrit Grec 74 de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1909) (hereafter Omont, *Ms Grec 74*), I, pl. 69 (f. 75v); De Wald, *Vat. Gr. 752*, pls. XXX, LIII, LIV (ff. 162v, 449r).

More information is forthcoming from the following century. Judging by the artistic evidence, by the fourteenth century new designs had been introduced. A costume that may be considered as ceremonial since it is worn by aristocratic ladies and by wives of Byzantine dignitaries portrayed with their husbands, who appear in their insignia, is the one attributed to Maria Tournikina Akropolitissa, portrayed on a silver icon-revetment, now in the Tretyakov Gallery (end of thirteenth—beginning of fourteenth century) (Pl. 76), and to the eight ladies portrayed in the *Lincoln College Typikon* (1328–1344) (Pls. 67, 74). The costume has the appearance of a long dress or skirt, on top of which was worn a blouse reaching almost down to the knees.

⁹² Iacobini, 'L'epitalamio di Andronico II,' fig. 13.

In addition to this ceremonial outfit, Byzantine ladies could wear gowns with exceedingly wide sleeves (Appendix 3, nos. 53, 59) or narrow ones (Appendix 3, nos. 55, 60) (Pl. 71 [third from the left]), girt or without a belt. Another type of gown, fitted at the waist with a tight bodice and an ample skirt, appears to be an innovation of the Palaiologan period. The sleeves were long and tight-fitting,

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁹⁶ Cf. P. Kalamara, 'Le costume à Mistra à la fin de la période Paléologue: données provenant de la douille des tombes de Sainte Sophie' in *Parure d'une princesse byzantine*, p. 106.

furnished in one case with white, pointed, projecting cuffs (Appendix 3, nos. 60, 61) (Pl. 71 [first from left]).⁹⁷ The garments of the unknown lady buried in tomb 5 of the church of St. Sophia at Mistra sometime in the first half of the fifteenth century provide evidence concerning the influence of western fashions on Byzantine female dress in that city. The costume of the lady comprised a silk chemise with ample sleeves, the length of which was not possible to determine, and a long, sleeveless outer garment, also made of silk. This outer garment had a deep, V-shaped neckline, through which the chemise would have been visible, and a tight-fitting bodice, which was probably fastened at the front by means of cords.⁹⁸ Low necklines, like the V-shaped one just described or the square one seen on the dress of another lady of Mistra, this time portrayed in the south stoa of Apheniko (Appendix 3, no. 56), did not form part of traditional Byzantine dress-designs, which favoured tall collars covering the neck (Appendix 3, *passim*).

The dresses were worn on their own or under a mantle. The mantles of Constantinopolitan ladies must have been quite impressive judging by the glimpses we get of them in portraits. The one of the lady represented third from the left on the back wall of tomb C at the Chora Monastery (Pl. 71) was made of a dark red fabric adorned with medallions enclosing monograms of the Palaiologan and the Asan families and had a fur lining. It lay loosely on both shoulders, not fastened at the front as had been the earlier practice. The mantle of the lady portrayed on tomb F in the same church (Pl. 72) must have been even more impressive, as it was adorned with a golden border trimmed with pearls and gems. It too was decorated with medallions in gold enclosing the family monograms of the bearer.

⁹⁷ This type of cuffs should probably be attributed to western influences, cf. Levi-Pisetzky, *Storia del costume in Italia*, II, pls. 12, 17.

⁹⁸ On the probable western origin of the silks used for the manufacture of the garments and the western influences evident in the design of the outer garment, namely the deep, open V-shaped neckline and the tight-fitting bodice secured at the front by means of cords see the contributions of A. Fiette, M. Martiniani-Reber, and P. Kalamara in *Parure d'une princesse byzantine*, pp. 35–44, 87–93, 105–112. See, also, *The City of Mystras*, nos. 1, 2. Cf. Xp. Μαλτέζου, 'Βενετική μόδα στην Κρήτη', in *Βυζάντιον. Αφιέρωμα στον Ανδρέα Ν. Σπάρτο* (Athens, 1986), pp. 139–147, for the case of an aristocratic lady from Crete who in 1444 ordered costly dresses from Venice. I thank Prof. S.E.J. Gerstel for bringing this article to my attention.

As to the accessories which complemented female costume, the evidence provided by the portraits seems to suggest that Byzantine ladies generally wore their dresses ungirt. Yet, belts did form part of the female wardrobe. Psellos informs us that the young mistress of Constantine IX (1042–1055) wore a belt trimmed with gold and pearls.⁹⁹ Kale Pakouriane owned a green one, listed along with items of costume which were obviously very valuable. One is tempted to think that the belt was also considered as such a one.¹⁰⁰ In artistic representations the presence of a belt is more often hinted at rather than clearly shown (Pl. 81). The prominently displayed golden belts or sashes of the dancing women in the well-known miniature of the Dance of Myriam in *Val. gr.* 752, f. 449v, are exceptional (Pl. 82). Of the brooches that served to secure the ladies' mantles in the Middle Byzantine period, none is extant and it is not always easy to discern their shape clearly in surviving portraits (Pl. 84). Both circular (Appendix 3, no. 14) and elliptical¹⁰¹ types were probably in use.

As attested by the artistic sources, the head-dress constituted an indispensable complement of Byzantine female aristocratic costume.¹⁰² The head-dresses represented may be divided into three broad groups: fabric head-dresses, hats, and crowns. Fabric head-dresses, consisting of a kerchief wound around the head, appear to have been the most common in the Middle and the Late Byzantine periods. As a kerchief could be wound around the head and neck in a number of different ways, the potential for variation in the appearance of fabric head-dresses was enormous. During the Middle Byzantine period kerchiefs were wound around the head and neck, sometimes leaving the hair uncovered at the sides, with one fringed edge hanging freely to one side.¹⁰³ A variation of this type of head-dress is worn by Anna, the wife of the donor at St. Nicholas Kasnitzes, Kastoria (Pls. 63, 86g). Her kerchief, which is shown wound around the head

⁹⁹ Psellos, *Chron.*, p. 46.

¹⁰⁰ *Actes d'Iviron*, II, p. 179.

¹⁰¹ *Il Menologio*, no. 98.

¹⁰² M. Emmanuel, 'Hairstyles and Headdresses of Empresses, Princesses, and Ladies of the Aristocracy in Byzantium,' *ΔΧΑΕ* 17 (1993–1994), esp. pp. 117–120.

¹⁰³ Representations of this type of head-dress are numerous in the portrayal of female characters in religious miniature painting. See, for example, the often-cited portrayals of St. Pelagia and St. Thessalonike, Pls. 80, 86a; *Il Menologio*, no. 167. These same representations indicate that this type of head-dress could have been complemented by a diadem or an embroidered head-band, which would have also helped to keep the kerchief in place.

like a turban, has one fringed end coming down her left shoulder and is adorned with in-woven or embroidered decoration.¹⁰⁴

In the Palaiologan period new varieties of fabric head-dresses made their appearance. The two ladies portrayed at Panagia Bellas (Appendix 3, nos. 76, 77) (Pls. 85, 86i) seem to be wearing a cap beneath their wimple, which leaves only the face visible. Another variety was the combination of a wimple, which sometimes formed a loop over the forehead, and a second kerchief with fringed edges, placed over it and flowing freely down the shoulders (Appendix 3, nos. 42, 58–61, 72) (Pls. 79 [first from the left], 86k).

Hats appear to have been particularly in vogue during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In artistic contexts one encounters voluminous, exotic types as well as more discreet designs. One may cite the impressive hat of Eirene Gabras in *Petrop. gr.* 291, f. IIIr (1067), which is trapezoidal in shape with an almost flat top (Pls. 81, 86d).¹⁰⁵ Roughly contemporary are the peculiar fan-shaped hats, which appear for the first time in artistic contexts around the middle of the eleventh century, worn by females in narrative religious compositions.¹⁰⁶ They are tall with strongly flaring sides and a curved top and are decorated with narrow, apparently gold-embroidered bands, arranged vertically, horizontally, diagonally, or in the form of an X, at the front (Pls. 82, 86b). A descendant of this hat remained in use among the ladies of the court of Constantinople during the twelfth century, as suggested by its representations in *Vat. gr.* 1851, ff. 3v, 6r (1179) (Pls. 83, 86f).¹⁰⁷ Anna Radene at Sts. Anargyroi, Kastoria, wears a similar hat, though hers is not as tall as those of the Constantinopolitan ladies (Pls. 84, 86h). Middle Byzantine ladies did not always prefer such large, cumbersome hats. The woman who may be the wife of the donor of *Koultoumoussiou* 60 wears a low hat with vertical sides and an only slightly curved top (Pl. 86c).

¹⁰⁴ One is reminded of the head-kerchief or turban (*phakiolion*) mentioned in the will of Kale Pakouriane (1098), which was decorated with 'golden letters,' see *Actes d'Iviron*, II, p. 179. Cf. the turban of Eudokia at Canavar kilise (c. 1060) (Pl. 86c), adorned with pseudo-kufic characters.

¹⁰⁵ The head-dress of Eudokia at Karabaş kilise could belong to this type (Appendix 3, no. 13). That of Herodias in *Laur. VI. 23*, f. 29r.b (c. 1100), certainly does, see T. Velmans, *Le tétracangle de la Laurentienne. Florence, Laur. VI. 23* (Paris, 1971) (hereafter Velmans, *Laur. VI. 23*), fig. 58.

¹⁰⁶ De Wald, *Vat. Gr. 752*, pls. XXX, XXXII, XXXIII, LIII, LIV; Omont, *Ms. Grec 74*, pl. 69.

¹⁰⁷ See, also, Iacobini, 'L'epitalamio di Andronico II,' fig. 13. Fan-shaped hats

The portraits we have of Byzantine ladies wearing crowns date from the fourteenth century (Pls. 67, 71 [third from the left], 74, 76, 86j). These crowns are open, with slightly flaring sides. Their upper rim was fashioned into a series of triangular projections, in a manner comparable to contemporary female imperial crowns (Pl. 32e). The crowns of the aristocratic ladies, however, were not as tall or as richly adorned nor were they placed over a veil or a hairnet as the crowns of empresses, but rested directly on the hair.

Jewellery constitutes the only component of female aristocratic costume for which we are sufficiently informed by the archaeological record.¹⁰⁸ Made of precious materials like gold, gilt silver, silver, pearls, and precious and semi-precious stones, Byzantine jewellery destined for the use of the wealthy was manufactured using fine decorative techniques such as filigree, granulation, and enamelwork. Earrings are, as a rule, the only piece of jewellery which is represented in mediaeval artistic contexts. The crescent-shaped earring, which already existed in the Early Byzantine period, remained—in its many variations—the favourite type in Byzantium, at least down to the fourteenth century (Pl. 87).¹⁰⁹ Anna Radene at Sts. Anargyroi, Kastoria (Pl. 84), is portrayed wearing a pair of such earrings. Another fashionable type was the so-called basket-earring, popular down to the twelfth century.¹¹⁰ Yet a third type was the earring with its ring adorned with three metal beads of equal size (Pl. 88).¹¹¹ Some of

worn by two richly attired ladies also appear in a miniature of a twelfth-century manuscript of the Heavenly Ladder of St. John Climacus, see Martin, *The Illustrations of the Heavenly Ladder*, pp. 101–102, fig. 214.

¹⁰⁸ The bibliography on the subject is extensive, including both specialized studies and shorter articles in exhibition- and museum-catalogues. The brief summary presented here is based on information found in the following works: O. Dalton, *Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities and Objects from the Christian East* (London, 1901), nos. 267–270, 278; M. Ross, 'An Emperor's Gift—And Notes on Byzantine Silver Jewelry of the Middle Period,' *JWalt* 19–20 (1956–1957), pp. 22–33; Πελεκανίδης, 'Τὰ χρυσὰ βύζ. κοσμήματα τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης,' pp. 55–71; *Byzantine Art, an European Art* (Athens, 1964), nos. 432–449; Ross, *Catalogue* 2, nos. 132, 134–148; *Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art* (Athens, 1985), nos. 192, 199–201, 207, 212, 213, 218; C. D'Angela, *Ori bizantini del Museo Nazionale di Taranto* (Taranto, 1989); A. Gonosová and C. Kondoleon, *Art of Late Rome and Byzantium in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts* (Richmond, 1994), nos. 18, 28, 29, 48; *Glory of Byzantium*, nos. 165–171, 174; *City of Mystras*, nos. 22–26.

¹⁰⁹ For Late Byzantine examples of crescent-shaped earrings adorned with the monogram of the Palaiologoi, see *City of Mystras*, no. 23.

¹¹⁰ See *Glory of Byzantium*, nos. 168, 169, with more bibliography.

¹¹¹ See, also, *City of Mystras*, no. 24.

the surviving earrings are too large to have been painlessly suspended from the earlobe. Most probably they were attached to the head-dress at the level of the ear, or were suspended from chains or ornamental bands from the sides of the diadem. The earrings (or ear-pendants) of certain fourteenth-century Byzantine ladies are shown attached to the lower rim of their crowns by strands of pearls alternating with jewels (Pls. 67, 74, 76).¹¹²

USE IN RELIGIOUS ICONOGRAPHY

Officials in Narrative Scenes

The narrative of a number of episodes depicted on church walls and in manuscripts, and the established iconographic scheme of others, required the representation of various participating office-holders and dignitaries, whether as protagonists or as supporting figures. One may mention, for example, Pontius Pilate in the cycle of the Passion; Kyrenius, governor of Syria, in the Infancy cycle of Christ; Ablabius, the prefect (eparch) of Constantinople in the cycle of St. Nicholas; the apostle Matthew represented as a tax-collector in scenes illustrating the Calling of the Apostles; and Julian the tax-collector in illustrations of sermon XIX of St. Gregory of Nazianzos.¹¹³ Anonymous officials represented as ancillary figures to the action included courtiers, attendant on a ruler or a high-ranking dignitary, and scribes.

The anachronistic use of Byzantine official costume to characterize these persons in religious contexts was not as consistent as the use of imperial costume had been for the characterization of rulers. A possible explanation for this may be that other iconographic means, like posture, the relationship with other figures and the presence of tell-tale paraphernalia, were considered as adequate for the identification of a personage as an office-holder, a courtier, or a scribe. Examining the instances when contemporary official costume was indeed represented, one notices that there is no particular type of official attire that is predominantly and consistently employed for the characterization of all the figures mentioned above. On the contrary, a variety of garments were used, even in contemporaneous pictorial contexts.

¹¹² Cf. actual examples of suspension chains found in Ukraine, dating from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries, in *Gloria of Byzantium*, no. 214.

¹¹³ PG 35, cols. 1043–1064.

This is certainly a departure from Early Byzantine practice, when the *chlamys-costume* had been the standard attire of dignitaries in religious narrative scenes (Pl. 89).¹¹⁴ The variety observed in the mediaeval period certainly reflects the greater diversity of Byzantine official costume at the time. A closer look at certain examples, however, will demonstrate that the diversification in the costume of officials and courtiers portrayed in mediaeval Byzantine religious contexts was not always the result of a random process. Different costumes and accessories could have been employed to serve different iconographic necessities.

Pontius Pilate, the governor of Judaea, was one of the figures who were not consistently represented in the *chlamys-costume* in the Middle and Late Byzantine periods. On the contrary, he was portrayed in a variety of different costumes. In *Dionysiou* 587m, for example, a lectionary of 1059, on f. 113r (The Priests and the Pharisees demanding an armed guard for the Tomb),¹¹⁵ Pilate wears a white tunic with black cuffs and a black hem-band. A thin, black line runs parallel to the hem-band. Over this tunic, Pilate wears a dark purple simplified *loros*. His *loros*, however, is not decorated with pearls and gems like the imperial *loros*, but with a scroll pattern executed in light blue, perhaps meant to evoke embroidery executed in silver thread. He has a red kerchief or hood on his head and red boots on his feet. Pilate appears again in a similarly decorated *loros*, this time crossed, in a *tetraevangelion* of the last quarter of the twelfth century, *Athens* 93, ff. 51r, 83v, 85r (Pl. 90). Only in the first of the three miniatures does he wear a 'skull-cap'. Moreover, in this later manuscript his tunic has lost its peculiar decoration of black cuffs and hem-band.¹¹⁶ The attribution of the *loros* to Pilate requires interpretation.

¹¹⁴ See, also, Cecchelli, *Rabbula Gospels*, facs. 5 (f. 12b); Mazal, *Kommentar zur Wiener Genesis*, fig. 32.

¹¹⁵ Pelekanides *et al.*, *Treasures*, I, fig. 230.

¹¹⁶ E. Constantinides, 'The Tetraevangelion, Manuscript 93 of the Athens National Library,' *ΔΧΑΕ* 9 (1977–1979), pp. 189, 190, pls. 63, 66. The only Middle Byzantine monumental representation I know of Pilate in this costume is encountered in the church of the Transfiguration, Mirozhsky Monastery, Pskov, dated around the middle of the twelfth century, see E. Kitzinger, 'Reflections on the Feast Cycle in Byzantine Art,' *CJ* 36 (1988), fig. 3 (on p. 56). On the decoration of the church of the Transfiguration, executed by Byzantine artists, see V. Lazarev, *Old Russian Murals and Mosaics* (London, 1966), pp. 99–105. As far as I know the latest representation of Pilate in this costume is encountered at the Protaton on Mount Athos (c. 1290 or c. 1300), see G. Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos. I. Les peintures* (Paris, 1927), pls. 21.1, 22.3.

The *De cerimoniis* informs us that, at least, during the tenth century, twelve *patrikioi* and *magistroi* wore gold-embroidered *loroi* on Easter Sunday, along with the emperor who wore his own *loros*. In this ritual context the *loroi* symbolized the Entombment and the Resurrection of Christ. While the *loros* of the emperor transmuted him into a type of Christ, those of the dignitaries transmuted them into types of the apostles.¹¹⁷ This symbolic interpretation hardly justifies the attribution of the *loros* to Pilate. Fortunately, the *De cerimoniis* presents us with a more plausible alternative by informing us that the prefect (eparch) of Constantinople also wore a *loros*, this time as one of his insignia of office.¹¹⁸ The *loros* of the prefect is in all probability mentioned in a poem by the eleventh-century poet Christophoros Mitylenaios.¹¹⁹ This same author describes the tunic of the prefect as being white and black.¹²⁰ In addition to the poem by Mitylenaios, we are fortunate to have a portrayal of a prefect (eparch) in the *Madrid Skylitzes*, f. 43r.a (Pl. 91). He is wearing a costume comparable to that of Pilate in the Dionysiou and the Athens manuscripts, the only differences being that the official in the Madrid manuscript wears the distinctive white hat with the rounded top and his shoes are yellow.¹²¹ It certainly seems that the costume of Pilate in the Middle Byzantine contexts mentioned above was inspired by the costume of the Byzantine prefect of Constantinople.¹²² The prefect's

¹¹⁷ *De cer.*, pp. 24, 637–638.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 264, 265, 268.

¹¹⁹ *Die Gedichte des Christophoros Mitylenaios*, no. 30, line 12. Mitylenaios speaks of a 'τροπήλου σιμικίνθιον' as part of the prefect's costume. The identification of the *simikinthion* with the eparchic *loros* has been suggested by N. Οικονομίδης, 'Η στολή του επάρχου και ο Σκυλίτζης της Μαδρίτης,' in *Ευφρόσυνον*, II, p. 423.

¹²⁰ *Die Gedichte des Christophoros Mitylenaios*, no. 30, line 6. Cf. Οικονομίδης, 'Η στολή του επάρχου,' p. 423.

¹²¹ On the shoes of the prefect see above, note 83. See also Οικονομίδης, 'Η στολή του επάρχου,' p. 423.

¹²² The kerchief that covers his head in *Dionysiou* 587m is difficult to interpret. In religious iconography similar head-kerchiefs were attributed to Jews, including High Priests [see, for example, Pelekanides *et al.*, *Treasures*, I, fig. 225 (*Dionysiou* 587m, f. 54r)], and to certain figures of oriental origin like the Centurion in the Crucifixion (Pl. 127). Cf. E. Revel-Neher, *The Image of the Jew in Byzantine Art* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 72–73, 76. It is possible that its attribution to Pilate was meant to serve as a sign that he had been a dignitary in Judaea. Alternatively, it may simply be a misunderstanding of an artistic model. The red colour of Pilate's shoes in the same manuscript is equally unusual, though perhaps less out-of-place, given that a tenth-century source does associate this colour with the footwear of the prefect, see above, note 83.

most important function was that of a judge; his tribunal was second only to that of the emperor. Moreover, like the biblical governor of Judaea (John 18:28, in the Greek original), the Byzantine official resided in the *praitorion*.¹²³ It is possible that Pilate was given what I believe is the costume of the Byzantine prefect on the grounds of these similarities, i.e. that they both had judicial powers and resided in a public building with the same name. However, one is tempted to think that Pilate was represented in this particular costume more in order to highlight his quality as a judge. Placing the accent on Pilate's judicial authority would not have been an innovation, as this approach had already been adopted in the famous sixth-century Trial miniatures in the *Rossano Gospels*. According to Loerke, the representation of Pilate as a competent judge served to underline the legality of his condemning decision. By this means it became manifest that Christ's Passion and Resurrection had not been the result of an accident or a mistake but were the culmination of the divine scheme for the salvation of mankind.¹²⁴ Be this as it may, the attribution of the eparchic costume to Pilate in Middle Byzantine contexts may be understood also as a manifestation of the Byzantine practice to introduce symbols of lawfully exercised authority in representations of episodes involving legal action and the passing of judgment, a practice observed from the Early through to the Late Byzantine period.¹²⁵ This iconographic treatment is indicative of the constant preoccupation of the Byzantine bureaucratic state and society with the legality of judicial procedures and the passing of valid, binding decisions,¹²⁶ a preoccupation which conditioned the way iconographers and beholders visualized certain episodes in biblical and other religious narratives.

I have not encountered any Late Byzantine portrayal of Pilate in a costume mirroring the attire of Palaiologan dignitaries. Still, the beholder would have been able to identify Pilate as an authoritative figure because of the presence, separately or in combination,

¹²³ See N. Οικονομίδης, *Les listes de présence byzantines du IX^e et du X^e siècle* (Paris, 1972) (hereafter Οικονομίδης, *Listes*), pp. 319–320.

¹²⁴ Loerke, 'The Miniatures of the Trial'.

¹²⁵ C. Walter, *L'iconographie des conciles dans la tradition byzantine* (Paris, 1970), pp. 228–229.

¹²⁶ See, for example, R. Macrides, 'The Competent Court,' in *Law and Society in Byzantium: Ninth–Twelfth Centuries*, eds. A. Laiou and D. Simon (Washington, D.C., 1994), pp. 117–129.

of elements like a seat and a footstool, armed soldiers, attendants, and the servant with the hand-washing set, in addition to distinctive items of costume, like the head-dress, however fanciful in appearance. There is, however, one noteworthy exception and this is the anecdotal portrait of Pilate at St. Nicholas Orphanos, Thessalonike (1310–1320) (Pl. 92). Admittedly, his costume does not correspond exactly to any seen in portraits of Byzantine dignitaries, yet it incorporates features which have a contemporary look. He wears a short burgundy caftan trimmed with golden bands at the collar, hem, and cuffs. Its long, narrow sleeves are provided with openings at the armpits for the arms to come through while they hang empty at the sides. His broad belt is adorned with metal attachments and its free end hangs down the left side. However, it is not so much his garment, but the presence of a head-dress that identifies Pilate as an official. This seems to be a closed crown with a gold circlet having a single small arch at the front, and a bowl of burgundy fabric. The only parallel I was able to find for this type of head-dress in Byzantine portraiture comes from Constantinople. It is the head-dress of the *sebastokrator* Isaak Komnenos at the Chora (Appendix 3, no. 25). Whether there was any other reason for selecting this particular head-dress for Pilate, beyond the obvious one of characterizing him as a dignitary, I cannot tell. To conclude, the variety observed with regard to the costume of Pilate indicates that no particular type of garment had become specifically associated with his iconography in the Late Byzantine period. Perhaps at that time there was no Palaiologan official with duties and capacities similar to those of the Roman governor, whose costume might have served as a model for that of Pilate.¹²⁸ Alternatively, conventional clothes were, perhaps, preferred over anachronistic contemporary ones to suggest that Pilate had been an official of long ago.

A second Roman governor whose portrait appears in religious contexts, though rarely, was Kyrenius, the governor of Syria at the time of the census proclaimed by Augustus (Luk. 2:2). In a repre-

sensation of the Census in the lectionary *Dionysiou* 587m, f. 129r (1059),¹²⁹ he is portrayed enthroned at the centre of the composition, in a long, long-sleeved red tunic and a blue *chlamys* with a golden *tablion*, fastened at the right shoulder. On his head he has a diadem, a circlet with a single central arched projection adorned with pearls. *Dionysiou* 587m is the same manuscript in which Pilate appears in what I consider as eparchic costume. Kyrenius's portrayal lends additional support to the suggestion that Pilate was portrayed in the guise of the Byzantine prefect of Constantinople on the grounds that—as stated in the gospel account—he resided in a *praitorion* and had judicial powers, like the Byzantine official had done. In the case of Kyrenius, on the other hand, the gospel account gives no other information but that he was governor of Syria at the time of the census. One might say that Kyrenius was portrayed in the Census composition simply as the representative of imperial authority and that the more conventional *chlamys*-costume was considered adequate for his identification as such in this example.

The best-known representation of the Census is the early fourteenth-century mosaic at the Chora Monastery, part of the Infancy cycle adorning the walls of the outer narthex of the *katholikon* (Pl. 93). Kyrenius, the only seated figure in the composition, wears a conventional tunic and mantle and holds a white cylindrical object in his right hand. This object could have been the edict, a rod of office, or a scroll of appointment. The most spectacular item of his costume is his triangular head-dress with the pointed projection at the front. This peculiar hat seems to me closer in appearance to the hats of Byzantine courtiers seen in the late twelfth-century *Vat. gr.* 1851 (Pl. 79), than to the head-dress of Theodore Metochites in the same church (Pl. 69) or the *skaranika* of other fourteenth-century officials (Pls. 67, 68, 76). The attribution of this type of pointed head-dress to a dignitary in a Late Byzantine religious pictorial context was, probably, not as exceptional as one might initially think. A comparable head-dress, for instance, was given to Pilate in 'the Church' at Ivanovo, a monument the painted decoration of which

¹²⁷ See, for example, Millet, *Monuments byz. de Mistra*, pl. 122.2 (Peribleptos, Joseph of Arimathea demanding the body of Christ for burial); E. Tsigaridas, 'The Mosaics and the Byzantine Wall-paintings,' in *The Holy and Great Monastery of Vatopaidi. Tradition—History—Art*, I (Mount Athos, 1998) (hereafter Tsigaridas, *Vatopaidi*), fig. 224 (Flagellation).

¹²⁸ Note that in Palaiologan times the office of the prefect had apparently become a mere honorific title with no particular service attached to it, see pseudo-Kod., p. 178.

¹²⁹ Pelekanides *et al.*, *Treasures*, I, fig. 249 (there is no inscription identifying the central figure). The editors (p. 442) have identified him as Augustus, but—unless there is an inscription not visible in the reproduction I have seen—I would rather identify him as Kyrenius, since his diadem is obviously not imperial and he does not wear red shoes.

is considered to reflect current developments in mid-fourteenth century Constantinopolitan painting.¹³⁰ One could consider the introduction of this type of head-dress into the portrayal of dignitaries in religious contexts not as a spontaneous reflection of contemporary reality, but as a characterization device, at a period when the head-dress had become the most distinctive attribute of the official. On the other hand, the choice for this purpose of a type of head-dress that had perhaps become old-fashioned by the fourteenth century could have been prompted by a wish to avoid the more specific temporal and political associations that contemporary official head-dresses carried.

Earlier on in this section I discussed Middle Byzantine representations of Pilate in what I consider as eparchic costume. Actual prefects (eparchs) were also portrayed in Byzantine religious contexts. One may mention Ablabius in the episode of the three generals, which formed part of the hagiographic cycle of St. Nicholas.¹³¹ It is the miraculous appearance of the saint to the sleeping prefect which is actually illustrated. In the church of St. Nicholas Kasnitze, Kastoria (last third of twelfth century), Ablabius wears a white tunic that has a dark, rectangular panel at the breast and dark cuffs, but not a *loros* or a head-dress (Pl. 94). He also has a kerchief tied in a knot around his neck. Ševčenko identifies this as a badge of office.¹³² Considering the artistic evidence discussed earlier, I think it unlikely that it could be identified with the *loros* mentioned in the *De ceremoniis* as one of the insignia of the prefect. In my opinion the item of costume that is distinctive of his office in this representation is his white tunic with the dark-coloured cuffs.¹³³ One has only to compare the portrayal of the prefect in the *Madrid Skylitzes* with that of other officials in the same manuscript and elsewhere to realize that, at least in artistic contexts, the white tunic with the dark cuffs and hem-band, was indeed particular to the costume of the prefect (Pls. 64, 91). Therefore, the use of a white tunic in Middle Byzantine

representations of Ablabius (and of Pilate in the contexts mentioned above) should not be considered as accidental.¹³⁴ In Late Byzantine contexts Ablabius continues to be represented in the same sleeping attitude, wearing a conventional tunic which has lost its white colour (Pl. 95).¹³⁵ This is not surprising considering that the office of the prefect had lost its importance in the Late Byzantine period and that no distinctive garments or insignia were associated with it exclusively.¹³⁶ Late Byzantine artists, deprived of a point of reference in real life for the portrayal of a prefect, confined themselves to the reproduction of conventional garments.

The last of the eponymous figures represented in official costume to be discussed here are two tax-collectors, the apostle Matthew and Julian, the addressee of a sermon by St. Gregory of Nazianzos. Matthew is seldom represented in anything other than the conventional costume of the apostles, i.e. the *chiton*, the *himation*, and the sandals. However, at the New Tokalı kilise, Cappadocia (mid-tenth century), in a rare monumental representation of the Calling of Matthew (Mark 2:14), he appears in the Byzantine *chlamys-costume* (Pl. 96). He is seated behind a table on which are represented two sealed scrolls, which could be the taxation registers, and another object, which might be an inkwell and pen-case or a coin-scale. Behind Matthew stands a group of men also dressed in *chlamydes*, possibly his assistants, whose presence is not prescribed by the gospel account. In this context, the *chlamys* can be understood as the generic costume of a civil servant employed to distinguish Matthew from his fellow apostles who, as fishermen, appear in the scene of their calling

¹³⁰ A. Grabar, 'Les fresques d'Ivanovo et l'art des Paléologues,' *Byzantion* 25-27/72 (1955-1957), pp. 581-590.

¹³¹ Ševčenko, *The Life of Saint Nicholas*, pp. 120-122.

¹³² *Ibid.*, pp. 121, 122 (with a catalogue of examples).

¹³³ On the tunic of the prefect, see above, note 120. The rectangular panel on the breast of Ablabius's tunic, looks as if it could be a misunderstood rendering of the *loros* or a summary rendition of it. Cf. Ševčenko, *The Life of Saint Nicholas*, p. 121, note 1.

¹³⁴ Ablabius appears again in a tunic with a black collar and scattered black decorative motives on a white background on a twelfth-early thirteenth century biographic icon of St. Nicholas from Mount Sinai, see *Sinai. Treasures of the Monastery of Saint Catherine*, ed. K. Manafis (Athens, 1990), fig. 51. Cf. the prefect portrayed in a twelfth-century manuscript of the Homilies of St. Gregory of Nazianzos, *Panteleimon* 6, f. 140v, see Pelekanides *et al.*, *Treasures*, II, fig. 308. In this scene, illustrating an episode from the life of St. Basil, the prefect appears in a white tunic with a dark collar and hem-band, parts of which have flaked off, a white hat with a rounded top, and a pair of orange shoes, though no *loros*. Cf. also the prefect portrayed on a twelfth-early thirteenth century biographic icon of St. Catherine from Mount Sinai, see *Sinai*, fig. 46. The prefect is represented wearing a white tunic and the simplified, eparchic *loros*, but his head is bare. For the account of the encounter of St. Catherine with the prefect Chrysasadem, see PG 116, cols. 296-297.

¹³⁵ See, also, D. Mouriki, *The Frescoes of St. Nicholas at Platsa in the Mani* (Athens, 1975), pl. 75.

¹³⁶ Pseudo-Kod., p. 158.

in the same monument in the short tunic of labourers.¹³⁷ The *chlamys* does not identify Matthew as a tax-collector. The features which identify him as one are the table with the assortment of objects on it and the accompanying inscription calling him a 'telones'.

By comparison to Matthew at Tokali kilise, Julian appears as if represented in his working clothes. In Middle Byzantine illustrations of the related sermon of St. Gregory in miniature painting, he is portrayed seated behind or at the head of a table, sometimes holding an open scroll, and is accompanied by scribes and/or assistants holding scales (Pl. 65).¹³⁸ His costume comprises a tunic with a V-shaped collar and lapels, and with long ample sleeves. It is sometimes worn over a longer inner tunic visible beneath the hem and through the opening of the skirt of the outer tunic. Julian does not wear a mantle. On his head he has the familiar white hat with the rounded top. With the exception of the mantle, his costume is comparable to that of the officials in *Coslin* 79, f. 2r (Pl. 11). His assistants are similarly dressed, though their garments are less ornate. Though Julian was active in the Early Byzantine period, he and his assistants are represented in what is surely contemporary costume. The non-ceremonial costume, the scrolls, and the scales endow the composition, which sometimes includes the tax-payers as well, with a dramatic accent and tempt one to think of it as a comment on contemporary conditions. In the sermon that inspired this image, St. Gregory calls upon the tax-collector—any tax-collector¹³⁹—to be just in his evaluations, always remembering that he in his turn will be evaluated at the time of the Last Judgment.¹⁴⁰ The immediacy and urgency of this advice would have been deeply appreciated especially by the rural populations who suffered cruel exploitation as a result of the policy of leasing tax-collection in certain districts, introduced by the imperial government during the second quarter of the eleventh century.¹⁴¹ With this in mind, one might claim that Julian

¹³⁷ Wharton-Epstein, *Tokali Kilise*, fig. 72.

¹³⁸ See, also, Pelekanides *et al.*, *Treasures*, II, fig. 304 (*Panteleimon* 6, f. 77v; twelfth century); I. Spatharakis, *Corpus of Dated Illuminated Greek Manuscripts to the Year 1453*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1981), fig. 278 (*Sinait. gr.* 339, 73v; c. 1150); H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du VI^e au XIV^e siècle* (Paris, 1929), pl. CX [*Par. gr.* 550, f. 72; twelfth century]. See also above, note 22.

¹³⁹ The name of Julian appears only in the title.

¹⁴⁰ PG 35, esp. cols. 1057, 1061.

¹⁴¹ G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 3rd revised ed. (New Brunswick, N.J., 1969), p. 331.

was portrayed not as the historical fourth-century official, but as an archetypal tax-collector, his mediaeval costume underlining the contemporary relevance of the sermon. His image was, possibly, meant to serve as reminder to those in possession of authority of the dangers in abusing it. It is, after all, from their ranks that the commissioners of the luxurious manuscripts in which this scene was introduced would have come.¹⁴²

Turning now to anonymous courtiers and scribes, they usually appear in iconographic contexts involving audiences and receptions, the passing of judgment, or the conduct of official business. In the case of scribes, it is not the costume which identifies them as such but the writing materials which they hold (Pls. 65, 93) and, in Cappadocian monuments, the accompanying inscription ('*ho notaris*').¹⁴³ As for courtiers attendant on a ruler, sometimes both their costume and posture reflect the contemporary practices of the Byzantine court. The man, for example, standing behind the emperor in the illustration of an episode from the life of Sts. Artemios, Eugenios, and Makarios in the eleventh-century *menologium Esphigmenou* 14, f. 90v, wearing a tunic with the exceedingly long sleeves and with his hands crossed over his breast in an attitude of reverence, mirrors the portrayals of Byzantine dignitaries in the *Madrid Skylitzes*.¹⁴⁴ Much later, the courtiers attendant on Theodosios I, while he is receiving the resignation of St. Gregory of Nazianzos, in the fourteenth-century *Par. gr.* 543, f. 288v (Pl. 97), are anachronistically dressed in caftans and have purses attached to their belts, in accordance with Late Byzantine fashions. Moreover, one of them wears a voluminous head-dress similar to that of Theodore Metochites at the Chora Monastery (Pl. 69).

The presence of such ancillary figures was not prescribed by the narrative of the episodes which the images were meant to illustrate. Yet, their introduction was considered necessary: that of the courtiers to highlight the fact that the figure attended by them was one of authority, and that of the scribes to make evident that an official

¹⁴² The donor of *Dionysiou* 61 was the young official or nobleman whose portrait was discussed earlier in this chapter, see above, note 24.

¹⁴³ See, for example, Jerphanion, *Eglises rupestres*, I/1, p. 273, pl. 64 (Göreme, Old Tokali kilise: Massacre of the Innocents); Thierry, *Nouvelles églises*, figs. 11 (Hasan Dağı, Eğri taş kilises: the same), 39 (Belisırma, Bahattin kilisesi: the same); Pelekanides *et al.*, *Treasures*, I, fig. 249 (*Dionysiou* 587m, f. 129r: the Census).

¹⁴⁴ Pelekanides *et al.*, *Treasures*, II, fig. 332. Cp. with Pl. 64.

act was being carried out, even if this was the massacre of the infants ordered by Herod. One needs only to bring to mind portrayals of the Byzantine emperor flanked by members of his court (Pls. 11, 24, 64, 79) and consider the workings of the imperial chancery and the requirement that an order be written down to be valid,¹⁴⁵ to realize that the ultimate sources of these iconographic schemes had been Byzantine court ritual and administrative practice.

In addition to iconographic contexts involving audiences and trials, there was yet another context into which representations of anonymous officials were introduced. This was the scene of the Last Judgment. Figures identified as officials by their distinctive dress and head-dresses were sometimes depicted among the damned in Hell.¹⁴⁶ As in the case of the portrayal of imperial figures in the same iconographic context, the depiction of anonymous officials in Hell would have served as a warning to those in authority of the punishment that awaited them if they abused their power. Abuses by state functionaries desiring to further their own ends and to increase their material wealth was a common enough phenomenon in mediaeval Byzantium.¹⁴⁷ Consequently, the presence of anonymous officials among the damned on certain occasions might have been intended or, at least, perceived as a comment on current conditions, rather as a simple visualisation of the popular theme of the reversal of fortunes between this world and the next.¹⁴⁸ The image of an official among the damned depicted in the funerary chapel of the Chora Monastery, for example,¹⁴⁹ would certainly have had topical resonances for its beholders. What is more, in the case of one of its viewers the associations would have been painfully personal and perhaps intentionally so, since Theodore Metochites was also the donor. Metochites, one of the highest-ranking and most influential officials of the reign of Andronikos II, was castigated by his contemporaries

for his rapaciousness and was himself conscious of his abusive use of his position in order to become rich.¹⁵⁰

An interesting reflection of the attachment of Late Byzantine officials to material wealth and worldly pleasures I believe may be found in an unusual representation of the Heavenly Ladder of St. John Climacus ('of the Ladder') in the outer narthex of the Vatopedi Monastery, on Mount Athos, dated to 1312.¹⁵¹ To the right, there is the representation of the Ladder itself. Monks are struggling to climb up the Ladder to Heaven, where Christ awaits to receive those who succeed. Each of the Ladder's thirty rungs symbolises a vice that needs to be conquered or a virtue that needs to be achieved by the monks in their effort to reach Heaven. Angels encourage them in their struggle while, on the other side, demons are trying to stop them, either by pulling at them or by tempting them; the monks who succumb are shown toppling down the Ladder. What makes this depiction of the Heavenly Ladder so unusual is the representation of a banquet to the left of the actual Ladder. That the feast forms part of the composition is indicated by the fact that a demon is leading a monk towards it. The participants, eight men in total, are seated around an awkwardly shaped table, in front of an elaborate architectural backdrop. What is particularly interesting about this scene is that these men, differentiated by their dress and facial characteristics, belong to four distinct social and ethnic groups. The first two to the right are easily identifiable as Orientals, probably of Mongol origin. The next two figures, dressed in magnificent contemporary-looking caftans, are identified as officials by their head-dresses. The identity of the remaining four figures is difficult to establish. The two men in comparatively sombre dress seated next

¹⁴⁵ Oikonomides, *Listes*, pp. 310–311; *idem*, 'La chancellerie impériale de Byzance du 13^e au 15^e siècle,' *REB* 43 (1985), pp. 167–195.

¹⁴⁶ Mouriki, 'An Unusual Representation of the Last Judgment,' p. 159. In addition to the examples cited by Mouriki see, also, Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, pl. 390.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. the criticism levelled against corrupt officials by the patriarch of Constantinople Athanasios I (1289–1293, 1303–1309), A.-M. Talbot, *The Correspondence of Athanasios I Patriarch of Constantinople* (Washington, D.C., 1975), pp. 12–14, 42–44, 46–48, 160.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Mouriki, 'An Unusual Representation of the Last Judgment,' pp. 157–158, 159.

¹⁴⁹ See above, note 146.

¹⁵⁰ I. Ševčenko, 'Theodore Metochites, the Chora, and the Intellectual Trends of His Time,' in *Studies*, pp. 31–33. According to a recent study, the prominent representation of the Enrolment for Taxation (Census) in the outer narthex of the same monument was meant in fact to cast a positive light on the act of taxation as a requisite of good government and, by extension, to justify Metochites's acts, see R. Nelson, 'Taxation with Representation. Visual Narrative and the Political Field of the Kariye Camii,' *Art History* 22/1 (1999), pp. 56–82.

¹⁵¹ Tsigaridas, *Vatopaidi*, pp. 262–263, fig. 231. A number of illuminated manuscripts of the Heavenly Ladder have come down to us from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries; none to my knowledge contains an illustration comparable to the one discussed here, see Martin, *The Illustrations of the Heavenly Ladder*. The best known representation of the Heavenly Ladder is the twelfth-century icon from Mount Sinai, see *Sinai*, p. 107, fig. 24.

to the two state officials should perhaps be identified as ecclesiastical officials.¹⁵² Finally, the last two, if one is to judge by their peculiar helmets, appear to be foreigners though belonging to a different ethnic group than the Orientals seated across the table from them.¹⁵³ The table of the feast is richly set and servants attend to the guests' needs. In the background a musician is shown playing a string instrument. The banquet may be understood to represent the worldly pleasures that the monks had to renounce upon assumption of the monastic habit: this renunciation was the first step in the Ladder that leads to Heaven.¹⁵⁴ The fact that a demon is leading a monk towards the feast, while another one is trying to lure a second monk with a glass of wine suggests that the banquet scene may be understood as a symbolic representation of the temptations of the material world that the monks need to face every step of the way.¹⁵⁵ What is of particular interest in this scene, however, is the effort to identify the participants as belonging to particular social and ethnic groups. In the opening paragraph of the discourse on the renunciation of life (Rung I), St. John Climacus speaks of those unworthy servants of God who despite having received the Baptism do not follow His word. He also speaks of the enemies of God which include those who have rejected His teaching as well as those who persecute the faithful.¹⁵⁶ The four groups represented in the Vatopedi fresco might then represent the unworthy servants and the enemies of the Lord. The selection of these particular groups in this specific Late Byzantine monastic context on Mount Athos may reflect topical considerations which require further investigation. That officials should be 'targeted'

¹⁵² Cf. A. Τσιτουρίδου, *Ο ζωγραφικός διάκοσμος του Αγίου Νικολάου Ορφανού στη Θεσσαλονίκη. Συμβολή στη μελέτη της Παλαιολογικής ζωγραφικής κατά τον πρώιμο 14ο αιώνα* (Thessalonike, 1986), pls. 65, 69.

¹⁵³ The fact that they are bearded suggests that they are neither Italians nor Franks.

¹⁵⁴ PG 88, cols. 632–644.

¹⁵⁵ According to St. John Climacus, gluttony was one of the vices that the monks needed to overcome (Rung XIV of the Ladder). However, I do not believe that the Vatopedi image should be interpreted as an illustration of this particular sin. If this were so, one would have expected to see monks seated at the table, as in the case of a miniature in a twelfth-century manuscript of Ladder (*Sinait. gr.* 418, f. 135r; see Martin, *The Illustrations of the Heavenly Ladder*, fig. 194), not laymen. Nevertheless, the choice of the creator of the image to represent material pleasures as a feast is interesting and requires explanation, which at present I am not in a position to give.

¹⁵⁶ PG 88, col. 632B.

in this manner is not surprising, given the criticism they provoked among contemporaries for their love of luxury, which included feasting, often pursued in the most non-Christian manner at the expense of the poor.¹⁵⁷

Aristocrats in Narrative Scenes

Representations of eponymous and anonymous figures in contemporary Byzantine aristocratic costume (as distinct from official costume) in religious contexts are rare. This is true especially of male characters.¹⁵⁸ This rarity was not altogether due to a lack of suitable iconographic contexts, certainly not in the case of miniature painting. Perhaps it is better attributed to the general disinterest of Byzantine religious art in the representation of contemporary material culture. This disinterest in the case of aristocratic costume was not tempered by any iconographic necessity which required its anachronistic representation in religious contexts for the purpose of characterization. A conventional long, long-sleeved garment, trimmed with gold borders, was adequate to distinguish members of the upper class from the poor, who were commonly represented in short garments and, often, had their arms bare.¹⁵⁹

There does not appear to be any basic rule governing the anachronistic representation of contemporary aristocratic costume in religious contexts apart from the dictates of fashion, which artists might or might not choose to follow depending on their interests and the demands of their patrons. Thus, for example, in Middle Byzantine miniature painting we sometimes encounter portrayals of the wives of David, Salome, and Herodias in gowns with sleeves exceedingly wide at the wrists and fan-shaped or trapezoidal head-dresses.¹⁶⁰ A

¹⁵⁷ See above, notes 147, 150. See also, Nelson, 'Taxation with Representation,' p. 65.

¹⁵⁸ See *Par. gr.* 510, f. 149 (Omont, *Fac-similés des miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs*, pl. XXXIV), for a representation of the rich man in the parable of poor Lazarus (Luk. 16:19–25), dressed in the familiar Middle Byzantine costume of the two superimposed tunics.

¹⁵⁹ See, for example, the illustration of the parable of the Royal Wedding (Math. 12:1–14) in *Laur. VI*, 23, f. 45r (Velmans, *Laur. VI*, 23, fig. 99).

¹⁶⁰ De Wald, *Vat. Gr.* 752, pl. XXXII (f. 176r: the wives of David); Omont, *Ms. Grec 74*, pl. 69 (f. 75v: Salome); Velmans, *Laur. VI*, 23, fig. 58 (f. 29r.b: Salome and Herodias). Cf. Martin, *The Illustrations of the Heavenly Ladder*, p. 102, fig. 214 (*Sinait. gr.* 418, f. 279r: two ladies, part of a group, which, according to Martin, represents 'the princes of the people of the Lord' mentioned by St. John Climacus).

rare example in monumental painting is the portrayal of the princess saved by St. George at Sts. Anargyroi, Kastoria.¹⁶¹ The lady wears a gown with the distinctive sleeves exceedingly wide at the wrists. One cannot do much but speculate as to the intentions of the artist. The costume of the princess was perhaps employed as a means to underline the contemporaneity of the miracle of St. George, who would thus have appeared as the effective protector of those in need at any time.

Martyrs

While discussing the portrayal of dignitaries and civil servants in religious iconography we noted that there was no particular type of costume employed consistently for their characterization. In the case of male martyrs the opposite may be said. As even a superficial survey of Middle and Late Byzantine artistic contexts demonstrates, it was the *chlamys-costume* that was employed consistently in the portrayal of the martyrs in civilian dress, both in narrative and in iconic compositions. The list of examples is endless. I will mention here only a few, indicative of the diversity of the iconographic contexts and the artistic media in which the image of the *chlamys*-clad martyr appears:

- in narrative scenes in hagiographic or *menologium* cycles¹⁶²
- participating in the Deesis composition (Pl. 98)¹⁶³
- among the just in the Last Judgment composition or accompanying the throne of the *Hetoimasia* (Pls. 99, 100)¹⁶⁴
- represented individually, either standing or in a bust, on portable icons or on the lower zones of the walls of churches among other saints.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶¹ Πελεκανίδης, *Καστοριά*, pl. 32b.

¹⁶² Pelekanides *et al.*, *Treasures*, II, figs. 331, 332, 340 (*Esphigmenou* 14, ff. 90r–v, 343r: scenes from the life of Sts. Artemios, Eugenios, and Makarios; the apology of St. Eustratios); *Sinai*, figs. 20–22 (twelfth-century *iconostasis* beam with posthumous miracles of St. Eustratios).

¹⁶³ See, also, I. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons in Steatite* (Vienna, 1985), no. 4 (Saint Petersburg, The Hermitage, eleventh-century steatite icon); M. Χατζηδόκης, *Μυστράς. Η μεσαιωνική πολιτεία και το κάστρο. Οδός* (Athens, 1989), fig. 38 (Mistra, Aphendiko, north-western funerary chapel; 1312/3–1322).

¹⁶⁴ See, also, Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, pl. 384.

¹⁶⁵ See, for example, *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 107 (gold-and-cloisonné-enamel icon of St. Demetrios, first half of eleventh century); *Treasures of Mount Athos*, ed. A. Karakatsanis (Thessalonike, 1997), nos. 2.1, 2.2 (portable mosaic icons of Sts. George

The *chlamys-costume* of male martyrs comprised the tunic and the mantle. The conventional tunic, worn girt, was long-sleeved, either of full length or reaching only to the calves, and adorned with ornamental bands at the collar, shoulders, upper arms, cuffs, and hem. In certain examples the design and decoration of the martyrs' tunic reflected contemporary court fashions more closely, as in the case of two martyrs at Nerezi (1164), who wear an outer tunic with the opening in the lower part of the skirt and with arm-bands decorated with pseudo-kufic characters. The hem of their inner tunic is visible from under the outer one.¹⁶⁶ Though one comes across portrayals of martyrs in just the tunic (Pl. 104),¹⁶⁷ more often than not they wore it under the *chlamys*. In agreement with Middle Byzantine fashions, the mantles of the martyrs had a pair of golden *tablia* and were often brightly coloured and richly patterned. They were fastened either at the side or at the front, or (in Late Byzantine contexts) simply lay on the shoulders.¹⁶⁸ A variation which appears to have been specific to iconic representations of St. Eustratios from the tenth century onwards was a mantle, as a rule without the *tablia*, fastened at the front with two or three clasps (fig. 101, 103, 106).¹⁶⁹ It reminds one of the mantles of the *sakellarios* Leo and the *protospatharios* Constantine in the tenth-century *Val. reg. gr.* 1, ff. 2v, 3r (Appendix 3, nos. 1, 2) (Pl. 59). The mantles of other martyrs were endowed with similar clasps at the front only in the Late Byzantine period.¹⁷⁰ One last and rare variation of the martyr's mantle is encountered at the Chora Monastery. In one instance the artist transformed the traditional *chlamys* lying loosely on both shoulders into a

and Demetrios, second half of twelfth century); Thierry, *Nouvelles églises*, figs. 84a–c, 85b (Hasan Dağı, Direkli kilise, 976–1025: standing martyrs on the pillars of the naos); 'Α. Ευγγούλου, 'Αἱ τοιχογραφίαι τῶν Ἁγίων Τεσσαράκοντα εἰς τὴν Ἀχειροποιήτων τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης,' *ΑΕ* 1957, pp. 6–30 (Thessalonike, Acheiropoietos, c. 1224–1230: busts of the Forty Martyrs); Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, pls. 282–313 (outer narthex: busts and standing portraits in mosaic); C. Stephan, *Ein byzantinisches Bildensemble: Die Mosaiken und Fresken der Apostelkirche zu Thessalonike* (Baden-Baden, 1986), pp. 97, 98–99 (on the lower zone of the walls of the naos: standing portraits in fresco).

¹⁶⁶ I. Sinkević, *The Church of St. Panteleimon at Nerezi. Architecture, Programme, Patronage* (Wiesbaden, 2000), figs. LIV, 59.

¹⁶⁷ See, also, Mouriki, *The Mosaics of Nea Moni*, pp. 66, 67, pls. 58, 60 (Sts. Sergios and Bakchos).

¹⁶⁸ See, for example, Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, pl. 294 (St. Andronikos).

¹⁶⁹ See, also, Mouriki, *The Mosaics of Nea Moni*, pp. 145, 146, pl. 65; G. Millet, *Le monastère de Daphni. Histoire, architecture, mosaïques* (Paris, 1899), pl. X.3.

¹⁷⁰ See, for example, Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, pl. 295 (St. Tarachos).

mantle with exceedingly long sleeves that hang empty at the sides (Pl. 102). This mantle is not provided with *tablia*. In all other respects the costume of this unidentified saint is unexceptional.

Male martyrs in the *chlamys-costume* generally wear no head-dress, with the exception of St. Eustratios, who occasionally appears wearing a white cap (Pl. 103).¹⁷¹ Other attributes of male martyrs included the military neck-band (*maniakion*) and, sometimes, a sceptre specific to Sts. Sergios and Bakchos (Pl. 104); a kerchief around the neck in the case of St. Eustratios,¹⁷² and a sword in the case of military saints in civilian attire (Pl. 154).¹⁷³

The iconographic type of the Christian martyr in the *chlamys-costume* was created in the Early Byzantine period (Pl. 105). It is as a consequence of the impact of imperial on religious iconography following the conversion of the Roman state in the person of the emperor that the use of Late Antique official costume had been adopted for the characterization of Christian martyrs, whether they had actually held an office or not. Under the influence of court ritual, imperial art, and the perception of the Christian empire as the mirror image of the Kingdom of God, the relationship of the martyrs to God was visualized in terms of that of Roman officials to the emperor.¹⁷⁴ One might say that the *chlamys-costume* was adopted not so much as the costume of the dignitary who had become a martyr, but of the martyr who, because of his martyrdom, became a dignitary in the Court of God.¹⁷⁵ That it was the *chlamys-costume* which was employed for this purpose was only natural, considering its widespread use in Late Antique official portraiture¹⁷⁶ and the fact that in the minds of the contemporaries this was considered as the typical costume of the dignitary.¹⁷⁷

Thus, the *chlamys-costume* became the distinctive attire of the martyr in Christian iconography and, once established, it was constantly employed independently of developments in Byzantine official costume. Sometimes, as we have seen, it did reflect certain of these changes, in agreement with contemporary tastes, but such modifications did not in any way affect the significance of the martyr's costume. The independence of the portrait-type of the martyr from contemporary practices becomes more obvious in the Late Byzantine period, when the *chlamys*, with its conventional decoration and worn over an equally conventional tunic, was continuously and ubiquitously employed regardless of the fact that the Late Byzantine descendant of the actual mantle, often patterned with medallions enclosing double-headed eagles and worn over a caftan, no longer constituted the typical attire of the majority of Byzantine officials.

There was, however, one martyr whose portrait-type was devised to highlight the fact that indeed he had been a dignitary during his lifetime. This was St. Eustratios, who was one of the Five Martyrs of Sebasteia. According to hagiographical tradition, the members of this group held offices in the civil, military, and ecclesiastic establishments or belonged to the category of commoners. By the eleventh century, at least three, St. Orestes (a soldier), St. Mardarios (a commoner), and St. Eustratios (a *skrinarios*), were distinguished from their companions within the group by means of their costume and personal attributes: Orestes by his military garb and a pectoral cross (Pls. 107, 115, 116), Mardarios by his short tunic and felt cap (Pls. 108, 116), and Eustratios by his mantle and, sometimes, a white cap (Pls. 103, 106).¹⁷⁸ Since the mantle with the distinctive clasps and the white hat that distinguish St. Eustratios from his companions find parallels in Middle Byzantine official costume, I am of the opinion that they should be understood as attributes indicative of his official status, rather than of his Armenian origins, as scholars tend to believe.¹⁷⁹ In the Late Byzantine period, when the mantle secured

¹⁷¹ See, also, Jerphanion, *Églises rupestres*, pl. 161.2 (Erdemli valley, church of the Forty Martyrs); *idem*, 'Les caractéristiques et les attributs des saints dans la peinture cappadoïcienne,' in his, *La voix des monuments. Études d'archéologie. Nouvelle série* (Rome and Paris, 1938), pp. 314-315.

¹⁷² See previous note. See, also, Πελεκανίδης, *Καστοριά*, pl. 54b.

¹⁷³ Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, pls. 304 (St. George?), 305 (St. Demetrios?).

¹⁷⁴ A. Grabar, *Les voies de la création en iconographie chrétienne. Antiquité et Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1979), pp. 41-43; *idem*, *L'empereur dans l'art*, pp. 192-193, 202-205.

¹⁷⁵ On the development of the beliefs concerning the admittance of martyrs and other saints to the presence of God before the Second Coming and their participation in His never-ending glorification by the angelic orders in the mediaeval period see G. Millet, *La dalmatique du Vatican. Les élus. Images et croyances* (Paris, 1945).

¹⁷⁶ See, for example, Delbrueck, *Consulardiptychen*, nos. 2, 64, 65.

¹⁷⁷ See, for example, V.S. Crisafulli and J.W. Nesbitt, *The Miracles of St. Artemios:*

A Collection of Miracle Stories by an Anonymous Author of Seventh-century Byzantium (Leiden, 1997), p. 96.

¹⁷⁸ Mouriki, *The Mosaics of Nea Moni*, pp. 144-147, pls. 61-63; Chatzidakis-Bacharas, *Les peintures murales de Hosios Loukas*, pp. 24-25, 74-81.

¹⁷⁹ Jerphanion, 'Les caractéristiques et les attributs des saints,' p. 315; Mouriki, *The Mosaics of Nea Moni*, p. 146. As to the significance of the kerchief that he sometimes has around the neck, this too might have been indicative of office. The sleeping Ablabius at St. Nicholas Kasnitze, Kastoria had a similar attribute (Pl. 94).

at the front was nothing more than an iconographic convention no more reflecting an actual official garment and its original significance was forgotten, its use was expanded to other martyrs as well.

There is the possibility that, as in the case of St. Eustratios in Middle Byzantine contexts, the mantle with the long empty sleeves attributed to the unidentified martyr at the Chora (Pl. 102) was meant to serve as a distinctive attribute of the portrayed saint. On the other hand, it may have simply been introduced to break the monotony of the long series of *chlamys*-clad martyrs represented on the arches of the outer narthex of the *katholikon*.

Certain female martyrs, namely Sts. Barbara, Kyriake, and Photeine were ascribed a costume which must have been inspired by Middle Byzantine female aristocratic dress prior to the mid-eleventh century. It consisted of a tunic with long narrow sleeves and a mantle fastened at the front, both lavishly decorated, a fabric head-dress, and a pair of earrings. It sometimes comprised also a scarf hanging down the front in the manner of the simplified *loros* (Pl. 109).¹⁸⁰ This last item, however, did not form part of female aristocratic costume. Grabar has identified it with the '*orariion*' of a deaconess. As he has observed, the attire of these saints should not be understood as the costume characteristic of aristocratic ladies who had been martyred, but as the sumptuous costume appropriate to saintly virgins consecrated to Christ.¹⁸¹ As such it was employed in the portrayal of this category of saints, heedless of developments in contemporary fash-

Yet, I have found no reference in written texts to a scarf other than the *loros* serving as a badge of office in the Byzantine court. However, there might be a different explanation for its presence in pictorial contexts. We learn from Niketas Choniates that the head-dresses of members of the senate were furnished with some form of veil or flowing bands at the back, see Nik. Chon., p. 271. This type of head-dress is, in all probability, reflected in a late twelfth-century fresco in the chapel of the Monastery of St. John at Patmos: a layman in the composition 'St. Leontios(?) as a "source of wisdom"' wears the familiar white head-dress, furnished with two bands at the back. These bands are brought to the front and tied in a knot over the breast, see Ντ. Μουρίκη, 'Οι τοιχογραφίες του παρεκκλησιού της Μονής του Θεολόγου στην Πλάτσα,' ΔΧΑΕ 14 (1987-1988), fig. 40. It is possible that the representations of the *kerchief* discussed here resulted from a misunderstanding of a model representing this kind of head-dress. At Elmalı kilise St. Eustratios is portrayed wearing a small white cap or head-scarf apparently furnished with two bands at the back which are brought to the front and tied in a knot over the breast (Pl. 103).

¹⁸⁰ See, also, Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pl. 136.2 (Nar, church of Ören, St. Kyriake; eleventh century?); Grozdanov and Hadernmann-Misguich, *Kurbino*, pl. 28 (St. Barbara and St. Kyriake).

¹⁸¹ A. Grabar, *La peinture religieuse en Bulgarie* (Paris, 1928), pp. 124-125; 157-159.

ions, in the same way that the *chlamys*-costume was employed for male martyrs.¹⁸²

Angels

Both in the Middle and the Late Byzantine periods angels appear in the *chlamys*-costume of the Byzantine dignitary mainly in the iconographic contexts of the central scene of the Last Judgment, the Dormition, and, more rarely, the Ascension, where they are introduced as part of the escort of Christ (Pl. 51).¹⁸³ As early as the eleventh century the enduement of angels with the *chlamys*-costume of Byzantine courtiers was meant to stress their role as attendants to Christ as the Heavenly King in compositions which had evolved into representations of Christ in His divine glory (theophanies).¹⁸⁴ As was the case of male martyrs and consecrated virgins, the iconographic type of the *chlamys*-clad angels, once established continued to be employed without any attempt at updating the costume.

There was obviously a difference in the treatment of the costume of saintly personages as opposed to that of ordinary men and women represented in official or aristocratic attire in religious iconography. In the case of male martyrs, virgins consecrated to Christ, and angels in the specific iconographic context of theophanies, the costume in which they were represented reflected contemporary practices closely only at the formative stages of the creation of their respective iconographic types. It appears as if Christian iconographers when called upon to create a hagiographic portrait or to convey the new concept of the angel-courtier turned to the imperial court for inspiration. Once the new iconographic type was accepted by common consent as a true likeness of its saintly archetype in Heaven and was sanctified by usage, it had to be preserved unaltered in its basic, diagnostic components. It acquired an existence of its own, independent of its secular prototypes, whether artistic or directly inspired

¹⁸² To appreciate this one needs only to compare the portrayal of St. Kyriake at Sts. Anargyroi (Πελεκανίδης, *Καστοριά*, pl. 40) and St. Photeine at St. Nicholas Kasnitzes with the portraits of the female donors preserved in the same monuments, respectively Anna Radene and Anna (Pls. 63, 84).

¹⁸³ See, also, Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, pl. 374 (Last Judgment); Mouriki, *The Frescoes of St. Nicholas at Platsa*, p. 41 and note 47 (on p. 81) (Ascension).

¹⁸⁴ Cf. *ibid.*

from real life, and was reproduced *ad infinitum*. The contemporaneity of the costume of the saintly figures discussed here was not really a consideration; maintaining the costume, which at a certain stage of the iconographic development had become distinctive of their portrayal, was. Thus, male martyrs, saintly virgins, and courtly angels appeared consistently in the same dress throughout the period under consideration here, despite the fact that the actual garments had at some point become obsolete.

There is a lack of comparable consistency in the dress of ordinary officials or aristocratic individuals represented in religious contexts. This may be partly due to the fact that their portrayal was not equally affected by the theological constrictions that applied in the case of saintly figures, something which allowed a greater margin for variation. In practical terms this meant that the artists, if they so chose, were able to draw their inspiration from a relatively wider range of models and be influenced by fashion to a greater extent.¹⁸⁵ In the case of aristocratic costume, the reproduction of contemporary types appears to have been largely an unreflective process in the sense that no specific iconographic necessity was being served. As for the representation of official costume, the process does not always appear to have been equally unreflective. In the portrayal of anonymous attendants on a ruler one derives the impression that the artists were simply reproducing such figures as they were found in comparable contexts in contemporary secular art. Yet, in the case of eponymous officials, it looks as if the artists would sometimes seek out specific models in order to underline either the official status of the figure or a particular quality of his which was considered essential for the beholder's appreciation of the illustrated episode.

¹⁸⁵ This is not to say that the costume of saintly figures was unaffected by fashion, because it actually was affected, especially as far as decorative motifs and colouring were concerned. As long as the actual *chlamys*-costume remained in use in the imperial court as the typical attire of the large majority of Byzantine officials and was reproduced as such in official portraiture, the *chlamys*-costume of the martyrs was often updated to resemble it. It seems as if the artists felt equally at ease reproducing conventional types and types borrowed from contemporary secular art while the latter did not greatly differ from the former (cf. the *loros*-costume of imperial saints). Apparently, this practice was not considered harmful to the veracity of the saintly portrait, since the costume remained basically the same and was easily identifiable.

CHAPTER THREE

MILITARY COSTUME

The categories of military equipment to be discussed here are confined to those commonly represented in religious figurative art. The study of Byzantine military equipment is hampered by the almost complete lack of relevant evidence from archaeological sites formerly within the boundaries of the empire. We are better informed concerning the arms and armour employed by the peoples surrounding Byzantium from the East, West, and North and whose military traditions have had an impact on Byzantine practices. This information provides valuable comparative material for the elucidation of questions concerning the character of Byzantine military costume and I shall often have recourse to it.

With regard to written sources one should mention the Byzantine military treatises of the tenth century, such as the *Taktika* of Leo VI (c. 905), the *Sylloge Tacticorum* (950s), the *Præcepta Militaria* (c. 965), and the treatise of Nikephoros Ouranos (c. 1000), which contain detailed descriptions of the equipment of the different units in the Middle Byzantine army.¹ We do not have anything comparable for the following centuries.² One can extract information on military equipment from other types of texts, such as historical works of Byzantine and western authors, poetical works, and accounts of travellers, though detailed descriptions of weapons are admittedly rare.

¹ See bibliography. Kolias's recent and comprehensive account on Byzantine military equipment is largely based on an analysis of the written sources, among which the tenth-century military treatises have primacy of place, see T. Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen* (Vienna, 1988).

² A short treatise first composed in Greek in 1326 by the second son of Andronikos II and marquis of Montferrat, Theodore Palaiologos (1291-1338) has come down to us in a French translation of the first half of the fourteenth century. It bears the title '*Enseignements ou ordenances pour un seigneur qui a guerres et grans gouvernemens à faire*'. The author lists the equipment that defenders of fortresses and mounted soldiers should have. The names of individual items are preserved in their French translation only, see *Les enseignements de Théodore Paléologue*, ed. Ch. Knowles (London, 1983) (hereafter *Enseignements*). See, also, M. Bartusis, *The Late Byzantine Army. Arms and Society, 1204-1453* (Pennsylvania, 1992), pp. 323-329.

Given the rarity of relevant extant artefacts and detailed descriptions in post-tenth-century written sources, by necessity the following discussion will centre on the artistic evidence. This consists mainly of portrayals of military saints and of figures in military costume in biblical and hagiographical pictorial cycles. The number of surviving portraits of Byzantine emperors and commanders in military apparel is very small, limited to the portrait of Basil II in his Psalter of the early eleventh century (Appendix 2, no. 11; Pl. 110), to certain effigies of Constantine IX Monomachos and Isaak I Komnenos on coins and seals,³ and to the equestrian portraits of John Tzimiskes and the *magistros* Melias in the Pigeon House Church at Çavuşin (Appendix 3, no. 4; Pls. 111, 113). The depiction of military equipment in the lavishly illustrated mid-twelfth-century *Madrid Skylitzes* is often generalized and conventional.⁴ One is thus obliged to turn to religious figurative art in search of information. The representation of military costume in religious iconography is distinguished to a great extent by commitment to artistic models which hark back to the Late Antique period. However, a number of representations of contemporary military equipment can be observed. Though some of the observations made here will appear tentative, I considered it worthwhile making them since they highlight the potential of employing pictorial evidence in the study of Byzantine weapons.

In what follows I argue that, below the layers of convention and artistic invention, links with contemporary mediaeval practices have sometimes been preserved. In the attempt to qualify these links one has to tackle the question whether the represented military equipment reflects ceremonial or field armour. This question pertains to an inquiry into the models that Byzantine artists employed in their rendering of military costume. In the following survey an attempt will be made when possible to distinguish between field and ceremonial military apparel. However, it would be best to state from the beginning in which respects ceremonial armour probably differed from that worn in the field. By ceremonial I mean the armour worn

on triumphs and other solemn occasions involving the array of military officials and the members of the palace units, such as the reception of important guests and ambassadors at the imperial palace. Available information on ceremonial armour is limited, as far as I know, to a few rare descriptions of such ceremonies in the tenth-century *De cerimoniis* and in the historical work of Kinnamos, writing two centuries later.⁵ The impression which one derives from these texts is that it was the elaborate adornment of the weapons and the rich garments worn with them which distinguished ceremonial dress from field dress.⁶ Cuirasses, helmets, arm-guards, greaves, shields, and spears are described as 'golden,' but were probably gilded, while garments worn over armour are said to have been woven with golden thread and richly adorned.⁷ Apparently, gilded cuirasses, presumably put on over richly patterned garments, were worn by certain dignitaries only during triumphs.⁸ It seems that on other ceremonial occasions military officials and members of the palace units were clad in rich court robes, not in armour. They would, however, carry their weapons and military insignia.⁹ These would normally be simply a sword, a sword and a shield, or a sword in association with weapons distinctive of particular units.¹⁰

³ *De cer.*, pp. 574, 576–579; Haldon, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, pp. 142, 148; Kinn., p. 187. Poetical descriptions of Komnenian imperial triumphs by twelfth-century court poets like Theodore Prodromos and 'Manganeios' Prodromos are not informative in this respect.

⁶ However, emperors, like Manuel I, are known to have worn gilded armour in the battlefield, see Kinn., p. 110.

⁷ See note 5.

⁸ See, for example, Haldon, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, p. 148 (triumph of Theophilos in 831).

⁹ See, for example, *De cer.*, pp. 72, 82, 99, 100, 142–143, 286, 301–302 (costume of the *protospatharios*). See also, *ibid.*, pp. 574–579 (costume of the different palace units and military dignitaries worn during the reception ceremony of Arab ambassadors in 946).

¹⁰ See, for example, *De cer.*, pp. 576 (the *Makedones* of the *Megale Hetaireia* carrying axes), 579 (the *Toukmatzoi* carrying bows and quivers). In the twelfth century, during the triumphal entrance of Manuel I in Antioch his bodyguards carried their axes, see Kinn., p. 187.

³ *DOC* III/2, pp. 736, 759–760, pls. LIX.7, LXIII.1–3; Grierson, *Byz. Coins*, p. 126; Zacos, *Seals*, I/1, nos. 85bis, 86a–c.

⁴ Hoffmeyer's monograph on the military equipment in the *Madrid Skylitzes* is quite useful, though occasionally one derives the impression that she is not sufficiently critical in her use of the artistic evidence, see her, *Military Equipment in the Byzantine Manuscript of Skylitzes in Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid* (Granada, 1966).

THE COSTUME

*Body-Armour**Scale and Lamellar Armour*

Scale construction involved the attachment of scales—small, flat pieces of metal (iron or bronze), or other suitable material (bone, wood, boiled leather), bearing perforations and with their lower, visible edge rounded—to a backing of cloth or, possibly, leather by means of metal clasps or rivets. The scales were arranged in an imbricate pattern and overlapped downwards. There existed a variation of this basic construction in which the scales of each row overlapped sideways as well, and each row of scales was also attached to the one below it.¹¹ This variation had great affinity with armour of lamellar construction. The basic difference between the two is that in the case of lamellar armour no backing was required: the perforated plates, the lamellae, were attached directly one to another by means of leather thongs. They were arranged in horizontal rows, which were then attached one to another, again by means of leather thongs. The rows of lamellae overlapped upwards, and this is the reason why they often had their top edge rounded.¹² Because of the absence of a backing, lamellar armour is considered to be much more flexible than scale armour.¹³

It is unanimously accepted by students of Byzantine military equipment that the terms '*klibanion*', mentioned in the *De ceremoniis* and

tenth-century military treatises, and '*pholidotos thorax*', mentioned in historical works like the *Alexiad* (twelfth century), refer to splint body-armour of scale or lamellar construction.¹⁴ A number of small plates which could have been used for the construction of splint armour have been discovered in a twelfth-century context during the excavation of the Great Palace at Constantinople (Pl. 112). There is no indication in the texts as to the exact manner of the construction of the *klibanion*. That both scale and lamellar techniques may have been used is quite possible; the artistic evidence supports this assertion.

In the Pigeon House Church, Çavuşin, the equestrian portraits of John Tzimiskes and the *magistros* Melias are preserved on the north wall of the naos (Appendix 3, no. 4; Pls. 111, 113). Both wear the same type of armour which must be of scale construction, judging by the artistic convention used for its rendering, namely scales with their lower edge rounded, arranged in an imbricated pattern and overlapping downwards. This armour is furnished with sleeves reaching just above the elbows. The skirt is of the same scale construction and would have afforded protection for the thighs; in the case of Melias, it also covers the knee. Comparable armour is worn by one of the Forty Martyrs depicted in the same church standing to the right of the two equestrian portraits (Pl. 113 [first from left]). An interesting feature of the armour of the martyr is that over the abdomen it has an oval area empty of scales. This area is rendered with the same reddish brown colour as the rest of the armour, and not with the white used for the undergarment. One wonders whether the painter wished to represent the backing of the armour without scales. This feature of leaving the abdomen exposed is also observed in the more conventionally rendered armour of the other Forty Martyrs portrayed standing in the same church. Yet, such a feature would have made no sense in effective field armour, even if it were meant to be worn by a mounted warrior.¹⁵ In my opinion, it is better interpreted as an artistic invention, perhaps due to a misunderstanding

¹¹ See, selectively, B. Thordeman, *Armour from the Battle of Wisby* (Uppsala, 1939), p. 281; H.R. Robinson, *The Armour of Imperial Rome* (London, 1975), pp. 153–161; *idem*, *Oriental Armour* (London, 1967), pp. 3, 6–7; M.C. Bishop and J.C.N. Coulston, *Roman Military Equipment from the Punic Wars to the Fall of Rome* (London, 1993), pp. 85, 117, 141; D. Nicolle, 'Arms of the Umayyad Era: Military Technology in a Time of Change,' in *War and Society in the Eastern Mediterranean, 7th–15th Centuries*, ed. Y. Lev (Leiden, New York, Köln, 1997), nos. 193–195.

¹² On the Asiatic origins and development of scale and lamellar armour see B. Thordeman, 'The Asiatic Splint Armour in Europe,' *AA* IV (1933), pp. 117–150. Armour of scale construction was employed in the Roman armies, especially among auxiliary troops, see Robinson, *Armour of Imperial Rome*, p. 153. Lamellar armour, on the other hand, appears to have been little used if at all, see *ibid.*, p. 162; K.R. Dixon and P. Southern, *The Roman Cavalry. From the First to the Third Century AD* (London, 1992), p. 43, pl. 5; Bishop and Coulston, *Roman Military Equipment*, p. 145. Cf. J. Haldon, *Warfare, State and Society in the Byzantine World, 565–1204* (London, 1999), p. 130.

¹³ See, also, A.D.H. Bivar, 'Cavalry Equipment and Tactics on the Euphrates Frontier,' *DOP* 26 (1972), p. 273.

¹⁴ Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen*, pp. 44–46. The term '*klibanion*' is not encountered in the *Strategikon*, a late sixth-early seventh-century military treatise. Haldon, in his 'Some Aspects of Byzantine Military Technology,' p. 27, has suggested that the use of splint armour must have become widespread in the Byzantine army during the course of the seventh and eighth centuries, even though armour of both scale and lamellar construction had been employed in the Near East (and by auxiliary units in the Roman army) since a much earlier period, see above, notes 11, 12.

¹⁵ See D. Nicolle, *Arms and Armour of the Crusading Era, 1050–1350*, 2 vols. (White

on the part of a painter of an artistic model representing a plate muscle cuirass with a skirt of *pteryges*,¹⁶ like the one seen worn by St. Hieron at New Tokalı kilise.¹⁷ That the painter responsible for the decoration of the Pigeon House Church was prone to misunderstand his artistic models is also evident in his representation of the *loros-costume* of Nikephoros II Phokas portrayed in the same church.

The emperor Basil II is portrayed in *Marc. gr. Z.17, f. IIIr* (early eleventh century) wearing a cuirass made of rows of small, gilded plates (Appendix 2, no. 11; Pl. 110). The plates are not shown overlapping, yet the fact that their upper edge is rounded, seems to suggest that the painter probably had in mind a cuirass of lamellar construction.¹⁸ It is possible that in his rendering of the arrangement of the lamellae he was more interested in creating a decorative effect rather than giving a realistic representation of the way the lamellae were actually laced together. The cuirass is not furnished with any protection for the lower part of the body. The upper arms, on the other hand, are protected by arm-guards consisting of two rows of

Plains, N.Y., 1988), nos. 79A–C. As far as I can judge from the reproductions I have seen, the martyr in scale armour, John Tzimisikes, and Melias do not wear mail shirts beneath their scale cuirasses as Nicolle claims.

¹⁶ The *pteryges* are the leather straps shown attached around the arm-openings and the lower edge of plate muscle cuirasses in Roman and Late Antique art (see, for example, E. Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making. Main Lines of Stylistic Development in the Mediterranean Art, 3rd–7th Century* (London, 1977), figs. 70, 176). In reality they probably formed part of a leather garment worn beneath the cuirass, see Robinson, *Armour of Imperial Rome*, p. 149; Bishop and Coulston, *Roman Military Equipment*, pp. 23, 39. The artistic convention of showing *pteryges* attached to the cuirass was adopted by mediaeval Byzantine art, which used it indiscriminately—and inappropriately—in association with every type of armour.

¹⁷ Restle, *Byz. Wall-painting*, pl. 82. Note that the decoration of the New Tokalı kilise did, in fact, serve as a model for the slightly later decoration of the Pigeon House Church, see Wharton-Epstein, *Tokalı Kilise*, pp. 29–32. Considering this and the fact that the martyrs at the Pigeon House Church have a sash around their abdomen (not around the breast, as was common), in the same manner that St. Hieron does, makes the choice of the portrayal of the latter as a potential model for the outfits at Çavuşin appear plausible.

¹⁸ Two other emperors of the eleventh century appear in cuirasses of lamellar construction on effigies on coins and seals. They are Constantine IX Monomachos and Isaak I Komnenos, see above, note 3. In these examples the lamellae are clearly shown overlapping upwards. Cuirasses with an arrangement of lamellae comparable to that seen on the cuirass worn by Basil II, can be found in eleventh-century religious pictorial contexts, see, for example *Il Menologio*, p. 3: the archangel Michael; Jerphanion, *Églises rupestres*, pl. 100.1 (Göreme, Karanlık kilise, Crucifixion: the Centurion).

splints. These guards do not seem to be directly attached to the cuirass. Rather, they appear to be worn like arm-bands. The armour worn by Basil II is more likely to reflect ceremonial rather than field armour. This is suggested by the content of the miniature, which constitutes a treatment of the theme of perpetual victory and imperial triumph over the enemies of the state.¹⁹

For more 'realistic' representations of lamellar construction one must turn to portrayals of military saints in tenth- and eleventh-century Cappadocian churches. One may mention the cuirasses of St. Theodore at New Tokalı kilise,²⁰ of St. Prokopios and St. Demetrios at Yusuf köy kilisesi (Pl. 114), of St. Orestes and St. Agapios at Karanlık kilise (Pl. 115),²¹ of St. Merkourios at Saklı kilise,²² and of Sts. George and Theodore at Yılanlı kilise, Göreme,²³ where the lamellae, with their top edge rounded, are clearly shown to overlap upwards. The artists accentuated the impression of the lamellae overlapping upwards by shading the lower part of each row. On numerous other occasions, encountered also in some of the same monuments as the 'realistic' examples just listed, the rows of lamellae are not shown to overlap but appear divided horizontally by a single or double straight line, though sometimes the shading has been maintained (Pl. 116).²⁴ I think that this manner of rendering lamellar was an artistic invention—simply a more schematic and more decorative way of representing armour of this construction, perhaps originally inspired by a misinterpretation of the purpose of the line of shading between the lines of overlapping lamellae in the more 'realistic' representations of this type of armour.²⁵

¹⁹ Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art*, pp. 86–87; Spatarakis, *Portrait*, pp. 20–26. Golden *klibania* are mentioned worn by the co-emperor, the *kaisar*, and members of the court, though not by the emperor, during the imperial triumphs of Theophilos (831) and of Basil I (878), see Haldon, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, pp. 142, 148.

²⁰ Wharton-Epstein, *Tokalı Kilise*, fig. 117.

²¹ Restle, *Byz. Wall-painting*, pl. 230.

²² *Ibid.*, pl. 28.

²³ *Ibid.*, pls. 246–247.

²⁴ See, also, *ibid.*, pl. 230; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pl. 136.3. For more examples, see below.

²⁵ Dawson, on the other hand, in his '*Ktemasmata, Kabadion, Klibanion*,' pp. 42–50, considers that the 'narrow bands spacing the rows' of lamellae in these representations indicate that these rows were first attached on a band of leather and then assembled. However, Dawson appears to be unaware of the representations of lamellar cuirasses in which these bands are absent. Haldon has adopted Dawson's interpretation, see Haldon, *Warfare, State and Society*, p. 134.

The flexibility afforded by lamellar construction, irrespective of the material out of which the lamellae were made, whether metal, horn, or leather,²⁶ would have allowed the construction of coats of armour offering protection for the greater part of the body. Though the majority of the lamellar cuirasses represented cover only the torso and have an outline which is reminiscent of the outline of Roman plate muscle cuirasses, there are some rare representations of coats of lamellar worn by military saints (Pl. 117).²⁷ Lamellar construction would have also been used for making jackets with short sleeves or sleeveless waistcoats. Additional protection would have been provided for the upper arms and for the lower part of the body, especially in the case of mounted warriors. Such defences could have been constructed out of larger lamellae or splints of metal, wood, or other suitable materials.²⁸ Alternatively, they could have been made out of padded cloth of sufficient thickness, sometimes reinforced with mail.²⁹ The artistic evidence is not very informative in this respect, as defences for the lower body and the upper arms attached to lamellar cuirasses are usually rendered in a manner reminiscent of Late Antique *pteryges* (Pl. 118).³⁰ However, the arm-guards of some military saints at Yusuf köç kilisesi (Pl. 114) and at Yılanlı kilise and Chapels nos. 18 and 21, Göreme,³¹ are of the same lamellar construction as the cuirass, but the lamellae are represented upside down. It is uncertain whether this is a realistic detail or a misunderstanding on the part of the painter.³² In two other Cappadocian monuments, Kılıçlar kuşluk (Pl. 116) and the church of Ören, Nar,³³ the arm-guards of military saints appear detached from the cuirass, just as in the portrait of Basil II

²⁶ *Leonis imperatoris Tactica*, ed. R. Vári, 2 vols. (Budapest, 1917, 1922) (hereafter *LT*), pp. 91–92; *Syll. Tact.*, § 38; McGeer, *Sowing the Dragon's Teeth*, p. 36 (*Pracepta Militaria*: horse-armour made of leather).

²⁷ See, also, Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pl. 130.3 (Tağar, St. Theodore: military saints). Cf. Haldon, *Warfare, State and Society*, p. 131.

²⁸ *LT*, I, pp. 92, 101–102, 117.

²⁹ McGeer, *Sowing the Dragon's Teeth*, pp. 34 (*Pracepta Militaria*), 214–216. Cf. Dawson, 'Kremasmata, Kabadion, Klibanion,' pp. 39–42.

³⁰ On the *pteryges* see above, note 16.

³¹ Restle, *Byz. Wall-painting*, pls. 246–247; A. Wharton-Epstein, 'Rock-cut Chapels in Göreme Valley, Cappadocia: The Yılanlı Group and the Column Churches,' *CA* 24 (1975), fig. 2.

³² Dawson believes that this detail is a realistic one, since, according to him, the 'inverted lamellar' construction has the ability to 'shed' offensive blows traveling downwards aimed at the limbs, see his 'Kremasmata, Kabadion, Klibanion,' pp. 46–47.

³³ Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pl. 136.3.

discussed above. Such a feature would not have been extremely useful in the battlefield. The detached 'arm-guards' could have been employed in the said representations simply as decorative elements. Alternatively, they could have been introduced as badges of military prowess or rank.³⁴ Considering the fact that in some portrayals of military saints bejewelled bands at the upper arm are substituted for the more conventional arm-guards,³⁵ the latter interpretation does not appear entirely arbitrary. The arm-band was an ancient symbol of military prowess.³⁶ That it was still perceived so in mediaeval Byzantium is suggested by the fact that the emperor Theophilos, during his triumph of 831, received golden bracelets or arm-bands (*brachioli*) from the people of Constantinople (the *politeuma*), which he wore on his arms.³⁷

Representations of types of arm-guards other than those discussed so far are admittedly rare. One may mention the unique representation of potentially functional shoulder armour, which can be seen in the portrayal of St. Demetrios represented in mosaic at the *katholikon* of Hosios Loukas in Greece (Pl. 119).³⁸ Made possibly of plate or leather, this guard for the shoulder and the upper arm is depicted as if worn under the lamellar cuirass, not as being part of it.

A striking characteristic of the representation of lamellar armour during the tenth and eleventh centuries is that the same formal device is employed for its rendering from one end of the empire to the other, not only in monumental painting, but in miniature painting and the minor arts, especially on steatite icons (Pls. 116, 118, 120, 121, 122).³⁹ I believe that this manner of representation must have been ultimately inspired by an actual type of armour, the ceremonial lamellar armour of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Its widespread use must be attributed to the repetition of an artistic model

³⁴ Cf. Nicolle, *Arms and Armour of the Crusading Era*, p. 550.

³⁵ Mouriki, *The Mosaics of Nea Moni*, pls. 59, 61 (St. Theodore Stratelates, St. Orestes). See also Pl. 123 (St. Demetrios at Sts. Anargyroi, Kastoria).

³⁶ J. Deér, 'Byzanz und die Herrschaftszeichen des Abendlandes,' *BZ* 50 (1957), p. 419.

³⁷ Haldon, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, p. 150.

³⁸ St. Demetrios is portrayed a second time in the same monument, this time in fresco. However, in this second portrayal his lamellar armour is furnished with the conventional *pteryges*, see Chatzidakis-Bacharas, *Les peintures murales de Hosios Loukas*, fig. 58.

³⁹ See, also, Omont, *Ms. Grec 74*, pl. 173 (f. 204: soldier in Christ before Caiaphas).

created in and disseminated from Constantinople, rather than to artists working in different media and in different parts of the empire spontaneously depicting the same type of armour using the same formal device. While the prestige of the capital city ensured the firm establishment of this iconographic type, the political unity of the empire must have ensured its broad geographical dissemination.

The use of armour of lamellar and of scale construction probably continued in the twelfth century. More than two hundred small plates, securely dated to the twelfth century, were discovered during the excavation of the Great Palace in Constantinople (Pl. 112).⁴⁰ It is unfortunate that no drawing of these, with the position of the perforations clearly marked, has been published, as only this would allow one to ascertain the type of armour to which they initially belonged. The *pholidotoi thorakes* mentioned by Anna Komnene could signify either lamellar or scale cuirasses, which were worn in battle.⁴¹

For information on the actual appearance of the *pholidotos thorax* during the twelfth century one has to turn to religious painting. The artistic evidence suggests that a change had occurred by the second half of that century. St. Demetrios in the church of Sts. Anargyroi in Kastoria (late twelfth century) wears a long red tunic with long sleeves (Pl. 123). Below the hem of this tunic the lower part of an even longer, white, striped tunic is visible. Over the red tunic the saint wears a lavishly patterned, short-sleeved tunic, which reaches almost to the knees. He wears his cuirass, which is clearly of scale construction, over this last tunic. The scales, judging by their colour, are gilded and are attached to the backing by means of two rivets. They are arranged in an imbricate pattern, though they are not shown to overlap downwards. Their lower edge is curved and provided with a small, granular projection, the function of which was probably simply decorative. The cuirass reaches down to the hips. In the place of arm guards, two broad, bejewelled golden bands adorn the short sleeves of the outer tunic. That this representation is a realistic rendering of twelfth-century armour, probably of ceremonial character, is suggested by the great care with which all the details of the costume are depicted, by the lavishness of its decoration, and by its unquestionably unconventional appearance. One may

suggest on the basis of this representation that by the twelfth century a new variety of scale armour appeared in Byzantium, distinguished by the use of scales with a small central protuberance at their lower edge. Admittedly, I was unable to find parallels for this type of scale among extant examples recovered in archaeological sites in Central and Eastern Europe and Western Asia. As to artistic representations, these are very rare. As far as I know, this projection is not encountered in representations of scale armour in earlier Byzantine works of art.⁴² On the other hand, it can be seen in three eleventh-century Georgian repoussé icons portraying St. George.⁴³ It is tempting to think that a new variety of scale armour, attested in the Byzantine artistic record by the late twelfth century, was introduced in Byzantium from Georgia, sometime during the eleventh or early twelfth century. This was a period when the political and cultural ties between the two regions were strong: one has only to remember of the brilliant military career of Gregory Pakourianos under Alexios I Komnenos.⁴⁴ However, in the absence of concrete evidence the issue of the origin of this new feature in the representation of Byzantine scale armour must remain open.

There is no secure evidence as regards the fortune of lamellar and scale armour in the Late Byzantine period. I have not come across the terms '*klibanion*' or '*pholidotos thorax*' in the historical works of Pachymeres, Gregoras, and Kantakouzenos; they are not mentioned in pseudo-Kodinos either. The artistic evidence is of no real use, as

⁴² See, for example, the tenth-century portraits of John Tzimiskes and Melias discussed earlier. This formal device for the representation of scale does not occur in the *Madrid Skylitzes*, which, though produced around the mid-twelfth century, appears to follow in part late eleventh-early twelfth-century Byzantine models. The only possible earlier Byzantine representation I was able to locate is encountered at Nea Moni, Chios (mid-eleventh century), in the portrayal of St. Orestes (the lower edge of the scales is pointed rather than rounded and there are two dots instead of one, perhaps denoting a central protuberance), see Mouriki, *The Mosaics of Nea Moni*, pl. 61.

⁴³ G. Chubinashvili, *Gruzinskoe chekhanne iskustvo*, 2 vols. (Tbilisi, 1959), nos. 153, 156, 162. In two of these Georgian examples the scales are rectangular in shape. Similar rectangular scales with the characteristic protuberance can be seen on the cuirass of St. Theodore Stratelates at Sts. Anargyroi, Kastoria, see Πελεκανιδης, *Καστοριά*, pl. 21a.

⁴⁴ On the importance of Georgians (and Armenians) in the political and military affairs of the Byzantine empire, as early as the first years of the reign of Basil II (976-1025), see J. Howard-Johnston, 'Pouvoir et contestation à Byzance', *Europe* 822 (Oct. 1997), pp. 66, 72. I thank Dr. Howard-Johnston for kindly providing me with a copy of his article. See also, above, note 21 of Chapter 2. On the career of Gregory Pakourianos, see Lemerle, *Cinq études sur le XI^e siècle byzantin*, pp. 164-175.

⁴⁰ In the wall-debris covering the paved street outside the north-east colonnade of the Great Peristyle, see *Great Palace, 1st Report*, pp. 21, 99.

⁴¹ An. Komn., II, pp. 218 (*komes* Marianos), 222 (Alexios I).

the pictorial devices created in the Middle Byzantine period for lamellae and scales are constantly repeated in the later period, sometimes in fanciful and highly decorative arrangements (Pls. 124, 125, 155).⁴⁵ Such representations definitely give the impression that the painters did not have an actual type of armour in mind while they worked. However, absence of information cannot be considered as conclusive proof that lamellar or scale cuirasses were not employed in the Late Byzantine period. It could, however, be taken to suggest that splint armour was not as popular as it had been in the Middle Byzantine period. Such a development could have been brought about by the increasing popularity of other types of body-armour, especially mail.

Mail Armour

Mail construction comprised metal, commonly iron, rings linked together in such a way as to form a densely woven, yet flexible mesh. The individual rings could have been welded or riveted. Riveting was common for Saracenic armour.⁴⁶ Mail armour was employed in the Roman army, especially by the cavalry.⁴⁷ The use of mail in the Byzantine army during the tenth century is attested by the military manuals. Mail body-armour is referred to either as 'lorikon' or as 'alysidotos thorax'.⁴⁸ It must have continued in use in the eleventh and twelfth centuries as well, though there is no explicit reference to it in the historical sources of this period. It is impossible to say how widespread the use of mail was in the Middle Byzantine

⁴⁵ In some representations the lamellae are arranged in concentric circles, see, for example, Μοναχού Καλλίνικου Σταυροβονιάτης, *Η τεχνική της αιογραφίας. Με παράρτημα τοιχογραφιών του Πανσελήνου από το Πρωτάτο του Αγίου Όρους* (Nicosia, 1996), pl. 88 (St. Theodore Tiro); Constantinides, *The Wall-paintings of Panagia Olympiotissa*, pls. 64, 106. One wonders whether this peculiar arrangement of the lamellae, observed on cuirasses of some military saints from the thirteenth century onwards, was ultimately inspired from the round breastplates characteristic of Turk-Mongol military traditions. Admittedly, the illustrations of such breastplates I know of date to a much later period than the earliest appearance of the peculiar concentric arrangement of the lamellae in Byzantine contexts, see, for example, M. Gorelik, 'Oriental Armour of the Near and Middle East from the Eighth to the Fifteenth Centuries as Shown in Works of Art,' in *Islamic Arms and Armour*, ed. R. Elgood (London, 1979), fig. 189 (early fifteenth century).

⁴⁶ Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, p. 37.

⁴⁷ Robinson, *Armour of Imperial Rome*, pp. 170–171; Dixon and Southern, *The Roman Cavalry*, pp. 36–38; Bishop and Coulston, *Roman Military Equipment*, pp. 85, 117, 141, 145.

⁴⁸ *LT*, I, p. 91; *Syll. Tact.*, §§ 37, 38, 39; McGeer, *Sowing the Dragon's Teeth*, p. 38 (*Præcepta Militaria*). See, also, Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen*, pp. 38–41.

army. The only reference to mail armour discovered in Byzantine archaeological contexts I was able to find comes from the excavation of a male burial in the south aisle of the basilica of St. Achilleios, on the shores of the lake of Mikre Prespa in Macedonia. Vestiges of fine mail were discovered at the left elbow of the skeleton. No weapons were found associated with the burial. The only other find was a fragment of a silk textile, woven with gold thread and patterned with medallions enclosing pairs of birds. The burial of this unknown but obviously important individual is dated to the twelfth-thirteenth century.⁴⁹

Compared to lamellar armour, mail is rarely represented in eleventh-century art. The following two examples may be cited. St. Demetrios wears a tunic of mail on a steatite icon, now in the Louvre (Pl. 126). The mail tunic reaches to just above his knees and has sleeves coming down to the elbows. Its skirt has a small opening at the front. It is worn girt over a knee-length tunic with long sleeves. A probable representation of a mail shirt furnished with long sleeves is encountered at Elmalı kilise, Göreme, in the scene of the Crucifixion, worn by the figure of the soldier to the left of the cross (Pl. 127). The rarity of representations of mail armour in eleventh-century artistic contexts could be an indication that mail was not as popular as lamellar armour at the time. Though this is a possibility, there might be a different explanation. As we have seen, the armour of military saints in the eleventh century most probably reflected the ceremonial armour of the tenth and eleventh centuries, which, according to the evidence of both texts and portraits, was of splint construction. Made of gilded scales or lamellae, it must have had a brilliant appearance, which would create a desirable awe-inspiring effect.⁵⁰ Thus, the rare occurrence of mail in the eleventh-century pictorial contexts may simply be a result of the artists following models ultimately derived from imperial ceremonial, rather than an indication that mail was not being widely used in the Byzantine army.

The situation obviously changed in the twelfth century. Mail shirts appear more often in pictorial contexts, worn by simple soldiers in narrative scenes⁵¹ and by military saints either standing or

⁴⁹ N. Μουτσόπουλος, 'Ανασκαφή βασιλικῆς Ἀγίου Ἀχιλλείου,' ΠΑΕ 1967, p. 65.

⁵⁰ Cf. *LT*, I, p. 102. Mail, on the other hand, is rather impractical to gild. I owe this observation to Dr. M. Mango, whom I here thank.

⁵¹ Sinković, *The Church of St. Panteleimon at Nerezi*, figs. LXII–LXIV.

on horseback (Pls. 123, 128).⁵² The represented shirts reach to just below the hips and are furnished with short sleeves. In certain examples, however, we see a hybrid form of armour combining a cuirass rendered using the artistic device for mail, and arm-guards and skirt of *pteryges* or lamellae (Pl. 129).⁵³ This composite type was obviously an artistic invention, which continued to appear in monumental painting down to the Late Byzantine period (Pl. 130).⁵⁴

A possible reason why mail armour came to the fore in the twelfth century is the presence in Byzantine lands of the mail-clad Normans and the crusader armies on their way to the Holy Land during the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. The Byzantines' acknowledgment of the efficacy of western mail body-armour⁵⁵ could have resulted in the more widespread use of mail in the Byzantine army, a development which was then reflected in contemporary pictorial contexts. Alternatively, the presence of great numbers of formidable warriors clad in mail on the lands of the empire and the impact they had on the imagination and the lives of the contemporaries may have simply caused Byzantine mail armour to become more fashionable to depict. It is worth noting in this respect that the mail shirts represented in twelfth-century Byzantine artistic contexts are similar to those encountered in eleventh-century ones, but clearly distinct from contemporary western hauberks, which were longer and furnished with long sleeves.⁵⁶

Mail body-armour, apparently, continued to be employed in Byzantium during the Palaiologan period. In 1325, we learn, the *skouterios* Theodore Sarantenos, a wealthy member of the provincial gentry from Verroia, bequeathed his *lorikion*, along with other items of military equipment, to his son.⁵⁷ I have not come across a realistic representation of mail body-armour in Late Byzantine monumental pictorial contexts.

⁵² See, also, Pelekanides and Chatzidakis, *Kastoria*, fig. 21 on p. 41 (Sts. Anargyroi: St. George on horseback); Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons in Seattle*, no. 21 (Sebastopol, Historical-Archaeological Museum of Cherson: icon with St. Theodore Stratelates, St. George, and St. Demetrios).

⁵³ See, also, Grozdanov and Hadermann-Misguich, *Kurbino*, pl. 31.

⁵⁴ See, also, Μοναχού Καλλιάνικου, *Η τεχνική της αιοιογραφίας*, fig. 91 (Mount Athos, Protaton: St. Artemios).

⁵⁵ An. Komn., III, p. 114.

⁵⁶ C. Blair, *European Armour, circa 1066 to circa 1700* (London, 1972), pp. 27, 29.

⁵⁷ *Valopédi*, I, pp. 358–359.

Plate Armour

Plate muscle cuirasses in Middle and Late Byzantine artistic contexts are worn by military saints and simple soldiers alike (Pls. 101, 131).⁵⁸ Such cuirasses, however, had apparently become obsolete already by the end of the Early Byzantine period.⁵⁹ Their introduction in mediaeval Byzantine pictorial contexts is best attributed to the preservation and repetition of an antique artistic type. Nevertheless, amidst the conventional representations of plate armour there exists one example which might actually reflect a contemporary piece of equipment, probably associated with the military tradition of one of the peoples who served Byzantium as mercenaries. In the chapel of St. Euthymios, Thessalonike (1303), St. George wears a half-breastplate over a non-plate cuirass of conventional appearance (Pl. 132). The breastplate, the greenish grey of which suggests that it is made of metal, is fastened with brown leather straps over the shoulders. Half-breastplates worn over mail or lamellar armour would have afforded additional protection for the chest. I have found evidence for the use of this type of armour both in western military traditions⁶⁰ and Iranian ones, the latter under strong Mongol influence (Pl. 133).⁶¹ This evidence, however, dates from the latter part of the fourteenth century, too late to be of great use in identifying a model for the Byzantine representation. Notwithstanding, the weapons attributed to the saint (bow, quiver, small round shield, spear) bring him closer to the concept of a lightly armoured, mobile warrior encountered in the nomadic, Turko-Mongol tradition, rather than to that of a heavily armoured, sword-carrying western knight.⁶² There might be a possible connection between the portrayal of St. George in his half-breastplate with his realistically depicted bow and quiver with the tastes and personality of the donor of the chapel, the *protostrator* Michael Glabas Tarchaneotes, a distinguished general of Andronikos

⁵⁸ See, also, S. Westphalen, *Die Odalar Camii in Istanbul. Architektur und Malerei einer mittelbyzantinischen Kirche* (Tübingen, 1998), pp. 88–89, pl. 17 (St. Merkourios); Millet, *Le monastère de Daphni*, fig. 58 (St. Orestes); Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, pls. 498 (St. Merkourios), 519 (unidentified saint).

⁵⁹ Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen*, pp. 49–50. Cf. Bishop and Coulston, *Roman Military Equipment*, p. 167.

⁶⁰ Blair, *European Armour*, p. 72, fig. 28.

⁶¹ See, also, Gorelik, 'Oriental Armour of Near and Middle East,' figs. 171–173.

⁶² I thank Dr. J. Howard-Johnston for suggesting this interpretation. On the presence of Mongol mercenaries in the Late Byzantine army see Bartusis, *Late Byz. Army*, p. 196.

Protection for the Neck

By the end of the thirteenth century, rigid collars of splint construction make their appearance in Byzantine artistic contexts (Pls. 134, 135).⁶⁸ The introduction of this new element in the depiction

⁶³ Bartusis, *Late Byz. Army*, p. 64.

⁶³ On the life and the career of the protostrator see H. Belting, C. Mango, D. Mouriki, *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul* (Washington, D.C., 1978), pp. 11-15. Tarchaniotes had also commissioned a cycle depicting his military exploits. This pictorial cycle, housed in one of the buildings of the Pammakaristos Monastery, is known to us only by its description in a lengthy poem by Manuel Philes, *ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

⁶⁵ *LT*, I, p. 92.

⁶⁶ *Das Strategikon des Maurikios*, Einführung, Edition und Indices von G.T. Dennis, Übersetzung von E. Gamillscheg (Vienna, 1981) (hereafter *Strategikon*), p. 78.

⁶⁷ Independent protection for the neck and shoulders, made of scale or mail, was employed in northern Iran and in the Caucasus area already in the tenth century; see Gorelik, 'Oriental Armour of Near and Middle East,' pp. 32, 34 and fig. 84 (Aght'amar, Armenia, 915-929: relief representing Goliath, who appears to be wearing a collar of scale construction).

⁶⁸ See, also, Bartusis, *Late Byz. Army*, p. 324.

Garments Worn Beneath the Armour

Garments worn beneath the armour would have been manufactured in such a way as to offer additional protection to the soldier. They could have been padded or quilted, or made of strong, durable materials like felt and silk.⁷⁰ In artistic representations armour is as a rule shown worn over an ordinary knee-length tunic furnished with long sleeves. At Hosios Loukas, Joshua, St. Theodore Stratelates, and St. Demetrios, portrayed in fresco, apparently wear a garment with ample short sleeves, beneath the cuirass and over the tunic with the long sleeves (Pl. 118).⁷¹ The long sleeves of their inner tunic appear as if quilted, at least over the forearms.⁷² Representations of military

⁶⁹ Blair, *European Armour*, p. 42.

⁷⁰ Cf. the relevant information in an anonymous sixth-century treatise on strategy, see G.T. Dennis, *Three Byzantine Military Treatises* (Washington, D.C., 1983) (hereafter Dennis, *Military treatises*), pp. 54, 56. In the twelfth century, Alexios I Komnenos provided his light soldiery with garments and helmets made of silk, because he did not have enough armours made of metal for the whole army, see An. Komm., II, p. 14]. Silk could offer protection especially against archers, since it did not tear easily and would enter the wound with the arrowhead. This facilitated the extraction of the arrow from the wound. These observations were made by A. Muthesius, 'Byzantine Silks in the Latin West: Economic and Artistic Exchange or Political Ploy?', lecture given during a study-day on 'The Textile Trade between Byzantium and the West' organized by the Education Service of the British Museum on the 11th of April 1995.

⁷¹ Chatzidakis-Bacharas, *Les peintures murales de Hosios Loukas*, fig. 58 (St. Demetrios); N. Chatzidakis, *Hosios Loukas* (Athens, 1997), fig. 57 (St. Theodore Stratelates).

¹² The use of arm-guards made of iron, wood, or strong fabric is attested in the military manuals of the tenth century, see *LT*, I, pp. 92, 101–102. 117; *Syll. Tact.*, §§ 38, 39; McGeer, *Sowing the Dragon's Teeth*, p. 34 (*Præcepta Militaria*). I have found no evidence, artistic or other, for their use in the following centuries.

saints wearing full-length tunics beneath their armour are rare and appear in monuments dating to the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries (Pls. 107, 123, 129).⁷³ Long tunics could have formed part of the outfit of a mounted warrior, offering protection to the exposed part of his legs. They would have had to be split to be worn comfortably on horseback. Alternatively, their edges could have been tucked in the belt, as seen in the portrayal of a saint, probably St. George, at Nerezi.⁷⁴ The long tunics attributed to military saints, however, may reflect ceremonial military costume rather than the outfit of Byzantine mounted warriors.⁷⁵ This, as we have seen, is most probably the case in the portrayal of St. Demetrios in the church of the Sts. Anargyroi, Kastoria.

Garments Worn Over the Armour

Garments worn over the armour included mantles and coats or jackets called *epilorika*, meaning 'over the mail shirt', and *epanoklibana*, meaning 'over the lamellar/scale armour'.⁷⁶ These would have shielded the armour from the rain and the blazing sun, as the need arose. When required, they were also used as camouflage outfits.⁷⁷ Moreover, they would have served as additional protection. They were designed and

⁷³ For more examples see Chatzidakis-Bacharas, *Les peintures murales de Hosios Loukas*, pp. 78–79, note 259. I believe that this type of long tunic, shown worn by standing military saints, should be distinguished from the long 'surcoat' that can be seen in certain equestrian portraits of military saints encountered in a small number of late thirteenth- and fourteenth-century churches in the Byzantine Morea, see S.E.J. Gerstel, 'Art and Identity in the Medieval Morea,' in *Crusades*, pp. 276–277, figs. 13, 14. As Gerstel has demonstrated, these images were inspired by and show great affinity to crusader military imagery. The presence of the long 'surcoat' is probably yet another westernizing element that the painters borrowed from crusader images of mounted knights, saintly or otherwise. It is interesting to note, however, that the Byzantine artists depicted the 'surcoat' worn under the cuirass, in the same manner that the short tunic is worn in Byzantine-proper representations of mounted military saints, see, for example, above, note 23; western knights wore their surcoat over their armour, not under it. I thank Prof. Gerstel for providing me with an offprint of her article.

⁷⁴ Sinkević, *The Church of St. Panteleimon at Nerezi*, figs. LIII, 56. According to Manasses, noblemen tucked the ends of their skirts in their belts while hunting, see Kazhdan and Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture*, p. 76.

⁷⁵ Cf. the long robe of the triumphant emperor (Basil II?) on the famous Gunther tapestry at Bamberg, see A. Muthesius, *Byzantine Silk Weaving, AD 400 to AD 1200* (Vienna, 1997), no. M 90, pls. 52B, 53A; *To Βυζάντιο ως Οικουμένη*, fig. 23. Note, however, that the emperor does not wear body-armour.

⁷⁶ *LT*, I, pp. 91, 102, 119; *Syll. Tact.*, § 39.

⁷⁷ *Le traité sur la guerre (De velitatione) de l'empereur Nicéphore Phocas*, ed. G. Dagron and H. Mihăescu (Paris, 1986) (hereafter *De velitatione*), p. 53.

worn in such a way as not to hinder the soldiers in their movements.⁷⁸

Beyond their practical uses, the garments worn over the armour and especially the *epilorika* and the *epanoklibana* were an important element in the adornment of a warrior. Examples worn by the emperor were lavishly decorated. Two emperors of the ninth century wore *epilorika* during their respective triumphs: that of Theophilos was gold-woven, while that of Basil I was trimmed with pearls.⁷⁹ Two *epilorika*, one red, possibly with lapels crossing over at the front (*staurotón*), and another from Antioch, are mentioned in the will of Kale Pakouriane (1098).⁸⁰ Niketas Choniates refers to a green outer garment and another purple one, adorned with gold, both worn by Manuel I Komnenos over his body armour on campaign.⁸¹ In *Digenes Akrites* the hero is described as wearing an *epilourikon* decorated with griffins, while, on another occasion, a green one decorated with golden lions.⁸² I have not come across a representation of an *epilourikon* or an *epanoklibanon* in Middle Byzantine artistic contexts.

In the fourteenth century, the term '*epilourikon*' referred to an item of court costume worn by the emperor and certain dignitaries like the *megas domestikos*, the *protovestiaris*, the *megas doux*, the *protostrator*, and the *megas logothetes*.⁸³ The Late Byzantine garment was ascribed an oriental origin and was worn in association with a turban.⁸⁴ Unfortunately, pseudo-Kodinos does not describe the design and decoration of the Palaiologan *epilourikon*, nor does he mention explicitly that it was worn over armour. There is no way of knowing whether and in what way the later *epilourika* resembled their Middle-Byzantine antecedents. The name, nevertheless, would suggest that they must

⁷⁸ *Syll. Tact.*, § 39; McGeer, *Sawing the Dragon's Teeth*, pp. 34, 36 (*Præcepta Militaria*): the sleeves were provided with openings at the armpits for the arms to come through, while they (the sleeves) were secured behind the shoulders.

⁷⁹ Haldon, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, pp. 142, 148, 288.

⁸⁰ *Actes d'Ivroun*, II, pp. 179–180. Kale probably inherited these garments from her husband. The first she bequeathed to a son of her brother-in-law, the second to one of her freedmen. Neither of these two bequests included other items of military equipment.

⁸¹ Nik. Chon., p. 189.

⁸² E. Trapp, *Digenes Akrites. Synoptische Ausgabe der ältesten Versionen* (Vienna, 1971), G III, lines 866–867; E, lines 1422–1425. On the circumstances and the date of the composition of *Digenes Akrites*, which has been attributed to the late years of the reign of Alexios I Komnenos, see R. Beaton, 'Cappadocians at Court: Digenes and Timarion,' in *Alexios I Komnenos*, I, pp. 330–333, 337–338.

⁸³ Pseudo-Kod., pp. 158–159, 200, 227, 273.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 206, 200, 227.

have shared a similar function. Pseudo-Kodinos also mentions 'epanoklibana' worn by the *Tzakones*, one of the palace units. These were blue, decorated with white rampant lions, at the front and at the back.⁸⁵ It is not possible to say in what manner the *epanoklibana* differed from the *epilourika*.

Garments worn over the armour begin to be represented as part of the equipment of military saints from the second half of the thirteenth century onward. The earliest representation of such a garment is encountered at Panagia Mavriotissa, Kastoria (1259-1264) (Pl. 136). St. Demetrios, who is portrayed on the south façade of the narthex, wears what looks like an embroidered waistcoat over his armour. Other types represented included jackets buttoned at the front⁸⁶ and short sleeveless tunics secured with button(s) at the shoulder (Pl. 137).

A reference to what may be a different type of protective garment is encountered in the will of Theodore Sarantenos from Verroia (1325). Among other items of military equipment one finds mentioned a 'kazakan'.⁸⁷ The word 'kazakan' suggests an association with the Arabic 'kazāghand' ('qazākhand' in Persian). In Islamic military traditions the *kazāghand* was a mail shirt covered on the inside and the outside with fabric. It was worn either under the body-armour or on its own. The use of this light body-armour is attested among the Turks and peoples of the Middle East already in the thirteenth century. Though functional as body-armour, the *kazāghand* would also contribute to the adornment of the warrior, since costly materials could be employed for the outside cover.⁸⁸ As far as I know the earliest occurrence of the term 'kazakan' in a Byzantine document is encountered in the acts of the archbishop of Ohrid and famous jurist Demetrios Chomatianos (first half of the thirteenth century).⁸⁹ The *kazakan* mentioned in this context was made of silk and was presented to Basil Drougoubilos by the mother of his former fiancée. Basil, it would seem, served in the army.⁹⁰ The military associations

of the *kazakan* of the *skouterios* Theodore Sarantenos are more obvious, since the garment is listed among his 'weapons' (*armata*).⁹¹ The appearance of the term 'kazakan' in these Byzantine documents could be indicative of the impact of Islamic military practices on Late Byzantine equipment. The artistic evidence might help us visualize the appearance of the Byzantine *kazakan*. In portrayals of military saints dating to the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries one encounters representations of protective garments with a lining of mail worn over the body armour. Such garments included jackets as well as sleeveless tunics, which normally would have been secured at the shoulder but are depicted unfastened in order to display their lining (Pls. 134, 135).⁹²

Leg-Protection

Protection for the shins is prescribed in the Middle Byzantine military manuals for heavy-armoured infantry and cavalry soldiers. Greaves of iron, wood, or leather,⁹³ could have been made in one tubular or semi-tubular piece. Alternatively, they could have been of splint construction. The use of mail for the protection of the legs is not attested, to my knowledge, in the Middle Byzantine period, though mail *chausses* were known in the West at least from the second half of the eleventh century.⁹⁴ A rare representation of a pair of semi-tubular greaves is found in the Pigeon House Church, Çavuşin (963-969). They are seen worn by one of the Forty Martyrs, the second from Melias (Pl. 113). Their light brown colour could be taken to suggest that they were made of leather. The commonest type of leg-protection represented in Middle Byzantine art is a tubular one (Pls. 122, 126). In both monumental and miniature painting such greaves are white in colour and decorated with rows of beads, bands and, in

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 180. On the *Tzakones* see Bartusis, *Late Byz. Army*, p. 279.

⁸⁶ Τσιτουρίδου, *Ο ζωγραφικός διάκοσμος του Αγίου Νικολάου Ορφανού*, pl. 88 (St. Theodore Stratelates); Mouriki, *The Frescoes of St. Nicholas at Platsa*, fig. 91 (unidentified saint, 1337/8).

⁸⁷ *Valopédi*, I, p. 358.

⁸⁸ Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, pp. 39-40; H.R. Robinson, *Oriental Armour* (London, 1967), pp. 64, 77.

⁸⁹ J.B. Pitra, 'Responsiones Demetrii Chomatiani,' *Analecta sacra et classica Spicilegio Solesmensi parata* VI (Paris-Rome, 1891), p. 78.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁹² Nicolle was the first to suggest that the outer garment with the mail lining appearing in Late Byzantine painting might be a variation of the Islamic *kazāghand*, even though he was unaware of the relevant references in the two Byzantine documents discussed here, see Nicolle, *Arms and Armour of the Crusading Era*, no. 127A.

⁹³ *LT*, I, p. 117; *Syll. Tact.*, § 39.

⁹⁴ They can be seen worn by some of the warriors on the Bayeux Tapestry, an embroidery (69 × 0.53 m) executed shortly after 1066 and illustrating the sequence of events which led to the conquest of England by William the Conqueror, see Nicolle, *Arms and Armour of the Crusading Era*, nos. 870AC, 870AH, 870AI, 870AO, 870AP. See, also, Blair, *European Armour*, p. 28.

some examples, with a single, pseudo-kufic character (Pl. 127). The tubular greaves illustrated in the *Menologium* of Basil II are occasionally depicted with a knot at the back, indicating the manner in which they were secured.⁹⁵

There is little information on leg-protection in the Late Byzantine period. Artistic representations, having become conventional, are of limited use in this respect.⁹⁶ Rare depictions of mail *chausses* in Byzantine contexts are encountered at Vatopedi Monastery, worn by some of the sleeping soldiers in the Women at the Tomb (1312).⁹⁷ and in the early fourteenth-century church of St. Nicholas Orphanos, Thessalonike, worn by some of the soldiers in Christ before Pilate (Pl. 92). Though these representations cannot in any way be considered as compelling proof that such leg-protection was employed by the Byzantines themselves, they may be taken as an indication that in the Palaiologan period mail *chausses*, even if they were worn only by the Westerners settled on the lands of the empire or serving it as mercenaries, had become a familiar enough item of military equipment to be reflected in art. A different type of leg-protection can be seen in the portrayal of St. Merkourios at the Peribleptos in Ohrid (1294/5) (Pl. 135). It appears to be of plate construction and meant to protect the front of the shins, knees, and thighs. Though decorative in its rendering, this unusual depiction could reflect a functional piece of equipment. A close parallel for it can be seen in the representation of a mounted warrior in an Italian relief dated to c. 1290.⁹⁸ As in the case of the mail *chausses*, this type of leg-protection could have been used in the Late Byzantine army, either by the Byzantines themselves or by western mercenaries in the service of the emperor.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ *Il Menologio*, p. 15.

⁹⁶ See Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, p. 253.

⁹⁷ Ε. Τσιγαρίδας, 'Οι τοιχογραφίες του καθολικού της μονής Βατοπεδίου,' in *Βυζάντιο και Σερβία κατά τον ΙΔ' αιώνα* (Athens, 1996), fig. 202.

⁹⁸ Nicolle, *Arms and Armour of the Crusading Era*, no. 1322. The warrior wears this leg-protection over his mail *chausses*.

⁹⁹ This type of leg-protection can be seen worn also by St. Eustathios portrayed in the *katholikon* of the Serbian monastery of Chilandar on Mount Athos (1320–1321), see Ε. Τσιγαρίδας, *Τοιχογραφίες της περιόδου των Παλαιολόγων σε ναούς της Μακεδονίας* (Thessalonike, 1999), fig. 12.

Helmets

Based on the information of tenth-century military manuals, one may distinguish three main types of helmets employed by different units in the Middle Byzantine army:

1. helmets which afforded complete protection for the head, including the face; only the eyes of the warrior were visible (*κόρυθες τέλειαι*). Such helmets were prescribed for heavy cavalry and infantry soldiers¹⁰⁰
2. helmets which left the face uncovered (*κόρυθες άσκεπές έχουσαι τὸ πρόσωπον, κόρυθες μή τέλειαι*). Such helmets were worn by light infantry soldiers and mounted archers¹⁰¹
3. helmets which afforded no additional protection for the nape of the neck or face (*κόρυθες άσκεπείς τῷ κύκλῳ*). Such were the helmets prescribed for mounted soldiers armed with javelins.¹⁰²

In addition to these types made almost certainly of iron, head-guards made of other materials, like thick felt or leather, were also prescribed for infantry soldiers who were probably standing in the middle ranks of the military array.¹⁰³

The manuals appear to be more concerned with the decoration of the helmets, especially those of the mounted and infantry heavy-armoured soldiers, rather than with their shape or manufacturing technique. The commonest type of adornment prescribed is a socket with plumes (*τουφήα*) at the top. Sockets for plumes—as distinct from the crests of ancient Greek and Roman helmets—are a common feature of helmets employed by the nomadic peoples of the Eurasian steppe (Pl. 133).¹⁰⁴ The Byzantines had adopted this feature from them, apparently, as early as the late sixth century.¹⁰⁵ Helmets could also be adorned with some sort of applied decoration.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁰ *Syll. Tact.*, §§ 38, 39; McGeer, *Sowing the Dragon's Teeth*, pp. 36 (*Praecepta Militaria*), 114 (*Taktika* of Nikephoros Ouranos).

¹⁰¹ *Syll. Tact.*, §§ 38, 39.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, § 39.

¹⁰³ McGeer, *Sowing the Dragon's Teeth*, pp. 12, 14 (*Praecepta Militaria*); Haldon, *Byzantine State and Society*, p. 131. See also above, note 70.

¹⁰⁴ For examples of such helmets dating to the ninth–eleventh centuries see Nicolle, *Arms and Armour of the Crusading Era*, nos. 29, 30.

¹⁰⁵ *Strategikon*, pp. 78, 420: 'ἀνῶθεν τουφήα μικρά'.

¹⁰⁶ In *Digenes Akrites* the amazon Maximou wears a helmet with enamel decoration, see Trapp, *Digenes Akrites*, E, line 1483. In the State Museum at Moscow there is a conical, polygonal helmet with a broad horizontal brim, decorated with inlaid

In battle, emperors like Alexios I Komnenos and Manuel I Komnenos wore helmets with a mail curtain which covered their face completely, leaving only the eyes visible.¹⁰⁷ Such helmets were common in the military traditions of the peoples of the Middle East and the Turkic peoples of Central Asia.¹⁰⁸ As attested by a number of surviving examples from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, they remained in use down to the end of the Middle Ages. The helmets worn by the Byzantine emperors and their heavy-armoured soldiers would have looked similar to the pair of Turkish helmets, complete with the mail curtain suspended from their brim, dating to the thirteenth-fourteenth century, now in the Topkapı Sarayı Museum (Pl. 139).¹⁰⁹

Helmets with a mail curtain covering the face completely were never represented in Byzantine art. The commonest type encountered in Middle Byzantine artistic contexts is a conical or rounded helmet, with or without a band around the brim, furnished with a protective curtain for the nape and sides of the neck.¹¹⁰ The protective curtain could have been made of metal lamellae, mail, leather, or some form of thick or quilted fabric.¹¹¹ The helmet of Joshua at Hosios Loukas has a rounded skull with a tear-shaped projection at the top and a band around the brim (Pl. 118). The protective curtain for the nape appears to be made of fabric. Both the helmet and the curtain are decorated with a band of pseudo-kufic characters.

There is no written evidence comparable to the Middle Byzantine material regarding the types of helmets employed in Byzantium during the Late Byzantine period. In his will of 1325 Theodore Sarantenos speaks of a helmet which he bought in Constantinople and for which

figures of Christ, saints, and angelic powers in silver and gold. It is dated to the thirteenth century, see A. Bank, *Iskusstvo Vizanti v sobraniakh SSSR*, 3 vols. (Moscow, 1977), 3, no. 911.

¹⁰⁷ An. Komn., I, p. 23; Bryen., p. 273; Nik. Chon., p. 92. The reference to the face-guard being made of mail is found in Kinn., p. 112.

¹⁰⁸ The earliest known representation of such a helmet is that worn by Khusrū II on the rock-carving at Tāq-i-Bostān (c. 620) (Pl. 138).

¹⁰⁹ H. Stöcklein, 'Die Waffenschätze im Topkapu Sarayı Müzesi zu Istanbul-Ein vorläufiger Bericht,' *Ars Islamica* I (1934), pp. 203-204.

¹¹⁰ See Hoffmeyer, *Military Equipment in the Byz. Manuscript of Skylitzes*, figs. 12.11-20, 13.8-15 (types of helmets represented in the *Madrid Skylitzes*); De Wald, *Vat. Gr. 752*, pls. XXI, XXIII (ff. 54r, 79v); Jerphanion, *Églises rupestres*, pl. 199.2 (Soğanlı, Karabaş kilise, Women at the Tomb: guard).

¹¹¹ Cf. D. Nicolle, *Medieval Warfare Source Book. 2. Christian Europe and Its Neighbours* (London, 1998), p. 77 (top right).

he paid eighteen *hyperpyra*.¹¹² He gives no information concerning its appearance. Representations of helmets in Palaiologan painting are, as a rule, fanciful, with a predilection for impressive crests, like the one on the helmet of St. Merkourios at the Protaton, Mount Athos (Pl. 124). However, there is one significant development in the representation of head-protection in Late Byzantine artistic contexts and this is the appearance of distinctively western designs.¹¹³ Thus, one comes across illustrations of bascinets (Pl. 140),¹¹⁴ kettle hats or chapel-de-fer (Pls. 135, 141),¹¹⁵ and mail coifs worn either on their own or beneath the helmet (Pls. 92, 130, 142). It may be argued that the relatively widespread occurrence of westernizing head-gear in Palaiologan pictorial contexts may be an indication that such helmets and coifs were common in Byzantine lands and that the Byzantines themselves had also adopted them. However, there is also the possibility that, in the case of at least some of these representations, the artists might have been following a western artistic model rather than being directly inspired by their surroundings.¹¹⁶

Shields

According to the written evidence, the most common type of shield before the middle of the eleventh century was the round shield. One can distinguish three different sizes:

1. a great round shield (*σκουτάριον στρογγύλον τέλειον*; diam. 0.819 m), employed by the heavy-armoured infantry, the *skoutatoi*¹¹⁷

¹¹² *Valopédi*, I, p. 358.

¹¹³ For an outline of the development of head-protection in Western Europe from the eleventh century down to the fifteenth see Blair, *European Armour*, pp. 25-32, 46-52, 67-70.

¹¹⁴ See, also, Χατζηδάκης, *Μυστράς*, fig. 19 (Metropolis, the martyrdom of St. Nestor: executioner); Millet, *Monuments byz. de Mistra*, pl. 117.2 (Peribleptos, Crucifixion: soldiers).

¹¹⁵ See, also, Constantinides, *The Wall-paintings of Panagia Olympiotissa*, pls. 107, 109 (St. Merkourios); Millet, *Monuments byz. de Mistra*, pls. 93.3 (Aphendiko, Massacre of the Innocents: soldiers), 105.1 (chapel of St. John, Crucifixion: the Centurion).

¹¹⁶ Cf. D. Mouriki, 'Palaeologan Mistra and the West,' in *Βυζάντιο και Ευρώπη: Α' Διεθνής Βυζαντινολογική Συνάντηση, 20-24 Ιουλίου 1985* (Athens, 1987), p. 239, who postulates western artistic influences behind the representation of westernizing military equipment in the painted ensembles of Palaiologan Mistra.

¹¹⁷ *LT*, I, p. 116; *Syll. Tact.*, § 38.

2. a medium-sized shield (*σκουτάρια μικρά στρογγύλα, άσπίδες περιφερείς*; diam. 0.702 m), carried by the light infantry and light cavalry soldiers armed with javelins¹¹⁸
3. a small shield (*σκουταρίσκια, άσπίδίσκια στρογγύλα, χεροσκουτάρια*; of a diameter, one assumes, less than 0.702 m), carried by light infantry; the *Præcepta Militaria* refer specifically to infantry archers.¹¹⁹

The *Taktika* of Leo VI and the *Sylloge Tacticorum* also make reference to oblong shields (*άσπίδες επιμήκεις*), without being more specific concerning their shape, i.e. whether they were rectangular or oval. In the *Sylloge* these shields are most often mentioned as alternatives to the round shields. They came in two different sizes. The larger (h. 1.053 m) was carried by the heavy-armoured cavalry, the *kataphraktoi*, while the smaller (h. 0.936 m) was carried by light infantry soldiers or mounted soldiers armed with javelins.¹²⁰ The greatest of all shields was a rectangular one which became gradually narrower towards its lower end. As it reached 1.404 m in height, it offered complete coverage to the soldier and was carried by the heavy-armoured infantry.¹²¹ Another type was the large triangular shield carried by the heavy-armoured infantry as an alternative to the rectangular and the round one. It was almost as large as the rectangular shield, offering complete coverage with the additional advantage that it was less cumbersome and afforded greater freedom of movement.¹²²

In artistic contexts of the tenth and the early eleventh century round shields are the commonest type represented. They are either large or very small, but both types are, as a rule, convex (Pl. 101).¹²³ At Kılıçlar kuşluk, Göreme, there is, however, a representation of a very small round shield which is clearly flat (Pl. 116). One is tempted to associate this type with the very small, round shields prescribed for the light infantry in the *Sylloge Tacticorum*.

¹¹⁸ *LT*, I, p. 119; *Syll. Tact.*, §§ 38, 39.

¹¹⁹ *LT*, I, p. 90; *Syll. Tact.*, § 38; McGeer, *Sowing the Dragon's Teeth*, p. 14 (*Præcepta Militaria*). The only explicit reference to the very small shields being round is found in the *Sylloge Tacticorum*.

¹²⁰ *LT*, I, p. 115; *Syll. Tact.*, §§ 38, 39.

¹²¹ *Syll. Tact.*, § 38. For a rare representation of a rectangular shield on a ceramic bowl (end of twelfth-first half of thirteenth century) see *Byzance. L'art byzantin dans les collections publiques françaises*, eds. J. Durand et al. (Paris, 1992) (hereafter *Byzance*), no. 306.

¹²² *Syll. Tact.*, § 38.

¹²³ See, also, Wharton-Epstein, *Tokali Kilise*, fig. 117.

Another type of shield represented in eleventh-century painting is a very small, apparently flat, oval one. It can be seen held by military saints and simple soldiers in the *Menologium* of Basil II.¹²⁴ Such shields are also encountered in monumental painting, at Hosios Loukas and at Nea Mone, Chios (Pls. 119, 143). The oval was the common type of shield in Early Byzantine representations of imperial bodyguards (Pl. 9).¹²⁵ However, the Middle Byzantine examples are much smaller than their Early Byzantine antecedents. Their size does not permit their association with the oblong type mentioned in the tenth-century sources. They could, on the other hand, be related to the small-sized shields mentioned in the military treatises, which might have been oval as well as round in shape.

An important development in the design of Byzantine shields is attested by the appearance of a new type in Byzantine artistic contexts around the middle of the eleventh century. This is the almond-shaped shield, rounded at the top, with curving sides terminating to a point at the lower end. It appears in two sizes, a small one with an estimated height of 0.80 m and a large one with an estimated height of 1 m.¹²⁶ They can be seen in *Val. gr.* 752, ff. 54r, 104r (c. 1059), in *Par. gr.* 74, f. 92v (mid-eleventh century or slightly later), in the *Theodore Psalter*, ff. 12r, 87v, 190v, 199r (1066), in the octateuch *Val. gr.* 747, ff. 221v, 225r, 243r, 247v (third quarter of eleventh century), and on two steatite icons, one of St. Theodore Stratelates in the Museo Sacro of the Vatican and one of St. George in the Vatopedi Monastery (Pls. 121, 122, 144).¹²⁷ The almond-shaped shield appeared almost simultaneously in West-European artistic contexts, best known among which is the Bayeux Tapestry (Pl. 145).¹²⁸ There has been a long discussion concerning the place of origin of the type, that is whether it was Byzantium or Western Europe. The question has not been settled yet as there is not much evidence other than that offered by the artistic representations. However, as Kolias has

¹²⁴ *Il Menologio*, pp. 62, 215, 383.

¹²⁵ Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen*, p. 104.

¹²⁶ The dimensions are estimated proportionally to the height of the figures holding the shields.

¹²⁷ De Wald, *Val. Gr.* 752, pls. XXI, XXV; Omont, *Ms. Gr. 74*, pl. 80; Der Nersessian, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs*, figs. 22, 142, 298, 313; J. Lowden, *The Octateuchs. A Study in Byzantine Manuscript Illustration* (Pennsylvania, 1992), figs. 49, 68, 163, 170.

¹²⁸ Anna Komnene, III, p. 114, describes the western almond-shaped shield as being slightly curved. On the Tapestry it appears to be flat.

pointed out, it is not unlikely that this new type had developed out of the triangular shield, prescribed in the *Sylloge Tacticorum* for the heavy infantry.¹²⁹

The next important step in the evolution of the Byzantine shield is attributed to a reform undertaken by Manuel I Komnenos during the first years of his reign, in the 1140s. According to the testimony of Kinnamos, Manuel introduced the use of great shields, offering complete coverage (*ποδήρεις*), to replace the common type of round[ed] shields (*κυκλωτερείς*) employed by the Byzantine army until that time.¹³⁰ Kolias has suggested that the new great shields introduced by Manuel I were triangular in shape, most probably in imitation of a parallel development in the West.¹³¹ Judging by the description of Kinnamos, they must have been larger than their antecedents in size. The artistic evidence could help us visualize Manuel's newly introduced shield-type. At Sts. Anargyroi, Kastoria (c. 1180), St. Christophoros appears holding a great shield (estimated height 1.20–1.30 m) (Pl. 146). Its top projects strongly upwards, while its sides are straight and moving towards a point at the bottom. The bottom of the shield has been destroyed. The shield is convex and appears as if embracing the body of the saint. It is quite distinct in appearance from the almond-shaped shields represented in eleventh-century pictorial contexts or even in other late twelfth-century churches at Kastoria and elsewhere (Pls. 128, 129).¹³²

Evidence on shield-types employed in Byzantium during the Late Byzantine period has to be extracted from artistic representations, since the historical sources of the time are not very informative in this respect. Well-known types of shields, like the round, convex shield (Pls. 131, 147, 155) and the almond-shaped shield¹³³ continue to be represented, though at this late date their appearance in pictorial contexts was, in all probability, due to the repetition of conventional artistic types and cannot be taken as proof that such shields

had actually continued in use. The great, strongly curved triangular shield with the curved top, which had made its first appearance on the walls of Sts. Anargyroi, Kastoria, apparently underwent a change. In monuments dating to the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, like the Peribleptos in Ohrid, the Chora Monastery in Constantinople, and the Holy Apostles and St. Nicholas Orphanos in Thessalonike, it is represented with a flat top and is smaller in size than its Middle Byzantine antecedent; it has preserved its other features, such as the straight sides tapering to a point and its strong vertical curvature (Pls. 125, 137, 148, 149). It can be considered as a distinctive Late Byzantine type, as it is different from the triangular shields encountered in the West at that time. These had gradually become smaller as a consequence of the increasing use of plate armour, observed in the West from the mid-thirteenth century onwards. They were flat, with a straight or slightly concave top, and curved sides.¹³⁴ The absence of western small, triangular shields from Byzantine pictorial contexts may, perhaps, be taken as an indication that the Byzantines had not adopted western plate body-armour either, since such armour would have made the use of larger shields superfluous.

Another type of shield which appears frequently in Palaiologan artistic contexts is the small, flat, round shield which we have already encountered in the eleventh-century church of Kılıçlar küşluk in Cappadocia. Some of the most elaborately decorated examples of shields in Late Byzantine art belong to this category: the shield of St. Theodore Tiro at St. Nicholas Orphanos, Thessalonike,¹³⁵ and that of St. Demetrios in the church of the Anastasis, Verroia (Pl. 150). This type of shield is distinctly oriental, already known in Iran from the Sassanian period and employed in the Islamic world throughout the Middle Ages by infantry and cavalry soldiers (Pl. 133).¹³⁶ In Persian miniatures of the fourteenth century it is seen in the hands

¹²⁹ Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen*, pp. 105–108, 113. Cf. Haldon, *Warfare, State and Society*, p. 324, note 96.

¹³⁰ Kinn., p. 125.

¹³¹ Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen*, pp. 114–117. See, also, Blair, *European Armour*, p. 181.

¹³² This new great triangular shield may be seen also in an icon with St. Theodore Tiro from the Monastery of St. John the Theologian at Patmos, dated to c. 1200, see *Gloria of Byzantium*, no. 76 (pp. 129–130).

¹³³ For example, at Panagia Blacherna, Arta, in the Mocking of Christ (observation *in situ*).

¹³⁴ Blair, *European Armour*, p. 181. A rare representation of such a shield in a Byzantine context is found at the Peribleptos, Mistra, held by one of the guards in Joseph of Arimathia demanding the body of Christ for burial, see Millet, *Monuments byz. de Mistra*, pl. 122.2. They were also depicted in Greek monuments located in Latin-occupied areas, as, for example, in the fourteenth-century wall-painting of St. Theodore and St. George on horseback at Merenta, Attica, see N. Coumbaraki-Panselínou, *Saint-Pierre de Kalyvia-Kouvara et la chapelle de la Vierge de Merenta. Deux monuments du XIII^e siècle en Attique* (Thessalonike, 1976) p. 78.

¹³⁵ Τσιτουρίδου, *Ο ζωγραφικός διάκοσμος του Αγίου Νικολάου Ορφανοῦ*, pl. 89.

¹³⁶ L. Kalus, 'Boucliers circulaires de l'Orient musulman (évolution et utilisation)', *Gladius* 12 (1974), pp. 69–70.

of warriors engaged in sword combat, both mounted and on foot.¹³⁷ Small round shields, called bucklers, were also employed in Western Europe during the Late Middle Ages, though not in the battlefield, but by civilians and bodyguards.¹³⁸ I see no reason to doubt that such shields were also employed in Byzantium. They could have formed part of the equipment of light troops or could have been held by bodyguards, as bucklers were in the West. The bodyguard standing behind Kyrenius in the Enrolment for Taxation at the Chora Monastery holds such a minuscule round shield (Pl. 93).

Swords

As no actual examples have survived either from the Middle or the Late Byzantine period, one has to fall back on the written and artistic evidence for the study of the Byzantine sword.¹³⁹ The written sources which could be of use in such an investigation are mostly limited to the Middle Byzantine period. Most important among these are the following: the military manuals, which inform us of the type of swords employed by various units, of their dimensions, and of the manner in which they were carried; the *De cerimoniis*, which gives information on the decoration of ceremonial swords; and epigrams dedicated to swords belonging to members of the aristocracy.

Portraits of emperors or members of the military aristocracy holding swords are rare. One may mention the portrait of Basil II in his Psalter (Pl. 110), the effigies on coins and seals of emperors like Constantine IX Monomachos and Isaak I Komnenos,¹⁴⁰ the portrait of the *protospatharios* Constantine in *Vat. reg. gr.* 1 (Appendix 3, no. 2), and the portraits of two members of the Skepides family at Karabaş kilise (Appendix 3, nos. 11, 12). The historical miniatures of the *Madrid Skylitzes* contain numerous representations of swords, which are, as a rule, small in scale and too generalized to be of great help. On the other hand, a wealth of information can be extracted from

a careful survey of representations of swords in religious iconography. These representations help us visualize distinctive features of the Byzantine sword like its hilt and the adornment of its scabbard. In addition, they offer convincing illustrations of the manner in which the sword was carried. Furthermore, comparisons between Middle Byzantine and Late Byzantine depictions clearly demonstrate a significant change in the types of swords employed in Byzantine lands over time.

The Middle Byzantine army employed both two-edged and single-edged swords. According to the *Sylloge Tacticorum*, the heavily armoured cavalry, the *kataphraktoi*, carried two swords of equal length, one two-edged, suspended from the shoulder, and one single-edged, girt at the waist. The two-edged sword ranged in length from 0.936 m, including the hilt, to c. 1.10 m.¹⁴¹ According to the same text, the heavily armoured infantry soldiers carried two-edged swords girt at the waist, 0.936 m in length, including the hilt.¹⁴² Dimensions of swords carried by the lightly armoured infantry and cavalry units are not given. One would assume that they were shorter than those of the heavily armoured units.

When referring to single-edged swords the tenth-century military manuals do not indicate whether their blades were straight or curved. In another text of the tenth century, the History of Leo the Deacon, there is a description of a weapon called 'akouphion' which had a smoothly curving blade.¹⁴³ One wonders whether this was a type of sabre. At such an early date swords with curved blades were employed by nomadic peoples of the Eurasian steppe.¹⁴⁴ Contact with these tribes could have led the Byzantines to adopt the curved blade, though there exists no conclusive evidence of the use of sabres in the Middle Byzantine army. The *akouphion* of Leo the Deacon may well have been a rather uncommon type of percussion weapon, but not necessarily a sword. That it was unusual is suggested by the fact that Leo considered it worthwhile to describe the weapon in detail. I have not been able to identify any representation of a sword with

¹³⁷ See, for example, N.M. Titley, *Persian Miniature Painting and Its Influence on the Art of Turkey and India* (London, 1983), fig. 9; Rogers, *The Topkapı Sarayı Museum*, pl. 39.

¹³⁸ Blair, *European Armour*, p. 182.

¹³⁹ The excavations at Corinth yielded lamentably few fragments: the tip of a sword-blade (eleventh century), a possible handle (eleventh century) and a plain, iron pommel (Byzantine), see Davidson, *Minor Objects*, nos. 1562, 1563, 1566 (Pl. 151).

¹⁴⁰ See above, note 3.

¹⁴¹ *Syll. Tact.*, § 39. See, also, Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen*, p. 137.

¹⁴² *Syll. Tact.*, § 38.

¹⁴³ *Leonis Diaconi Caloensis Historiae*, ed. C.B. Hase (Bonn, 1828), p. 89.

¹⁴⁴ See M. Denisova, M. Portnov, E. Denisov, *Russkie oruziye XI-XIX vekov* (Moscow, 1953), pp. 28-30; P. Ricz, 'The Weapons of Steppe Nomads,' *Balkanoslavica* 10 (1983), p. 11.

a curved blade in Middle Byzantine artistic contexts. Even representations of single-edged swords with a straight blade are rare.¹⁴⁵ Sword-blades could have been adorned with inscriptions, which may have included the name of the owner, invocations of victory and good fortune, and supplications to God and holy personages for protection.¹⁴⁶ As an epigram of Theodore Prodromos informs us, they could also have been embellished with inlaid figures of military saints, the natural protectors of a soldier in battle.¹⁴⁷

The most distinctive feature of the Middle Byzantine sword was its hilt, comprising the pommel, the grip, and the hand-guard (quillons). A great variety of pommel-types are encountered in artistic contexts.¹⁴⁸ If one were to choose a type to call characteristically Middle Byzantine, that would have to be the onion-shaped pommel.¹⁴⁹ Examples of such pommels can be seen on the sword of Michael Skepides at Karabaş kilise (Appendix 3, no. 11) and on the swords of figures in religious pictorial contexts, like Joshua at Hosios Loukas, St. Orestes at Nea Mone, Chios, St. Merkourios in his church at Corfu, St. Demetrios(?) at Nerezi, and Sts. Lauros, Phloros, Christophoros, Prokopios, and Demetrios at Sts. Anargyroi, Kastoria (Pls. 118, 120, 123).¹⁵⁰ Another type of pommel worth special mention as it too seems to have enjoyed some preference in Byzantium is the three-lobed pommel, examples of which can be seen illustrated at Yusuf koç kilisesi (Pl. 114), at Daphni, and in the *Theodore Psalter*,

¹⁴⁵ Hoffmeyer, *Military Equipment in the Byz. Manuscript of Skylitzes*, fig. 16.17–23.

¹⁴⁶ For a rare Middle Byzantine representation of an inscribed blade (indecipherable characters) see *Il Menologio*, p. 387. Representations of blades with pseudo-inscriptions are relatively more numerous in Late Byzantine contexts (Pls. 124, 152). Another example of an inscribed blade is encountered at the Peribleptos in Ohrid. The inscription on the blade of the sabre of St. Merkourios, however, is not an invocation of victory, but the signature of the painter, Michael Astrapas (Pl. 135).

¹⁴⁷ Hörandner, *Prodromos*, poem LII, a–d: the sword of Alexios Kontostephanos was adorned with images of Sts. Theodore and Demetrios.

¹⁴⁸ Hoffmeyer, *Military Equipment in the Byz. Manuscript of Skylitzes*, pp. 95–97, fig. 16; Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen*, pp. 140–142.

¹⁴⁹ According to Hoffmeyer's classification (*Military Equipment in the Byz. Manuscript of Skylitzes*, p. 96): 'a more or less globular pommel with a top which makes it almost onion-shaped'.

¹⁵⁰ Mouriki, *The Mosaics of Nea Moni*, pl. 61; Sinkević, *The Church of St. Panteleimon at Nerezi*, fig. 57; Πελεκανίδης, *Καστοριά*, pls. 23, 25. The onion-shaped pommel does not occur among contemporary Western European pommel-types, see E. Oakeshott, *The Archaeology of Weapons. Arms and Armour from Prehistory to the Age of Chivalry* (London, 1960), figs. 57, 106. Illustrations in Persian manuscripts that I know of are later.

f. 141r.¹⁵¹ According to Hoffmeyer, this type of pommel originated in the Near East.¹⁵² During the eleventh and twelfth centuries Byzantine pommels show little affinity to Western European types.

The grip of Byzantine swords was long enough to accommodate one hand; there is no evidence to suggest that swords in Byzantium were ever handled with both hands. The grip could have been made of wood, horn, or bone. Elaborate examples may have had some kind of semi-precious stone incorporated. This appears to be the case of the grip on the sword of St. Demetrios at Sts. Anargyroi, Kastoria (Pl. 123).¹⁵³ The grip terminated at the hand-guard. This could have been straight, as on the swords of military saints at the church of St. Nicholas Kasnitze, Kastoria (Pl. 128), or curved towards the blade, plain or adorned with decorative finials, as on the swords of military saints at the church of Sts. Anargyroi, also at Kastoria (Pl. 123).¹⁵⁴ In addition to these, other less known types are attested in the artistic record, like

1. the hand-guard with the side towards the grip curved and the side towards the blade straight (Pls. 117, 120)
2. the spindle-shaped hand-guard, with rounded finials (Pls. 118, 121, 122, 126, 129)
3. the hand-guard curved towards the grip.¹⁵⁵

The scabbards of the swords would have been made of wood with some kind of fabric or leather covering. Judging by representations, they had metal mouth-pieces and chapes, which not only strengthened the structure of the scabbard, but also contributed to its embellishment. The commonest types of chapes represented in Middle Byzantine painting are U-shaped, sometimes with cuneiform projections,¹⁵⁶ and non-symmetrical varieties (Pl. 119).¹⁵⁷ Metal bands, placed

¹⁵¹ Millet, *Le monastère de Daphni*, fig. 58; Der Nersessian, *L'illustration des psaumes grecs*, fig. 226.

¹⁵² A.B. Hoffmeyer, 'Introduction to the History of the European Sword,' *Gladius* 1 (1961), pp. 47, 64.

¹⁵³ Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen*, pp. 142–143.

¹⁵⁴ See, also, Πελεκανίδης, *Καστοριά*, pl. 25.

¹⁵⁵ See, for example, Sinai, *Byzantium, Russia: Orthodox Art from the Sixth to the Twentieth Century*, eds. Y. Piatnitsky et al. (London, 2000), no. B77 (schist icon with Sts. Demetrios and George; end of eleventh-beginning of twelfth century).

¹⁵⁶ See, for example, *Il Menologio*, pp. 4, 45, 75, 215 (executioners and bodyguards); Westphalen, *Die Odalar Camii*, pl. 17 (St. Merkourios).

¹⁵⁷ See, also, *Il Menologio*, p. 18 (executioner); Chatzidakis, *Hosios Loukas*, fig. 47 (St. Merkourios).

at intervals along the body of the scabbard, helped to hold it together. Two of these bands, or the mouth-piece and one band, were provided with rings for attaching the belt or the baldric to the sword. The arrangement of the rings on the same side of the scabbard indicates that this was attached to a baldric. In Middle Byzantine painting military saints and simple soldiers commonly bear their swords on their left side, suspended from a baldric that goes over the right shoulder (Pl. 118);¹⁵⁸ this was the 'Roman' way of carrying the sword.¹⁵⁹ In addition to the bands, the mouth-piece, and the chape, a scabbard could have been adorned with other attachments. The materials employed in the adornment of the scabbard were determined by the rank of its owner. The scabbards of the imperial swords were embellished with gold or gold enamel plaques, set jewels, and pearls.¹⁶⁰ The scabbard of the sword of Basil II in his often-cited portrait,¹⁶¹ those of the swords in the hands of emperors in the *Madrid Skylitzes*, ff. 42v, 43r.a, 75v (Pl. 64), and that of the imperial sword held by the official to the right of the throne in the *epithalamion* of 1179, *Vat. gr.* 1851, f. 1r,¹⁶² are red in colour, suggesting a covering of red leather or silk. The cover of the scabbard of the imperial sword continued to be red in colour through to the Palaiologan period (Pl. 24).

With regard to the types of swords employed in Byzantium during the Late Byzantine period we have only artistic representations to guide us.¹⁶³ A comparison between Middle and Late Byzantine illustrations of swords leads to the following observations:

- sabres make their appearance in pictorial contexts (Pls. 124, 135)¹⁶⁴
- the hilt with a disk pommel associated with straight or curved quillons becomes very common (Pls. 125, 148, 152). The disk pommel was a type especially popular in Western Europe during the Late Middle Ages (Pl. 153).¹⁶⁵ The onion-shaped pommel is rarely represented (Pls. 149, 154). The spindle-shaped hand-guard and the one with the side towards the grip curved and the side towards the blade straight, apparently, disappear from the artistic record.
- the sword-belt is commonly attached to two rings on either side of the mouth-piece of the scabbard. This indicates that the sword was now carried girt at the waist. The scabbards of the swords of St. Demetrios, St. George, and St. Merkourios portrayed in the funerary chapel at the Chora Monastery are adorned with an X-motif close to the top (Pl. 155). Comparisons with surviving western examples and effigies of swords suggest that this motif was inspired from the western technique of attaching the belt to the scabbard (Pl. 156).¹⁶⁶
- daggers, as distinct from knives, which were often represented during the Middle Byzantine period especially in the Betrayal, make their appearance in Late Byzantine religious pictorial contexts.¹⁶⁷ The daggers represented in the Betrayal at the Peribleptos in Ohrid and in the Massacre of the Innocents at Aphendiko, Mistra,¹⁶⁸ clearly reflect a type which was extremely popular in the West, especially in Italy, during the fourteenth century.¹⁶⁹ Furthermore, the attribution of both a sword and a dagger to St. Prokopios portrayed in the funerary chapel of the Chora Monastery (Pl. 147) was, in all probability, ultimately inspired by contemporary western practices.¹⁷⁰

¹⁵⁸ See, also, *Il Menologio*, pp. 45, 75.

¹⁵⁹ *LT*, I, p. 101.

¹⁶⁰ *De. cer.*, pp. 80, 167, 188. Cp. with the representations of imperial swords in *Par. gr.* 510, ff. 239r, 440 (c. 880), see L. Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning in Ninth-century Byzantium. Image as Exegesis in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus* (Cambridge, 1999), figs. 27, 45. An idea of what the imperial swords might have looked like in terms of wealth of materials and decoration may be derived from a comparison with the ceremonial sword of Frederick II of Hohenstaufen believed to have come out of a Sicilian workshop (before 1220) (Pl. 153), see B. Thomas, O. Gamber, H. Schedelmann, *Arms and Armour. Masterpieces of European Craftsmen from the Thirteenth to the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1964), no. 1.

¹⁶¹ For a colour reproduction see A. Cutler and J.-M. Spieser, *Byzance médiévale, 700-1204* (Paris, 1996), fig. 254.

¹⁶² To my knowledge, there is no colour reproduction of this image. I would like to thank Cecily Hilsdale for allowing me to see her colour slide of the miniature.

¹⁶³ In the often-cited will of Theodore Sarantenos (1325) there is a reference to an adorned sword, but no detailed description of it: 'σπαθίον ἀμύμιαν κεκοσμημένον,' see *Vatopédi*, I, pp. 358-359. The meaning of the word 'sampion' is not known to me.

¹⁶⁴ See, also, Tsigaridas, *Vatopaidi*, fig. 220; Τσιτουρίδου, *Οζωγραφικός διάκοσμος του Αγίου Νικολάου Ορφανού*, pl. 35; Constantinides, *The Wall-paintings of Panagia Olympiotissa*, pl. 107.

¹⁶⁵ On its development in the West see A.B. Hoffmeyer, 'From Medieval Sword to Renaissance Rapier,' *Gladius* 2 (1963), pp. 11-14. See, also, Oakeshott, *The Archaeology of Weapons*, p. 225, fig. 106 (types H-K).

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 240, fig. 119, pl. 9c.

¹⁶⁷ See, for example, Tsigaridas, *Vatopaidi*, fig. 220.

¹⁶⁸ Dumbarton Oaks Photographic Archive, Ohrid, St. Clement, no. G8; Millet, *Monuments byz. de Mistra*, pl. 93.3.

¹⁶⁹ Oakeshott, *The Archaeology of Weapons*, p. 336, fig. 176.

¹⁷⁰ See previous note.

Two facts become obvious from the above observations: the absence from Late Byzantine pictorial contexts of a sword-type which can be identified as distinctively Byzantine and the prominence of styles borrowed from the military traditions of the East and, especially, the West. Both might be taken as reflecting the all too probable absence of a self-sufficient sword-production industry in the diminished and impoverished Palaiologan empire and the latter's consequent dependence on its eastern and western neighbours for the supply of swords.¹⁷¹

Axes and Maces

Battle-axes, which could be used as percussion and as throwing weapons, were prescribed in the military manuals of the tenth century for the heavy-armoured cavalry and infantry units, as well as for foot-archers.¹⁷² They were kept in leather sheaths, which in the case of the cavalry soldiers were suspended from the saddle. The *Taktika* of Leo VI attest to the use of both single and double axes. Single-bladed axes could have had either a straight or a curved blade. As far as double axes are concerned, Leo's *Taktika* distinguish between three categories:

1. blade-and-spike axes
2. axes with one blade curved and the other straight
3. axes with apparently both sides shaped in the same manner, whether curved or straight, it is not clear in the text.¹⁷³

The battle-axe was the distinctive weapon of the imperial bodyguard. It is mentioned as such in a number of historical texts of the Middle Byzantine period.¹⁷⁴ Most probably it is the Varangian guard which is referred to in these contexts.¹⁷⁵ The axe was still employed by the Varangians down to the fourteenth century.¹⁷⁶ There is no written

¹⁷¹ It has been argued that the Byzantine empire had remained self-sufficient in the production of weapons down to the late twelfth century, see Magdalino, *Manuel I Komnenos*, p. 146. As to the Late Byzantine period, we are generally poorly informed concerning both the production and the importation of weapons in Byzantium, see Bartusis, *Late Byz. Army*, p. 333.

¹⁷² *LT*, I, pp. 106, 116, 119; McGeer, *Sowing the Dragon's Teeth*, p. 14 (*Prorecepta Militaria*).

¹⁷³ See Kolia, *Byzantinische Waffen*, p. 169.

¹⁷⁴ Psellos, *Chron.*, II, p. 165; An. Kornn., II, p. 181; Kinn., p. 8.

¹⁷⁵ On the Varangians see Bartusis, *Late Byz. Army*, pp. 272–276.

¹⁷⁶ Pseudo-Kod., pp. 197, 243, 264. On the seal of Michael, the *megas diermenetes*

evidence to indicate whether the battle-axe continued to be employed by the field army in the Late Byzantine period, though it definitely formed part of the military equipment in North, Central, and Eastern Europe and in the Islamic East.¹⁷⁷

Axes, compared to other items of military equipment, are rarely represented in religious iconography. They are never represented as part of the equipment of military saints. Axes, as a rule, appear in the iconographic context of the Betrayal, in the hands of the crowd (Pls. 143, 157). The commonest type of single axe in eleventh- and twelfth-century Byzantine painting is that with a crescent-shaped blade.¹⁷⁸ One also encounters representations of single axes with a curved blade which projects downwards (Pl. 157). Illustrations of single axes with a straight blade, sometimes projecting downwards, are more rare.¹⁷⁹ Single axes, both with a curved and with a straight blade, continue to be represented in the iconographic context of the Betrayal in the Late Byzantine period.¹⁸⁰ Possible representations of Type 1 of Leo VI's classification of double axes are encountered at Kihçlar kilisesi, Göreme, at Nea Mone, Chios (Pl. 143), and in *Par. gr.* 74, f. 202v.¹⁸¹ I have not come across any example that could be regarded as a depiction of Type 2. As far as Type 3 is concerned, one encounters representations of axes with both sides curved¹⁸²

of the Varangians (according to Kolia [Byzantinische Waffen, p. 171] of the mid-thirteenth century) one can see the effigy of an axe, the shaft of which terminates in a lance-point at the top, see G. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'empire byzantin* (Paris, 1884), pp. 349–351.

¹⁷⁷ For different types of axes found in Serbia see S. Vetric, 'Medieval Weapons and Implements Deriving From the Middle Morava Basin', *Balkanoslavica* 10 (1983), pp. 141–142, pls. III–IV. For types of axes employed in Central and North Europe see Oakeshott, *The Archaeology of Weapons*, p. 257; Nicolle, *Arms and Armour of the Crusading Era*, nos. 1068, 1098, 1110, 1506, 1507. For types of axes used in the Islamic East see Nicolle, *Early Medieval Islamic Arms and Armour*, pp. 131–132.

¹⁷⁸ Der Nersessian, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs*, fig. 102 (*Theodore Psalter*, f. 63v); Pelekanides et al., *Treasures*, II, figs. 334, 405 (*Esphigmenou* 14, ff. 136r, 417r); Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs*, pl. XCVIII (*Par. suppl. gr.* 27, f. 118v); Grabar and Manoussacas, *Sylitizes*, fig. 10 (*Madrid Sylitizes*, f. 26v.a).

¹⁷⁹ Jerphanion, *Églises rupestres*, pl. 177.3 (Soğanlı, Balık kilise: Betrayal); Omont, *Ms. Grec 74*, pl. 84 (f. 96v: Betrayal).

¹⁸⁰ Tsigaridas, *Vatopaidi*, fig. 220; Τσιττουρίδου, *Ο ζωγραφικός διάκοσμος του Αγίου Νικόλαου Ορπανού*, pl. 35; P. Miljković-Pepke, *Deloto na zografije Mihailo i Eutihij* (Skopje, 1967), pl. XVI (Ohrid, Peribleptos).

¹⁸¹ Jerphanion, *Églises rupestres*, pl. 49.1; Omont, *Ms. Grec 74*, pl. 172.

¹⁸² Thierry, *Nouvelles églises*, pl. 69a (Hasan Dağı, Pürenli seki kilisesi); Jerphanion, *Églises rupestres*, pl. 65.2 (Göreme, Old Tokalı kilise); Der Nersessian, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs*, fig. 72 (*Theodore Psalter*, f. 41v).

or both sides straight.¹⁸³ The first variety appears to be the most common in the artistic record (Pl. 143).

During the Middle Byzantine period the mace was part of the equipment of the heavy-cavalry soldiers, who carried it in a sheath attached to their saddle.¹⁸⁴ The maces would have been used in battle as a last resort, 'when the spears had been broken and the edges of the swords blunted'.¹⁸⁵ There is no evidence that the mace was ever a symbol of status and rank in Byzantium.¹⁸⁶ I have not come across any reference to finds of maces in excavation reports of Byzantine sites. The *Præcepta Militaria* prescribe that the heads of the maces should be sharply angular, triangular, square, or hexagonal.¹⁸⁷ Representations of maces with heads furnished with angular projections or spikes are encountered in manuscripts of the eleventh and the twelfth centuries.¹⁸⁸ A very rare representation of a mace with a square head can be seen in the *Theodore Psalter*, f. 41v.¹⁸⁹ The mace with a round head, occasionally furnished with rounded projections, was more common in Middle Byzantine painting (Pl. 143).¹⁹⁰ The use of the mace in the Late Byzantine army is not attested in the written sources, though it was certainly employed in the neighbouring states of Bulgaria and Serbia, as evidenced by the finds of maces in Bulgarian and Serbian archaeological contexts.¹⁹¹ Though maces appear often as part of the equipment of military saints in Serbian monuments as, for example, at St. Nikita, Čučer, at the church of the Holy Apostles at Peć, at Lesnovo, Ravanica, Resava, and Kalenić, they are very rarely encountered in portrayals of military saints in

¹⁸³ *Il Menologio*, p. 209.

¹⁸⁴ *Syll. Tact.*, § 39; McGeer, *Sowing the Dragon's Teeth*, p. 36 (*Præcepta Militaria*).

¹⁸⁵ Nik. Chon., pp. 156–157.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. Nicolle, *Early Medieval Islamic Arms and Armour*, pp. 132–133.

¹⁸⁷ See above, note 184.

¹⁸⁸ Der Nersessian, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs*, fig. 281 (*Theodore Psalter*, f. 178v); Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs*, pl. XCVIII (*Par. suppl.* gr. 27, f. 118v); Pelekanides *et al.*, *Treasures*, II, fig. 308 (*Pantheleimon* 6, f. 140v). For representations of maces with spikes in the *Madrid Skylitzes* see Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen*, pl. XXVI.2–3. For a late thirteenth-century representation of a mace with spikes see Miljković-Pepk, *Deloto na zografite Mihailo i Eutihij*, pl. XVI (Ohrid, *Peribleptos*).

¹⁸⁹ Der Nersessian, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs*, fig. 72.

¹⁹⁰ See, also, Der Nersessian, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs*, fig. 78 (*Theodore Psalter*, f. 45v); Omont, *Ms Grec 74*, pls. 84, 172 (ff. 96v, 202v).

¹⁹¹ *Kazanlık, Musée Archéologique. Guide* (Sofia, 1967), nos. 112–113; Vetnić, 'Medieval Weapons and Implements', p. 142, pl. V.8–10.

Byzantine lands. In fact, the only example I know of is the portrayal of St. George at the *Peribleptos* in Ohrid (Pl. 125).¹⁹²

Lances and Javelins

In the Middle Byzantine army lances were wielded by the heavily armoured infantry, a unit of foot-soldiers called the *pellastai*, the heavily armoured cavalry, and the mounted javelin-throwers in addition to their javelins. The longest and strongest lances were prescribed for the heavy infantry.¹⁹³ Those of the heavy cavalry were adorned with banderols. Javelins were wielded by the mounted javelin-throwers, by the *pellastai*, and by the light infantry. Their prescribed length was c. 2.81 m maximum, including the spearhead. The mounted soldiers were to carry two or three each.¹⁹⁴ A triangular spearhead with a socket was unearthed during the excavations of the Great Palace in Constantinople (Pl. 112). Corinth has yielded more examples. Some made of bronze, but, mostly, of iron, they have conical or leaf-shaped points, or points of quadrilateral section. The majority are provided with sockets for attachment to the shaft; examples with tangs are rare (Pl. 158).¹⁹⁵

Representations of spears in Middle Byzantine art demonstrate a great variety of point-shapes: leaf-shaped, lozenge-shaped, triangular, long and slender, broad and short, sometimes with a knob or a pair of wings between the blade and the socket (Pls. 115, 117, 123, 128, 134). They are normally attached to shafts of wood with a smooth surface. In a number of Cappadocian monuments the shafts of the spears appear as if made of cane (Pls. 111, 116).¹⁹⁶ The use

¹⁹² Maces similar in appearance to that of St. George are depicted in the Women at the Tomb at Vatopedi Monastery and in the Betrayal at St. Nicholas Orphanos, Thessalonike, see Tsigaridas, *Vatopaidi*, fig. 225; Τσιττουρίδου, *Ο ζωγραφικός διάκοσμος του Αγίου Νικολάου Ορφανού*, pl. 35.

¹⁹³ *Syll. Tact.*, §§ 38, 39; McGeer, *Sowing the Dragon's Teeth*, p. 14 (*Præcepta Militaria*). Kolias calculates the length of the lances of the heavy infantry prescribed in the *Syllage Tactica* using the value for a small 'πίχρυς,' which equals 0.468 m, rather than that of a great 'πίχρυς,' which equals 0.6246 m. Thus, according to his calculation the lance in question ranged from 3.75 to 4.70 m (eight to ten πήχεις). He considers the dimensions given in the *Præcepta Militaria* (twenty-five to thirty spans; one span equals 0.234 m) too exaggerated to be true, see Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen*, p. 192. The prescribed length of the spearheads of heavy infantry's lances was 0.351 m.

¹⁹⁴ *Syll. Tact.*, §§ 38, 39.

¹⁹⁵ Davidson, *Minor Objects*, pp. 201–202, pls. 91–93.

¹⁹⁶ See, also, Thierry, *Nouvelles églises*, pl. 89c (Hasan Dağı, Direkli kilise: St. George).

of cane for the construction of the shafts has been attributed to the impact of Arab practices on Byzantine equipment in the frontier region of Cappadocia.¹⁹⁷ However, such influences need not be limited to that area only. Spears with similar shafts are represented in the hands of military saints on the side-panels of the ivory triptych with the Forty Martyrs of Constantinopolitan origin, now in Saint Petersburg (Pl. 101).

In Middle Byzantine miniature painting one encounters representations of spears with banderols attached to the shaft just below the point. These are either plain or decorated with a simple cross¹⁹⁸ and have three or more streamers (Pl. 64). Such banderols would have contributed to making an advancing cavalry unit look formidable in the eyes of the enemy. They would have been removed from the spears shortly before engagement into combat so as not to impede the handling of the weapon.¹⁹⁹

The spear, apparently, remained the basic weapon of the Byzantine heavy-armoured cavalry down to the Late Byzantine period.²⁰⁰ The practice of adorning the spears with banderols also continued. A white banderol displaying a minuscule red winged creature, possibly a dragon, adorns the spear of one of the sleeping guards in the Women at the Tomb at Vatopedi Monastery.²⁰¹ Banderols, this time adorning the spears of military saints, can be seen at St. Nicholas Orphanos in Thessalonike (Pls. 148, 149). That on the spear of St. Demetrios displays a cross framed with the Greek letters *IC XC N K* (Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Νικῶ). I know of no representation of a military saint with a spear adorned thus dating to the Middle Byzantine period. Other Late Byzantine examples are encountered in monuments located in Latin-occupied areas as, for example, in Merenta in Attica.²⁰²

Bows

The type of bow employed in Byzantium was the composite bow. The distinctive attribute of the composite bow was that the constituent layers of its stave were joined together by some kind of adhesive.²⁰³ Already in the Early Byzantine period, the Byzantines had adopted the use of this weapon, known in Europe since a much earlier date.²⁰⁴ It was the need to confront successfully the nomads of the steppe, masters in horse-archery,²⁰⁵ which had led the Byzantines to cultivate the same art. The Byzantine army of the tenth century comprised units of lightly armoured, highly mobile infantry and mounted archers. According to the *Sylloge Tacticorum*, the bow also formed part of the equipment of the heavy-armoured cavalry, the *kataphraktai*. The length of their bows ranged from 1.17 to 1.25 m, while their arrows were at least 0.70 m long.²⁰⁶ The bows were carried in bow-cases, usually suitable to receive them strung as well as unstrung. This suggests that the bows employed in the Byzantine army were reflex bows: the stave of a reflex bow, when unstrung, would assume a position opposite to the one it had when strung (Pl. 159). The capacity of a normal quiver ranged from thirty to forty arrows. Larger quivers containing sixty arrows were prescribed for infantry archers.²⁰⁷

Twelfth-century sources attest to the importance of archery in Byzantine military tactics. According to Kinnamos, prior to the military reforms of young Manuel I, who promoted the use of the cavalry spear, the bow and quiver were very common in the ranks of the Byzantine army.²⁰⁸ A Western observer, Odo of Deuil, who came to Byzantium with the crusaders of the Second Crusade, explicitly states that the bow was the weapon 'of the Greeks'.²⁰⁹ Finds of more than fifty arrowheads, four of them from a securely-dated twelfth-century context, have been made during the excavations of the Great

¹⁹⁷ Nicolle, *Arms and Armour of the Crusading Era*, no. 79A-C.

¹⁹⁸ De Wald, *Vat. Gr. 752*, pls. XXI, LII (ff. 54r, 448v); Omont, *Ms Grec 74*, pl. 132 (f. 154v). For spears with banderols illustrated in the *Madrid Skylitzes* see Hoffmeyer, *Military Equipment in the Byz. Manuscript of Skylitzes*, fig. 19.1-3.

¹⁹⁹ *Strategikon*, p. 130; *LT*, II, pp. 44-45.

²⁰⁰ Kantak., p. 532.

²⁰¹ Tsigaridas, *Vatopaidi*, fig. 225.

²⁰² Coumbaraki-Panselinou, *Saint-Pierre de Kalyvia-Kouvara*, p. 78. See, also, Gerstel, 'Art and Identity,' p. 268.

²⁰³ G. Rausing, *The Bow. Some Notes on Its Origins and Development* (Bonn A.R., Lund, 1967), p. 19.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 140-142. See, also, Haldon, *Warfare, State and Society*, pp. 129, 130.

²⁰⁵ Ricz, 'The Weapons of Steppe Nomads,' pp. 2-8. See, also, A.A. Ierusalimskaja, *Die Gräber der Moševaja Balka. Frühmittelalterliche Funde an der nordkaukasischen Seidenstrasse* (Munich, 1996), pp. 107-112, figs. 133-136, 138, 141.

²⁰⁶ *Syl. Tact.*, § 39; Cf. Haldon, *Warfare, State and Society*, p. 132.

²⁰⁷ McGeer, *Sowing the Dragon's Teeth*, p. 14 (*Præcepta Militaria*).

²⁰⁸ Kinn., p. 125.

²⁰⁹ Odo of Deuil, p. 43.

Palace in Constantinople (Pl. 112).²¹⁰ Few arrowheads dating from the Byzantine period have been unearthed at Corinth (Pl. 160).²¹¹

At the time of the Nicaean empire bows and arrows were privately manufactured in its major cities and then collected in state warehouses.²¹² Units of lightly armoured foot and mounted archers continued to form part of the Byzantine army in the Late Byzantine period. They comprised native and mercenary troops, the latter recruited largely from among Turkic neighbouring tribes.²¹³ The Byzantines themselves, especially the members of the upper classes, cultivated archery as a sport and employed the bow and quiver in their hunting expeditions.²¹⁴

Representations of bows as part of the equipment of military saints are encountered for the first time in late thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Byzantine pictorial contexts (Pls. 125, 132, 152, 161). In the detailed representation of the bow of St. Merkourios at Protaton (Pl. 124) one can clearly see the ear of the bow made of bone, with a groove for the string, as well as the slightly sunken grip. Most of the quivers represented belong to the box-variety and are usually furnished with a closing flap (Pl. 161). The arrows are placed in them with the point upwards. This type of quiver is associated with the military traditions of the steppe nomads, from which the Byzantines must have adopted it.²¹⁵ St. George at the Peribleptos in Ohrid, however, carries a different type of quiver. This is smaller and open with the arrows placed in it feathered-side upwards (Pl. 125). This type was distinctive of the military traditions of the Middle East;²¹⁶ it is commonly represented in Persian miniature painting (Pl. 133).²¹⁷

²¹⁰ *Great Palace, First Report*, p. 99, nos. 292, 580.

²¹¹ Davidson, *Minor objects*, pp. 199, 200–201; pls. 91, 93.

²¹² A. Kazhdan, 'The Italian and Late Byzantine City,' *DOP* 49, pp. 3–4.

²¹³ Bartusis, *Late Byz. Army*, pp. 93, 256, 258, 330.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 330. Manuel Philes, in fact, wrote a poem about the quiver of the emperor, made of bone and adorned with the images of every kind of living creature, see *Manuelis Philae Cammina*, ed. E. Miller, 2 vols. (Paris, 1855, 1857) (hereafter Philes, *Cammina*, ed. Miller), II, no. XLVII (pp. 87–88).

²¹⁵ Nicolle, *Arms and Armour of the Crusading Era*, no. 9; Ierusalimskaja, *Die Gräber der Moščekaja Balka*, pp. 111–112, fig. 141.

²¹⁶ Bartusis, *Late Byz. Army*, p. 331.

²¹⁷ See, for example, Titley, *Persian Miniature Painting*, figs. 2, 9; Rogers, *The Topkapı Sarayı Museum*, pl. 39, 52.

USE IN RELIGIOUS ICONOGRAPHY

Soldiers and Bodyguards in Narrative Scenes

In contrast to contemporary book-illumination, the decoration of Middle Byzantine churches down to the eleventh century offered limited scope for the representation of simple soldiers. The only suitable contexts for the introduction of such figures were scenes from the Infancy and the Passion cycles (Massacre of the Innocents, Way to Calvary, Crucifixion, Women at the Tomb). Opportunities were increased with the inclusion of saints' lives in the iconographic programmes of some eleventh- and twelfth-century monuments. However, it is only in the decoration of Late Byzantine churches, with the expanded Infancy and Passion cycles, lives of saints, and *menologium* scenes, that representations of soldiers, executioners, and bodyguards become numerous.

Representations of such characters in an outfit which could be called realistic in all its components are rare (Pl. 127).²¹⁸ The least realistic element of their outfit is their body-armour (Pls. 131, 162, 163). As a rule, this is of a hybrid form, combining elements borrowed from different periods. One comes across cuirasses with a convincing rendering of mail construction, but shaped as Roman plate muscle cuirasses and furnished with a skirt of *pteryges* and conventional arm-guards (Pl. 130). As we have seen in the first part of this chapter, other elements, like the helmet, the shield and, especially, the sword, could on occasion be more realistic in their rendering, so that side-by-side with the traditional and the fanciful, one can recognize forms which were actually in use at the time of the execution of the paintings.

While conducting the survey of the outfit of soldiers, executioners, and bodyguards in Byzantine monumental painting, care was taken to note instances in which equipment other than Byzantine was represented. I was interested to discover whether such 'foreign' equipment was employed as a means to associate visually those responsible for the suffering of Christ and the Christian martyrs with the enemies of the Byzantine state within the framework of political and religious polemic propaganda. The results of this query were

²¹⁸ See, also, Sinkevič, *The Church of St. Panteleimon at Nerezi*, figs. LXII–LXIV: soldiers in scenes from the life of St. Panteleimon at Nerezi.

negative. The presence of elements associated with military traditions of the West, quite numerous, as we have seen, in representations of soldiers in Late Byzantine contexts, reflected the actual impact of western practices on the military equipment of the Byzantine empire, rather than the resentment of the Orthodox East towards the Catholic West. Besides, the fact that military saints were outfitted with comparable equipment contradicts the idea that the military costume of simple soldiers and executioners reflected that of the enemies of the empire.²¹⁹ Furthermore, the introduction of western elements of military equipment in certain monuments may be attributed to artists having been influenced by western artistic models, rather than anything else.²²⁰

Figures of soldiers and executioners were introduced in scenic compositions in conformity to the narrative of the episodes illustrated. Bodyguards and armed attendants, on the other hand, formed a constituent element of the imagery of power. Though not strictly required by the narrative, their presence was imposed by the necessity to highlight the rank and authority of a ruler or an official.²²¹ The image of a ruler attended by armed guards was employed in Christian iconography already in the Early Byzantine period, for example on the seventh-century silver plate from the Lampousa treasure, representing David before Saul.²²² Undoubtedly borrowed from imperial iconography at the time,²²³ it became a standard theme of power-imagery in Byzantine religious art. However, it did not remain

²¹⁹ However, the situation may have been somewhat different in former provinces of the empire that had come under Latin rule or in Byzantine lands with a strong Latin presence, see, for example, A. and J. Stylianou, 'The Militarization of the Betrayal and Its Examples in the Painted Churches of Cyprus,' in *Εὐφρόσυνον*, II, pp. 574–575, 576–577; Gerstel, 'Art and Identity,' pp. 278–279.

²²⁰ See above, note 116. Western artistic influences may also be responsible for the depiction of mail *chausses* in the church of St. Nicholas Orphanos at Thessalonike. The attribution of spears with banded hilts to three of the military saints portrayed in the church (see above) certainly suggests that, as regards the representation of military costume, the painters of St. Nicholas were familiar with western (crusader?) artistic practices and willing to experiment with them.

²²¹ Having attendants and bodyguards was a sign of wealth and elevated social status, which was apparently not confined only to members of the administrative and the military establishments of the empire. Protoprochoros in the twelfth century complains that he was unable to earn the respect of his wife because he could not afford such a 'noisy' escort, see *Poèmes prodromiques*, poem I, lines 130–137.

²²² *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century*, ed. K. Weitzmann (Princeton and New York, 1979), no. 427 (III).

²²³ Cp. the David plate with the *missorium* of emperor Theodosios I, see above, Chapter 1, note 6.

static, but was at periods 'modernized' with the addition of iconographic types which reflected recent developments in imperial rites. One such type is the figure of an attendant, sometimes in armour, sometimes not, who holds a sheathed sword with the hilt upwards in scenes involving formal audiences, councils, and trials, from the late thirteenth century onward. He usually holds the sword high up with both hands, like a standard. In some examples he also holds a shield and/or a spear, but still the sword is held peculiarly high, as in the case of the guard standing behind Kyrenius in the Enrolment for Taxation at the *katholikon* of the Chora Monastery (Pl. 93). To my knowledge, the earliest appearance of this figure in a religious iconographic context is encountered at the Peribleptos in Ohrid, in Christ before Pilate.²²⁴ All other examples I know are encountered in monuments of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Serbia, Serbian-occupied Macedonia, and Bulgaria.²²⁵

The representation of the audience scene in the *epithalamion* of 1179, *Vat. gr.* 1851, f. 1r,²²⁶ depicting the reception by the Byzantine emperor of a messenger bearing a second message from the king of France, leaves no doubt as to the source of the iconographic type of the attendant with the sword. In this miniature, to the left of the enthroned emperor stands an official who holds the imperial sword, sheathed in its red scabbard, with the hilt upwards. An official holding the imperial sword in the same manner can be seen also in the representation of the council of 1351 presided by John VI Kantakouzenos

²²⁴ Dumbarton Oaks Photographic Archive, Ohrid, St. Clement, no. G23 (the figure is not in armour).

²²⁵ As, for example, at the Holy Apostles, Peć (Christ before Pilate), see V. Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken in Jugoslawien* (Munich, 1976), pl. XXX; at Staro Nagoričino (Christ before Pilate, Joseph of Arimathea before Pilate, St. George and the empress before Diocletian), see Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto na zografite Mihailo i Euthij*, pl. CLVI, and Popović and Petković, *Monumenta serbica*, pls. XXI.2, XXVII; at St. Sophia in Ohrid (Repentance of David), see Dumbarton Oaks Photographic Archive, Ohrid, St. Sophia, no. R3; at St. Demetrios at Peć (St. Demetrios before Maximian), see Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken in Jugoslawien in Jugoslawien*, fig. 54; at St. John the Baptist, Serres (St. John the Baptist before Herod), 'Α. Συγγρόπουλος, *Αἱ τοιχογραφίαι τοῦ καθολικοῦ τῆς Μονῆς Προδρόμου παρὰ τὰς Σέρρας* (Thessalonike, 1973), pl. 34; at Dečani (Christ before Annas, Christ before Pilate, Joseph of Arimathea before Pilate, Pilate placing a guard at the Tomb, The three generals before Constantine), see Petković and Bošković, *Manastir Dečani*, pls. CXCVIII, CCII.2, CCX, CCXI, CCXX.1, CCLXXXVIII.2, CCXCIII.1; at Berende (Christ before Pilate), see Bakalova, *Stenopisite na tsarkvata pri selo Berende*, figs. 48, 49; and at Resava (The Magi before Herod, Joseph of Arimathea before Pilate), see V. Djurić, 'La peinture murale de Resava, ses origines et sa place dans la peinture byzantine,' in *Symp. Resava*, drawings 4, 5.

²²⁶ Iacobi, 'L'epithalamio di Andronico II,' fig. 7.

in *Par. gr.* 1242, f. 5v (Pl. 24).²²⁷ Lastly, an attendant standing behind the emperor and holding the imperial sword like a standard can also be seen in a fourteenth-century miniature in *Par. gr.* 543, f. 288v, illustrating Theodosios I receiving the resignation of St. Gregory of Nazianzos (Pl. 97).

The imperial sword was held with the hilt upwards as early as the ninth century as attested by two miniatures in *Par. gr.* 510 illustrating Theodosios I receiving the resignation of St. Gregory of Nazianzos and St. Helena and the Discovery of the True Cross.²²⁸ However, in these examples one sees two swords which lie on the left shoulder of the dignitaries who carry them; they are not held high up in the same manner as in the later representations. It is as yet unclear what brought about this change in the manner of holding the sword.²²⁹ That this change took place during the reign of Manuel I Komnenos, an emperor often innovative in his masterful use of ceremonial for the purpose of propagating his perception of imperial authority, seems to me quite likely.²³⁰ Whatever the circumstances of its introduction, the practice of holding the imperial

²²⁷ According to pseudo-Kod., pp. 191, 234, the *megas domestikos* carrying the imperial sword was supposed to stand to the left of the emperor, as seen in the miniature. In the absence of the *megas domestikos*, the imperial sword was carried by the *protostator*, the *parakoimomenos tes sphendones*, or a young relative of the emperor, see *ibid.*, pp. 168, 176, 202.

²²⁸ See above, note 160.

²²⁹ Interestingly enough, attendants to rulers and potentates can be seen holding a sword in a similar fashion in a number of Islamic works of art, most of which were created in the Jazīra and are dated from the late twelfth-early thirteenth century onwards, see D.S. Rice, 'Studies in Islamic Metalwork-II,' *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 15 (1953), pp. 69–79, fig. 11; G.D. Guest and R. Etinghausen, 'The Iconography of a Kāsān Luster Plate,' *Ars Orientalis* 4 (1961), figs. 13, 17, 21; Etinghausen, *Arab Painting*, p. 91; D.G. Shepherd, 'Banquet and Hunt in Medieval Islamic Iconography,' in *Gatherings in Honor of Dorothy E. Miner*, eds. U.E. McCracken, L.M.C. Randall and R.H. Randall, Jr. (Baltimore, 1974), fig. 15; O. Grabar and S. Blair, *Epic Images and Contemporary History. The Illustrations of the Great Mongol Shahnama* (Chicago and London, 1980), nos. 14, 28; E. Baer, *Metalwork in Medieval Islamic Art* (Albany, 1983), figs. 22, 52, 218; N. Nassar, 'Saljuk or Byzantine: Two Related Styles of Jazīran Miniature Painting,' in *The Art of Syria and the Jazīra, 1100–1250*, ed. J. Raby (Oxford, 1985), figs. 2c, 2e, 2f. Note that in five of the Islamic examples the attendant with the sword appears in scenes involving an audience, as is the case of the official in the Byzantine miniature of 1179. Further research is required to clarify whether the Byzantine development was a result of Islamic influences.

²³⁰ Cf. M. Jeffreys, 'The Komnenian Prokypsis,' *Paragon* 5 (1987), pp. 38–53; Magdalino, *Manuel I Komnenos*, pp. 237–248. The new manner of holding the imperial sword made it more visible than it had been in the past and associated it more

clearly with the person of the emperor, thus bringing to the fore the emperor's military attributes. The increasing militarization of the imperial ideal under the Komnenoi in general and the stress placed on the knightly prowess of Manuel I in particular certainly provide a suitable ideological context for a change in the ritual manner of holding the imperial sword that enhanced its visibility and gave it greater prominence, cf. A. Kazhdan, 'The Aristocracy and the Imperial Ideal,' in *Byzantine Aristocracy*, pp. 43–57.

sword like a standard, with the hilt upwards, appears to have been well-established by the Late Byzantine period. At that time, this manner of holding the imperial sword seems to have been associated also with the ceremony of the *prokypsis*. This involved the appearance of the emperor and members of his family on a raised and brightly illuminated platform, one might say, in the manner of a *tableau vivant*. During the ceremony the imperial sword would appear as hovering to the side of the emperor, since the official who held it was carefully hidden from view.²³¹ It is reasonable to assume that it would have been necessary to hold the sword high up like a standard, as seen in Late Byzantine representations.²³² Pseudo-Kodinos includes the sword among the imperial insignia. According to him, it symbolized the 'ἐξουσιαστικόν', i.e. authority.²³³ That the sword would be accorded such significance in Palaiologan imperial symbolism is an indication not only of the military basis of imperial power, but also of the military responsibilities which it entailed for its holder.²³⁴ However, pseudo-Kodinos does not qualify the nature of the authority that the sword stood for. Was it an authority based on the emperor's own military prowess or was it divinely invested upon him?²³⁵

I believe there is no doubt that the figure of the attendant with the sword was ultimately derived from Byzantine imperial ceremonial. Yet, while the presence of the attendant with the sword, as an iconographic unit signifying authority, is easily justifiable in those

²³¹ Pseudo-Kod., p. 203.

²³² Manuel I Komnenos has been credited with the creation of the ceremony of the *prokypsis*, see above, note 230. To my knowledge, there are no allusions to the imperial sword in the texts referring to the Komnenian *prokypsis*. The possibility that the new manner of holding the imperial sword evolved out of the requirements of staging the imperial *prokypsis* in the twelfth century though enticing cannot be proven.

²³³ Pseudo-Kod., p. 202.

²³⁴ See Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen*, pp. 154–155.

²³⁵ The sword as the symbol of divinely invested authority was certainly known in the mediaeval Bulgarian and Serbian states. In the Bulgarian *Chronicle of Manasses* (*Val. slav.* 2, f. 91v) the tsar Ivan Alexander (1331–1371) is portrayed receiving a sword from an angel. The divine origin of his power is thus clearly expressed, see I. Dujčev, *The Miniatures of the Chronicle of Manasse* (Sofia, 1963), fig. 33.

cases where he accompanies an emperor or a king, it is difficult to understand why he should appear at the side of officials, like Pilate or Kyrenius, who were simply governors of provinces and certainly not sovereign in their domain. This was, perhaps, a means to make evident to the beholder that the represented officials were in the service of the emperor, that they derived their authority directly from him and, consequently, that their power was lawfully exercised. An alternative interpretation may be offered for the presence of the sword in the Trial of Christ by Pilate, on the basis of the account of the historic event found in the Gospel of St. John (19:10–11). According to this, when Pilate had told Christ that he had the power to crucify Him or to release Him, He answered: 'Thou couldest have no power (ἐξουσίαν) at all against me, except it were given thee from above'. The sword was perhaps introduced in the Trial as a symbol of that authority given to Pilate 'from above'.²³⁶

Rulers, Biblical and Non-Biblical, in Narrative Scenes

Suitable contexts in which the representation of a ruler in military costume would be justified, as for example preparation for war and battle-scenes, are extremely rare in monumental religious painting, though not so in miniature. The illustration of books of the Old Testament, especially of the Octateuch and the Psalter, comprised numerous battle-scenes which allowed for the representation of biblical rulers. Joshua may be included in this category. In illuminated octateuchs he appears in conventional body-armour, either a plate muscle cuirass or a simplified version of the Roman *lorica segmentata*.²³⁷ The encounter of Joshua with the Captain of the Lord's Host before the capture of Jericho (Josh. 5:13–15) is an episode which is also represented in monumental painting, either as an independent scene or as part of a cycle dedicated to the archangel Michael, with whom, by the tenth century, the Captain of the Host of the biblical text had come to be identified.²³⁸ A representation of Joshua in

²³⁶ For other possible interpretations of the presence of imperial insignia in the Trial scene see Loecker, 'The Miniatures of the Trial,' p. 180; Grabar, *La peinture religieuse en Bulgarie*, pp. 265–6.

²³⁷ See, for example, colour reproductions of scenes from the tenth-century *Joshua Roll in Glory of Byzantium*, p. 239. See, also, Lowden, *The Octateuchs*, figs. 163–164, 170–171.

²³⁸ See, for example, Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning*, fig. 26 (*Par. gr.* 510, f. 226v); Rodley, 'The Pigeon House Church,' fig. 5; *II Menologio*, p. 3.

this context is preserved on the exterior wall of the church of the Virgin at Hosios Loukas (end of tenth-beginning of the eleventh century) (Pl. 118).²³⁹ His lamellar cuirass and his sword are similar to those of military saints at the time, while his helmet, adorned with pseudo-kufic characters on the bowl and the nape-guard, is unique.

Another biblical ruler who was represented in military costume, though rarely, was king Herod when ordering the massacre of all male children of up to two years of age (Math. 2:16–18). At the *katholikon* of the Chora Monastery he appears in a gold plate cuirass (Pl. 162).²⁴⁰ In this particular iconographic context Herod is represented as a commander giving an order to his troops. He is portrayed as a king making ready to face a dangerous threat to his authority, namely a rival king in the face of Christ. Considering that the enemy were mere infants, one could read a cruel irony in this manner of representing Herod. This is paralleled by the mockingly detailed descriptions of Herod's warlike preparations for the massacre encountered in the sermons which were read on the day of the liturgical commemoration of the event.²⁴¹

Military Saints

This category of saints comprises martyrs who had been, or were believed to have been, soldiers during their lifetime and who are represented in military costume in religious iconography. The most venerated among them were St. Theodore Stratelates, St. Theodore Tiro,²⁴² St. George, St. Demetrios, St. Nestor, St. Merkourios, and St. Prokopios.²⁴³ Some, like St. Theodore, were portrayed in military costume, instead of the traditional *chlamys*-costume of the martyr, already in the pre-iconoclastic period.²⁴⁴ However, it is only in

²³⁹ A. Συγγρόπουλος, 'Η τοιχογραφία του Ίησού του Ναυή εις την Μονήν του 'Οσίου Λουκά,' *ΔΧΑΕ* 7 (1973–1974), pp. 127–138.

²⁴⁰ In other scenes of the Infancy cycle in the same monument he is dressed in the *chlamys*-costume.

²⁴¹ H. Maguire, *Art and Eloquence in Byzantium* (Princeton, 1981), pp. 25–34.

²⁴² The distinction between two saints with the name of Theodore, one called 'Stratelates' (general) and the second, 'Tiro' (new recruit), is first attested around the end of the ninth century, see N. Oikonomides, 'Le dédoublement de saint Théodore et les villes d'Euchaïta et d'Euchaneia,' *AB* 104 (1986), pp. 327–333.

²⁴³ H. Delachaye, *Les légendes grecques des saints militaires* (Paris, 1909).

²⁴⁴ K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Icons. Part 1:*

the period after Iconoclasm that the cult of military saints acquired greater significance. To this attest the proliferation of their images on portable objects, like ivory triptychs, steatite icons, cameos, enamels, seals, and coins, as well as the prominent position attributed to them, in terms of numbers and location, in the iconographic programmes of churches.²⁴⁵

From the tenth through to the twelfth century the equipment of military saints was limited to body-armour (of plate, mail, scale, or lamellar construction), shield, spear, and sword.²⁴⁶ There existed no specific combination of these weapons which was associated with the portrayal of a particular saint. Apparently, what was important for the precise identification of an individual military saint was not his outfit but his prosopographical features and the name which accompanied his image. This becomes clearly apparent in the case of St. James the Persian, portrayed on a twelfth-century panel icon from Cyprus (Pl. 164). What distinguishes him as an 'Easterner' is not his military costume, but his dark features, his peculiar head-dress, which is comparable to the one usually attributed to Daniel and the three Hebrew Youths, and his single earring.²⁴⁷ The pseudo-kufic characters on his shield, although a feature of ultimate oriental inspiration, are not peculiarly associated with him. They are encountered in many a representation of shields in Middle Byzantine contexts (Pl. 101). Hagiographic texts offered only general information with regard to the armour and weapons of military saints. They appear to have had no influence on the kind of equipment with which the martyrs were shown outfitted. Even St. Merkourios, who according to an old tradition had killed Julian the Apostate with bow and arrow,²⁴⁸ appears in Middle Byzantine representations armed with sword, spear, and

From the Sixth to the Tenth Century (Princeton, 1976), pls. XV, XVI, LIX, LX; *Age of Spirituality*, no. 494.

²⁴⁵ One of the earliest surviving post-iconoclastic examples is the panel triptych at Sinai with Sts. Theodore and George, both on horseback, portrayed on its wings, dated to the ninth-tenth centuries, see Weitzmann, *The Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Icons*, pls. XXIX, XCVII-XCVIII.

²⁴⁶ These are the types of weapons commonly featuring in court ceremonial (see above). Other weapons employed by the Middle Byzantine army, like the bow, the mace, and the axe, are never attributed to military saints in Middle Byzantine contexts.

²⁴⁷ On the attribution of earrings to Orientals in Byzantine painting, see chapter 6, note 3.

²⁴⁸ Delchaye, *Les légendes grecques des saints militaires*, p. 98.

shield. It would be futile to try and identify the equipment of military saints in artistic contexts with that of any particular unit of the Byzantine army as prescribed in the tenth-century military treatises. Although, as has previously been indicated, individual items of the weaponry of these saints reflected or could reflect contemporary types, to look for a portrayal of a *kataphraktos*, for example, in the image of a mounted saint would be, at best, unrealistic.

Significant changes in the dress of military saints become apparent from the thirteenth century onward. Their armour was, as a rule, fanciful, combining Late Antique features, like the arm-guards and skirt of *pteryges* and a metal sash, often adorned with a human or an animal mask,²⁴⁹ together with a highly decorative treatment of the surface (Pl. 124). Items like the jacket or waistcoat worn over the cuirass, the helmet, the sabre, the bow, with bow-case and quiver, and, very rarely, the mace, though employed in the Byzantine army since a much earlier period, now become realistic features introduced in the representations of military saints for the first time.²⁵⁰ There is definitely a departure here from earlier tradition, most probably brought about by the predilection of Late Byzantine art for secondary details, whether in narrative scenes or in the portrayal of individual figures.²⁵¹ In classicising monuments, like the Chora Monastery, such realistic features as contemporary bows and quivers, sabres, and helmets, are absent.

Not all the martyrs who, according to hagiographic tradition, had served in the Roman army were attributed military costume. Sts. Sergios and Bakchos, for example, appear consistently in the civilian *chlamys-costume*.²⁵² Their military status is suggested by the sword

²⁴⁹ D. Mouriki, 'The Mask Motif in the Wall-paintings of Mistra. Cultural Implications of a Classical Feature in Late Byzantine Painting,' *ΔΧΑΕ* 10 (1980-81), pp. 307-338.

²⁵⁰ Only St. Merkourios actually wears his helmet. Other saints carry it suspended, probably from a strap around the neck, as in the case of an unidentified youthful military saint portrayed in the Peribleptos at Mistra, see Dumbarton Oaks Photographic Archive, Mistra, Peribleptos, no. G22 (left). Why St. Merkourios was chosen for this peculiar iconographic treatment is not clear. Cf. F. Curta, 'How to Do Things with Saints: On the Iconography of St. Mercurius's Legend,' *Révue Roumaine d'Histoire* 34 (1995), p. 120.

²⁵¹ For the possibility that that the bow and quiver were considered 'worthy' to be included among the equipment of a military saint as a result of the influence of Turko-Mongol traditions according to which the bow and the arrow were regarded as symbols of sovereignty see E. Zachariadou, 'Les nouvelles armes de saint Démétrius,' in *Εἰκονολογία*, II, pp. 689-693.

²⁵² On their iconography see Mouriki, *The Mosaics of Nea Moni*, pp. 141-142. The

which they sometimes appear holding (Pl. 104). Their distinguishing attribute, though, is the *maniakion*, their military torque, specifically mentioned in their *Passio*: the martyrs had been stripped of these insignia of their rank shortly before they were put to death.²⁵³ It is difficult to explain why these two saints would be refused military costume, while others, with admittedly less claim to it, judging by their biographical details, appear consistently in the guise of a soldier.

There is a possible explanation for this discrepancy which appears valid, at least in the case of the most important military saints. Military costume, apparently, was not simply a means for the characterization of martyrs who had been Roman soldiers. It was indicative of their military prowess and their effectiveness as guardians against physical and spiritual enemies, proven by the many feats they executed both when they walked the face of the earth and posthumously.²⁵⁴ St. Theodore had proved himself by killing the dragon.²⁵⁵ St. Merkourios, a formidable soldier in his lifetime, was also believed responsible for the death of the emperor Julian. St. George was known for liberating captives. In Georgian tradition, St. George had killed the emperor Diocletian.²⁵⁶ The most spectacular case of a martyr transformed into a military saint, St. Demetrios, had ward off time and again the hordes of Slavs striving to capture his city of Thessalonike.²⁵⁷ The military costume was a guarantee that these martyrs would prove themselves again as successful protectors upon request from the faithful, from the emperor himself to the humblest

chlamys-costume was worn by military officials, when not in armour, as well as by civil servants. Thus, its attribution to Sts. Sergios and Bakchos was not 'inappropriate'.

²⁵³ I. van den Gheyn, 'Passio antiquior Ss. Sergii et Bacchi,' *AB* 14 (1895), p. 380.

²⁵⁴ This perception of military saints can be found expressed in a series of epigrams by the fourteenth-century poet Manuel Philes, see Philes, *Cammina*, ed. Miller, I, nos. LIX, CLXXI, CCXXV, CCXXVI, CCLXI-CCLXIII, CCLXXIII, CCLXXXVIII; II, no. XLIV.

²⁵⁵ In his case there was another compelling reason for his representation in military costume. There was a tradition that he himself appeared posthumously dressed as a soldier to a painter, who painted him thus on an icon, see Delehaye, *Les légendes grecques des saints militaires*, p. 194.

²⁵⁶ See K. Weitzmann, *The Icon. Holy Images, Sixth to Fourteenth Century* (London, 1978), p. 57. I thank Dr. M. Mango for bringing this to my notice.

²⁵⁷ Delehaye, *Les légendes grecques des saints militaires*, pp. 103-108; P. Lemerle, *Les plus anciens recueils de miracles de Saint Démétrius*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1979-1981). Cf. T. Παπαμαστοράκης, 'Ιστορίες και ιστορήσεις βυζαντινών παλληκαριών,' *ΔΧΑΕ* 20 (1998), pp. 222-227.

of his subjects.²⁵⁸ In contrast to them, Sts. Sergios and Bakchos, though Roman officers in their lifetime, are known to have performed only healing miracles posthumously.

Thus, one may suggest that it was the saints' attributes as guardians and as comrades-in-arms for those who needed them which were highlighted by their military costume. This concept of comradeship between military saints and their protégé is illustrated in the portrayal of Basil II triumphant over his enemies (Pl. 110). The emperor is surrounded by six busts of military saints, who wear exactly the same type of cuirass as he does. The relationship between them expressed visually in this way is made explicit in the epigram which accompanies the miniature: the martyrs, the emperor's friends and allies, have prostrated his enemies at his feet.²⁵⁹ The other important qualities of these saints, those of members of the Heavenly Court and intercessors, were better expressed visually in the symbolism of the court *chlamys-costume*.²⁶⁰

This interpretation, of course, does not preclude other reasons for the attribution of military costume to martyrs who had been Roman soldiers before they were martyred. St. Orestes was the only one among the Five Martyrs who had been in the army. As we have seen in the previous chapter, already in the earliest surviving portraits of this group, care was taken to distinguish its members with dress appropriate to their status, for example St. Eustratios as a dignitary and St. Mardarios as a commoner. It was only natural that St. Orestes would be represented as the youthful soldier he had been. In the cases of other martyred soldiers, it was, probably, the particular veneration in which they were held in their native lands, of which they were considered to be the natural protectors, which led to their representation in military costume. Such must be the interpretation for the unusual portrayal of the Forty Martyrs in military costume encountered in the Pigeon House Church at Çavuşin. There, they were represented as an honorific guard, with their swords unsheathed and resting on their right shoulder, to the emperor

²⁵⁸ In the Late Byzantine period, busts the two Sts. Theodores, St. Demetrios, St. Prokopios, and St. George adorned the imperial flags (*phlamoula*), see pseudo-Kod., pp. 195-196.

²⁵⁹ Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 23-24.

²⁶⁰ The same idea has been expressed by Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons in Stelite*, pp. 63-64.

Nikephoros Phokas, himself a native of Cappadocia, who was portrayed in the apse (Pls. 17, 113).²⁶¹

The Archangels Michael and Gabriel

On a cameo of the tenth-eleventh century from Constantinople the archangel Michael is represented frontally, dressed in military costume. With his left hand he holds an empty scabbard and with his right, his naked sword supported on the right shoulder. An inscription identifies him as 'the guardian' (Pl. 165).²⁶² The archangel continued to be represented in this manner in monumental painting and the minor arts down to the Late Byzantine period: always frontal, in armour, and with his sword resting on his right shoulder.²⁶³ This manner of holding the naked sword is also encountered in portrayals of military saints, like the Forty Martyrs at Çavuşin. The gesture gives the figure an air of solemnity; it also bespeaks of a readiness for action required from an efficient guardian. One cannot help but wonder whether references in Byzantine sources of imperial bodyguards carrying their weapons—swords or axes—'ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ ὁμοῦ' (on the right shoulder), refer to this same gesture.²⁶⁴

Closely associated with his attribute as guardian was the archangel Michael's quality as a warrior and a fighter against the powers of evil, which had earned him the title of the 'archistrategos' (general) already in the Early Byzantine period.²⁶⁵ By the tenth century Michael had been identified with the commander of the heavenly host mentioned in Josh. 5:13–15 and was represented in military costume in his quality as such, in illustrations of the Encounter with Joshua

PLATES 1-133

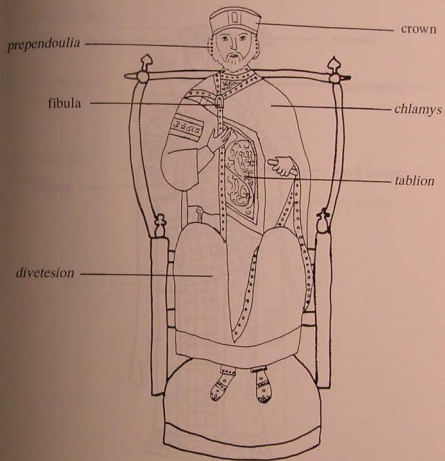
²⁶¹ Cf. the comments of Jolivet-Lévy concerning the representation of St. Hieron in military dress in a number of churches in his native Cappadocia dated to the tenth and eleventh centuries, C. Jolivet-Lévy, 'Hagiographie cappadocienne: à propos de quelques images nouvelles de saint Hiéron et de saint Eustathe,' in *Εὐαγγέλιον*, I, pp. 205–209, 218. According to tradition, in his life-time Saint Hieron had been a vine-dresser not a soldier.

²⁶² *Byzance*, no. 189. The attribute of the archangel Michael as a guardian against evil forces can be traced back to the beginning of the Christian era and has its origins in Jewish apocryphal tradition, see Mango, 'St. Michael and Attis'.

²⁶³ See, for example, Wessel, *Enamels*, no. 30 (enamel icon now in the treasury of San Marco, Venice, eleventh-twelfth century); Millet, *Monuments byz. de Mistra*, pl. 83.2 (Metropolis); Constantinides, *The Wall-paintings of Panagia Olympiotissa*, pl. 59.

²⁶⁴ Psellos, *Chron.*, pp. 7, 118; An. Komn., I, p. 130.

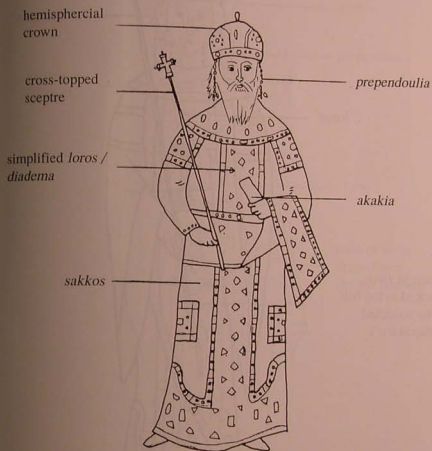
²⁶⁵ See Rohland, *Der Erzengel Michael*, esp. pp. 146–148.



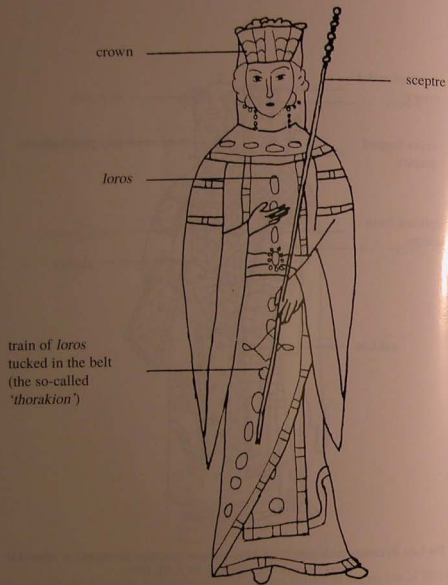
1. The Middle Byzantine imperial *chlamys*-costume (based on the portrait of Michael VII Doukas in *Coislin* 79, f. 2r, 1071-1081).



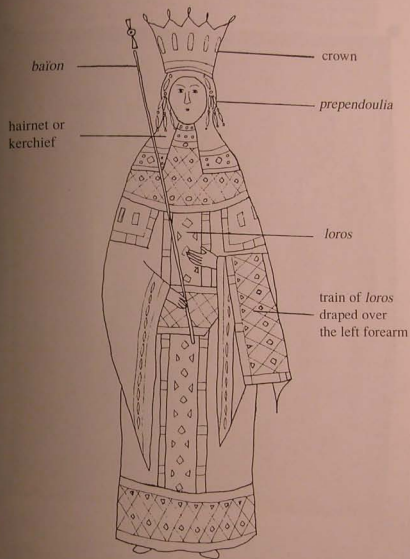
2. The Middle Byzantine male crossed loros-costume (based on the portrait of Michael VII Doukas in *Coislin* 79, f. 1(2bis)v, 1071-1081).



3. The Late Byzantine male simplified loros-costume (based on the portrait of Manuel II Palaiologos in *Par. suppl. gr.* 39, f. VI, 1407).



4. The Middle Byzantine female *loros*-costume (based on the portrait of Maria of Antioch in Vat. gr. 1176, f. 11r, 1166).



5. The Late Byzantine female *loros*-costume (based on the portrait of Anna of Savoy in Stuttgart, cod. hist. 2° 601, f. 4, 1328-1341).



6. Coislin 79, f. 2v (1071-1081). Michael VII Doukas (1071-1078) flanked by St. John Chrysostom and the archangel Michael; a minuscule figure is kneeling to the right of the footstool. (photo Bibliothèque nationale de France)



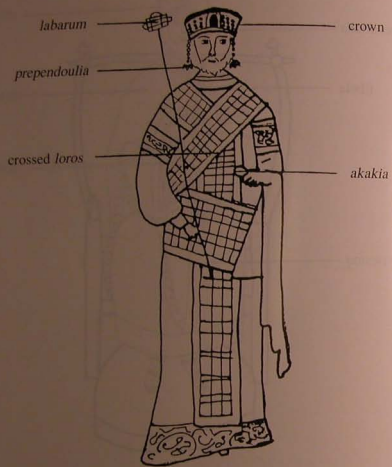
7. Trebizond, St. Sophia. Nineteenth-century drawing of a now-destroyed portrait of Manuel I Komnenos of Trebizond (1238-1263). [after Gagarin G.G., *Recueil d'ornements et d'architecture byzantines, géorgiens et russes* (St. Petersburg, 1897), pl. XXV]



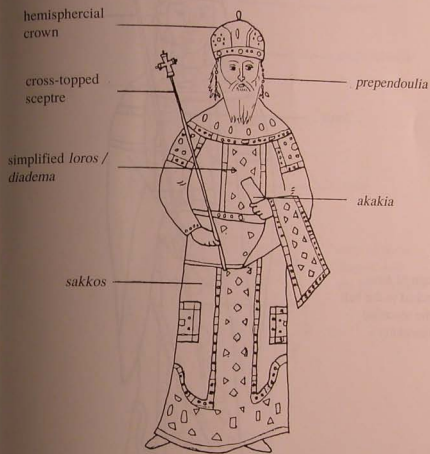
8. London, The British Museum. Medallion of John VIII Palaiologos (1425-1448) by Pisanello, obverse: Bust of the emperor. (© Copyright The British Museum)



9. Ravenna, San Vitale (c. 547). Justinian, bishop Maximian, clergy, officials, and imperial bodyguards. (photo courtesy of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali e Ambientali, Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, Rome)



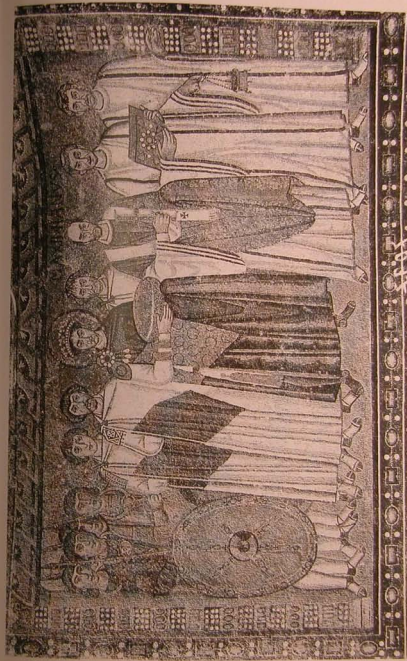
2. The Middle Byzantine male crossed loros-costume (based on the portrait of Michael VII Doukas in *Colsin* 79, f. 1(2bis)v, 1071-1081).



3. The Late Byzantine male simplified loros-costume (based on the portrait of Manuel II Palaiologos in *Par. suppl. gr.* 39, f. VI, 1407).



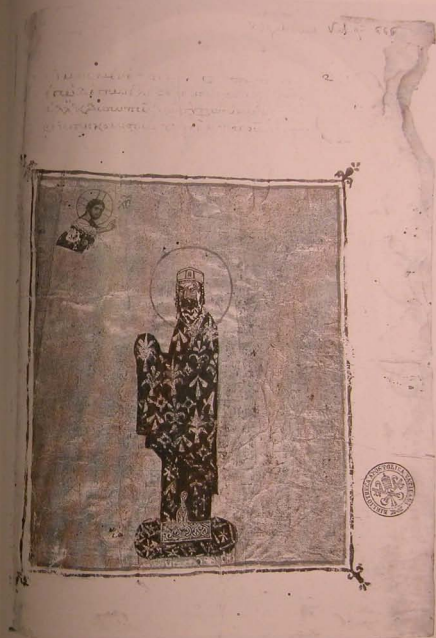
8. London, The British Museum. Medallion of John VIII Palaiologos (1425-1448) by Pisanello, obverse: Bust of the emperor. (© Copyright The British Museum)



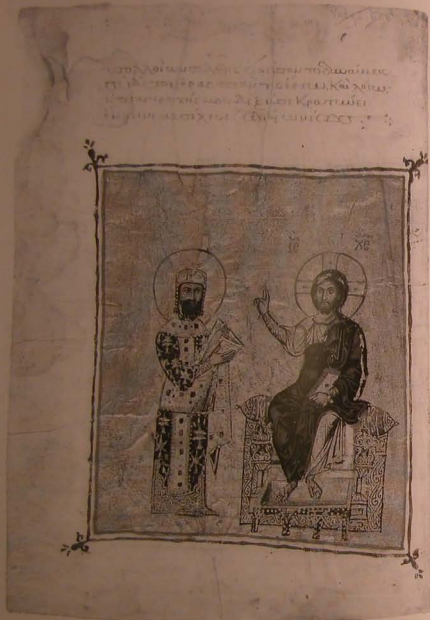
9. Ravenna, San Vitale (c. 547). Justinian, bishop Maximian, clergy, officials, and imperial bodyguards. (photo courtesy of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali e Ambientali, Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, Rome)



10. Ravenna, San Vitale (c. 547). Theodora, ladies of the court, and officials, detail. (photo courtesy of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali e Ambientali, Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, Rome)



12. *Vat. gr. 666*, f. 2r (after 1109-1111). Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118), turning to face the chorus of Church Fathers represented on f. Iv. (© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)



13. Vat. gr. 666, f. 2v (after 1109-1111), Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118) presenting a codex to the enthroned Christ. (© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)



14. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Cabinet des médailles. The Romanos ivory (945-949). (photo Bibliothèque nationale de France)



15. Harvard University Art Museums, Whittemore Collection. Gold solidus of Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (945). (photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington D.C.)



16. The draping of the trabea triumphalis, [after Houston M.G., *Ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine Costume and Decoration* (London, 1947), fig. 138b-c]



17. Çavuşin, Pigeon House Church (963-969), apse of the *prothesis*. Family portrait of Nikephoros II Phokas (963-969). (photo by Ann Wharton Epstein, courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)



18. Constantinople, Hagia Sophia, south gallery. Constantine IX Monomachos (1042-1055) and Zoe (†1050). (photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)



19. *Cotsin* 79, f. 1 (2bis) v (1071-1081). Michael VII Doukas (1071-1078) and Maria of Alania crowned by Christ. (photo Bibliothèque nationale de France)



20. Constantinople, Hagia Sophia, south gallery. John II Komnenos (1118-1143) and Eirene (†1134). (photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)



21. *Vat. urb. gr. 2, f. 19v* (1122-1142). John II Komnenos (1118-1143) and his eldest son Alexios (†1142) crowned by the enthroned Christ. (© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)



22. *Vat. gr. 1176, f. 11r* (1166). Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180) and Maria of Antioch (© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)



23. Athens, Byzantine and Christian Museum, Ms 80, XAE 3570. Miniature from a chrysobull of Andronikos II Palaiologos (1301), (courtesy of the Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens. Photographic Archive, photograph by S. Panagiotopoulos)



25. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum. Marble inlay icon of St. Eudokia from the Monastery of Lips, 907 (h.: 0.575m; w.: 0.27m). (copyright Erich Lessing / Art Resource, NY)



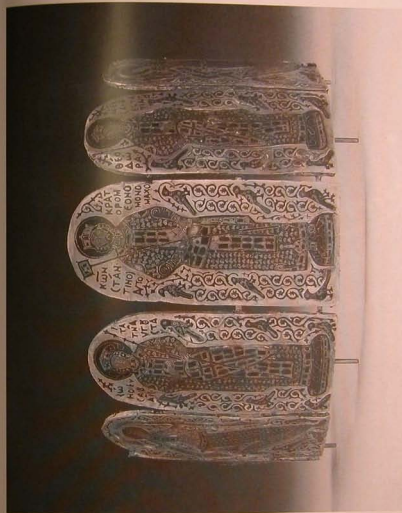
26. Kastoria, Sts. Anargyroi (second half of tenth or first half of eleventh century). Sts. Constantine and Helena and the funerary portrait of one Constantine. [after Pelekanides S. and Chatzidakis M., *Kastoria* (Athens, 1985), fig. 6 on p. 29]



27. Harvard University Art Museums, Whittemore Collection. Gold histamenon of Romanos IV Diogenes (1068-1071). (photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)



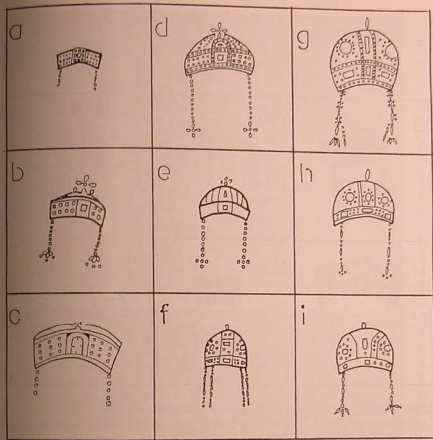
28. Stuttgart, *cod. hist.* 2° 601, f. 4. Anna of Savoy, wife of Andronikos III (1328-1341). (photo Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart)



29. Budapest, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum. The Crown of Constantine IX Monomachos (1042-1055).
(photo Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum)

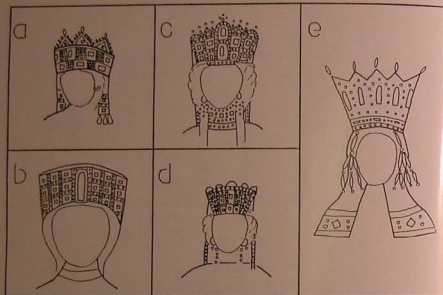


30. Budapest, Hungarian Parliament, The Holy Crown of Hungary, back (1074-1077).
[after Cutler A. and Spieser J.-M., *Byzance médiévale, 700-1204* (Paris, 1996), fig. 267]



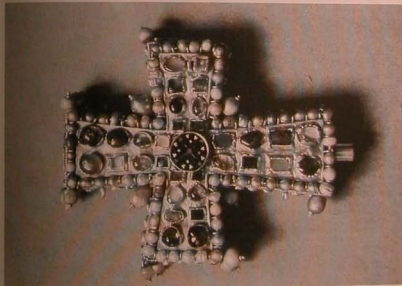
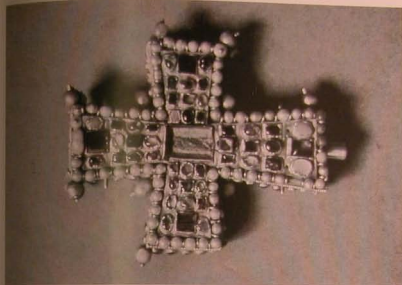
31. Middle and Late Byzantine male imperial crowns (not to scale):

- a. *Marc. gr. Z.* 17, f. IIIr. Basil II (976-1025)
- b. Constantinople, Hagia Sophia. Constantine IX Monomachos (1042-1055)
- c. *Coislin* 79, f. 1(2bis)v. Michael VII Doukas (1071-1078)
- d. Constantinople, Hagia Sophia. John II Komnenos (1118-1143)
- e. *Vat. gr.* 1176, f. IIr. Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180)
- f. Athens, Byzantine Museum. Chrysobull of 1301, Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282-1328)
- g. Stuttgart, *cod. hist.* 2° 601, f. 2. Andronikos III Palaiologos (1328-1341)
- h. *Par. gr.* 1242, f. 5v. John VI Kantakouzenos (1347-1354)
- i. *Par. suppl. gr.* 309, f. VI. Manuel II Palaiologos (1391-1425)



32. Middle and Late Byzantine female imperial crowns (not to scale):

- a. Constantinople, Hagia Sophia. Zoe, wife of Constantine IX Monomachos (1042-1055)
- b. *Coislin* 79, f. 1(2bis)v. Maria of Alania, wife of Michael VII Doukas (1071-1078)
- c. Constantinople, Hagia Sophia. Eirene, wife of John II Komnenos (1118-1143)
- d. *Vat. gr.* 1176, f. 11r. Maria of Antioch, wife of Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180)
- e. *Stuttgart, cod. hist.* 2° 601, f. 4. Anna of Savoy, wife of Andronikos III Palaiologos (1328-1341)



33. Tournai Cathedral, Treasury. Gold reliquary cross set with precious stones and pearls (tenth century). [after *Splendeur de Byzance* (Brussels, 1982), no. O.17]



34. Berlin, Museum für Spätantike und Byzantinische Kunst. The so-called 'sceptre' of Leo VI (886-912) (h.: 0.103m; w.: 0.10m), back. (photo courtesy of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst)



35. Kurbino, St. George (1191). Descent into Hell, detail. (photo Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)



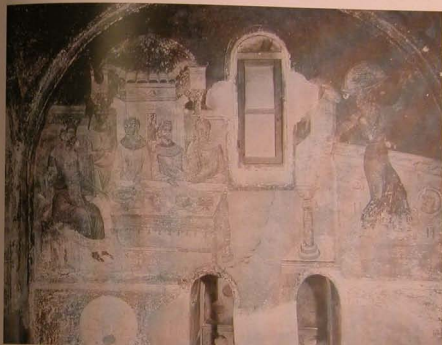
36. Verroia, church of the Anastasis (1315). Descent into Hell. (photo Dušan Tasić)



37. Daphni Monastery, *katholikon* (late eleventh century), dome. David (left), Isaiah (centre), and Solomon (right). (photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)



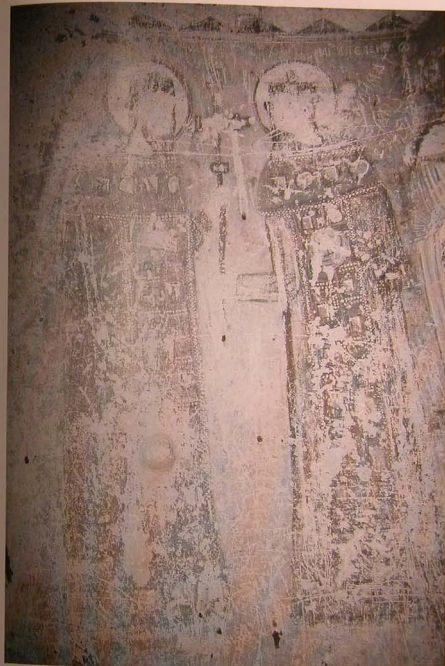
38. Constantinople, Chora Monastery (1315-1321). Infancy cycle, the Journey of the Magi and the Magi before Herod. (photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)



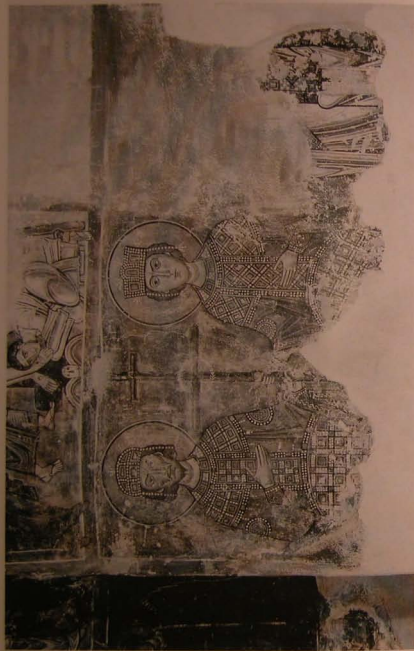
39. Thessalonike, Holy Apostles (1329-1334). Cycle of St. John the Baptist, Herod's banquet. [after Nikonanos N., *The Church of the Holy Apostles in Thessalonike* (Thessalonike, 1986), pl. 29]



40. Chios, Nea Mone (1049-1055), Descent into Hell, detail: David (left) and Solomon (right). (photo 3^e Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities)



41. Çavuşin, Pigeon House Church (963-969), central apse. Sts. Constantine and Helena. (photo Catherine Jolivet-Lévy)



42. Paphos, Enkleistra of St. Neophytos (after 1197), Sts. Constantine and Helena, with the kind permission of the Abbot of the Holy Monastery of St. Neophytos) (photo Cyprus Museum, with the kind permission of the Abbot of the Holy Monastery of St. Neophytos)



43. Kurbinovo, St. George (1191), Sts. Constantine and Helena, detail. (photo Alfred Rocklage)



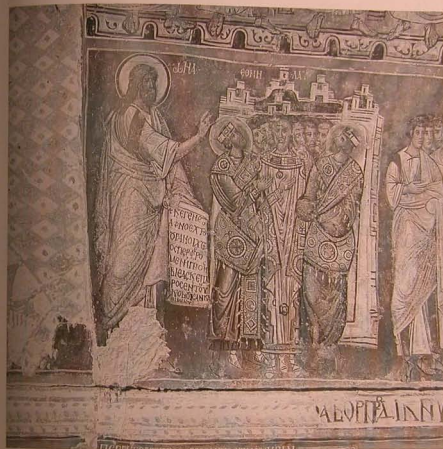
44. Thessalonike, St. Nicholas Orphanos (1310-1320), Sts. Catherine and Eirene.
(photo Sharon E.J. Gerstel)



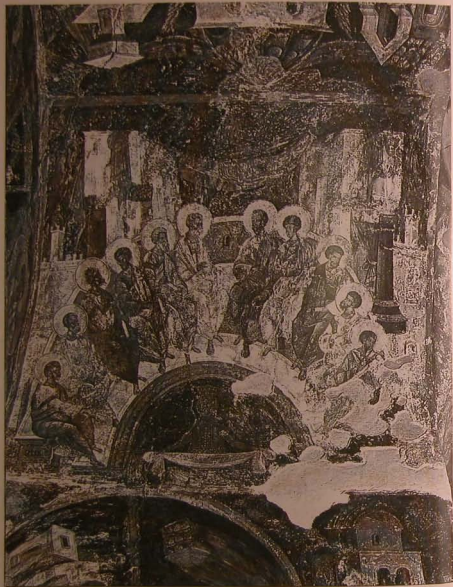
45. Platsa, St. Nicholas (1343-1349). Cycle of St. Nicholas, The three generals before
Constantine. [after Mouriki D., *The Frescoes of St. Nicholas at Platsa in the Mani*
(Athens, 1975), pl. 39]



46. Par. gr. 74, f. 51v (mid-eleventh century). The Last Judgment. (photo Bibliothèque nationale de France)



47. Göreme, New Tokalı kilise (mid-tenth century). Pentecost, detail: Joel and the Nations. (photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)



48. Mistra, Peribleptos (third quarter of the fourteenth century), Pentecost. [after Ανδρεοπούλου-Κοιγιάκου Χ., *Μυστράς* (Athens, 1985), fig. 24]



49. Constantinople, Hagia Sophia, bema (c. 867). Archangel. (photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)



50. Göreme, New Tokalı kilise (mid-tenth century), north apse. Theophany. (photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)



51. Thessalonike, Panagia ton Chalkoon (1028), The Last Judgment, detail; Deess, [after Istouridou A., *The Church of the Lamagia Chalkoon* (Thessalonike, 1985), pl. 29]



52. Mistra, Metropolis (1291/5-1315). The Last Judgment, detail: The *Hetolmasia*, (after Χατζηδόνη Μ., Μοσφόις, Η μεταστροφή του Αϊωάννη, Οδηγός (Athens, 1989), fig. 25]



53. Kurbino, St. George (1191), Dormition, detail. (photo Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)



54. Daphni Monastery, *katholikon* (late eleventh century), bema. The archangel Michael. (photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)



55. Kastoria, Sts. Anargyroi (c. 1180), south aisle. The archangel Michael. [after Pelekanides S. and Chatzidakis M., *Kastoria* (Athens, 1985), fig. 26 on p. 47]



54. Daphni Monastery, *katholikon* (late eleventh century), bema. The archangel Michael. (photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)



55. Kastoria, Sts. Anargyroi (c. 1180), south aisle. The archangel Michael. [after Pelekanides S. and Chatzidakis M., *Kastoria* (Athens, 1985), fig. 26 on p. 47]



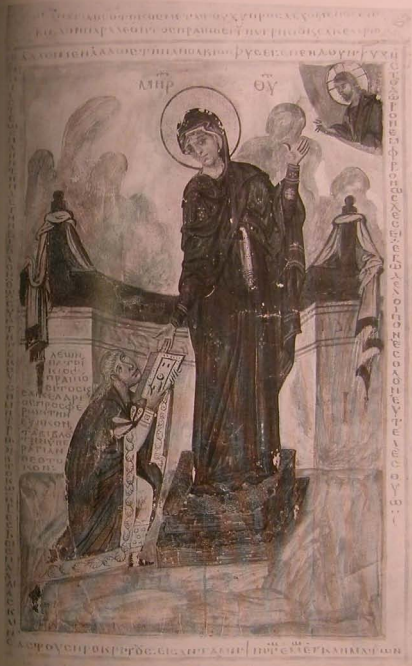
56. Elasson, Panagia Olympiotissa (second quarter of fourteenth century). Cycle of the *Akathistos Hymn*, Strophe II, Annunciation. (photo Thanases Euthymiopoulos)



57. Nicaea, Church of the Dormition, bema (soon after 843). Dominations and Powers. (photo Archives of The State Hermitage Museum)



58. Chios, Nea Mone (1049-1055). The apse of the *diakonikon*. The archangel Michael. (photo 3rd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities)



59. Vat. reg. gr. 1, f. 2v (940s). The *patrikos*, *praipositos*, and *sakellarios* Leo. (© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)



60. *Dionysiou* 61, f. 1v (second half of eleventh century). Unidentified donor.
(photo Holy Monastery of St. Dionysios, Mount Athos)



61. *Laura* A 103, f. 3v (twelfth century). Unidentified donor. [after Spatharakis I., *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts* (Leiden, 1976), fig. 45]



62. Kastoria, St. Nicholas Kasnitzes (1160-1180). The *magistros* Nikephoros Kasnitzes. [after Pelekanides S. and Chatzidakis M., *Kastoria* (Athens, 1985), fig. 19 on p. 65]



63. Kastoria, St. Nicholas Kasnitzes (1160-1180). Anna, wife of Nikephoros. [after Pelekanides S. and Chatzidakis M., *Kastoria* (Athens, 1985), fig. 21 on p. 65]



65. Dionysiou 61, f. 28v (second half of eleventh century). Julian the tax-collector. (photo Holy Monastery of St. Dionysios, Mount Athos)



66. Kastoria, Sts. Anargyroi (c. 1180). Donor panel, detail: Theodore Lemnites and his son John. [after Pelekanides S. and Chatzidakis M., *Kastoria* (Athens, 1985), fig. 23 on p. 43]



67. Oxford, Lincoln College, ms. gr. 35 (*Lincoln Typikon*), f. 6r (1327-1342). The protosbastos Constantine Raoul Palaiologos and Euphrosyne. (© Lincoln College, Oxford)



68. Par. gr. 2144, f. 11r (after 1334). The megas doux Alexios Apokaukos. (photo Bibliothèque nationale de France)



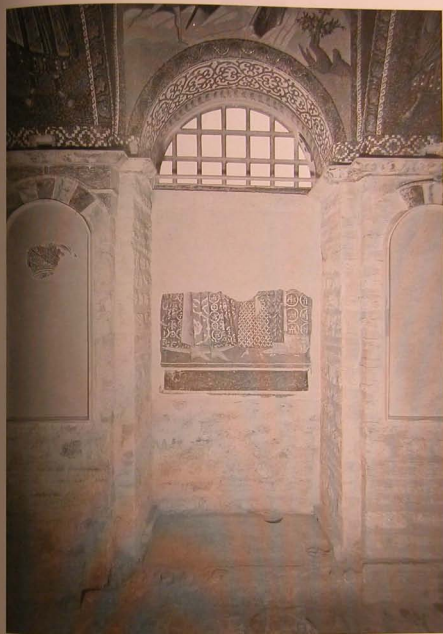
69. Constantinople, Chora Monastery (1315-1321). Donor panel, detail: The *logothetes tou genikou* Theodore Metochites. (photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)



70. Kastoria, Sts. Anargyroi (thirteenth-fourteenth century). Unidentified donor or supplicant. [after Pelekanides S. and Chatzidakis M., *Kastoria* (Athens, 1985), fig. 20 on p. 40]



71. Constantinople, Chora Monastery, Tomb C (fourteenth century). Funerary portraits on the back wall of the arcosolium. (photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)



72. Constantinople, Chora Monastery, Tomb F (fourteenth century). With vestiges of funerary portraits on the back wall of the arcosolium. (photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)



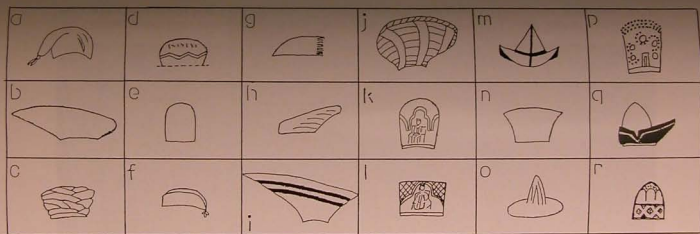
73. Mistra, Pantanassa. Funerary portrait of Manuel Laskares Chatzikes (†1445), (after IEE Θ', on p. 285)



75. Jerusalem, L.A. Mayer Museum for Islamic Art. Gold belt-fittings from Syria (late thirteenth-early fourteenth century), (photo courtesy of the L.A. Mayer Museum for Islamic Art)



76. Moscow, Tretyakov Gallery. Silver-gilt revetment of an icon of the Hodegetria (end of the thirteenth-beginning of the fourteenth century), donor portraits: Constantine Akropolites and Maria Akropolitissa. (photo The State Tretyakov Gallery)



77. Middle and Late Byzantine male head-dresses (not to scale):
 a. Göreme, Karanlık kilise (mid-eleventh century). John Entalmatikos (side view)
 b. Vat. gr. 752, f. 163r (c. 1059). Uriah the Hittite (side view)
 c. Soğanlı, Karabaş kilise (1060/1). The *protospatharios* Skepides
 d. Soğanlı, Karabaş kilise (1060/1). Anonymous donor
 e. *Coislin* 79, f. 2r (1071-1081). The *proedros* and *epi tou kanikleiou* (reconstructed)
 f. *Coislin* 79, f. 2r (1071-1081). The *proedros* and *megas primikerios* and the *proedros* and *dekanos* (front view)
 g. *Madrid Skylitzes*, f. 51 (mid-twelfth century). Courtier
 h. *Madrid Skylitzes*, f. 42v (mid-twelfth century). Courtier (side view)
 i. *Vat. gr.* 1851, f. 2v (1179). Courtier (side view)

- j. Constantinople, Chora Monastery (1315-1321). The *logothetes tou genikou* Theodore Metochites
 k. *Par. gr.* 2144, f. 1lr (after 1334). The *megas doux* Alexios Apokaukos
 l. *Lincoln Typikon*, ff. 2r, 3r, 5r, 6r, 8r (1327-1342). Officials of the family of Theodora Synadene
 m. *Par. gr.* 1242, f. 5v (completed in 1375). Courtier
 n. Constantinople, Chora Monastery, Tomb D (fourteenth century). Michael Tornikes
 o. Mistra, Sts. Theodores. Unidentified supplicant (c. 1400)
 p. Mistra, Aphendiko. The *despotes* Theodore Palaiologos (†1407)
 q. Mistra, Pantanassa. Manuel Laskares Chatzikes (†1445) (side view)
 r. Mistra, Sts. Theodores. Unidentified supplicant (fifteenth century)



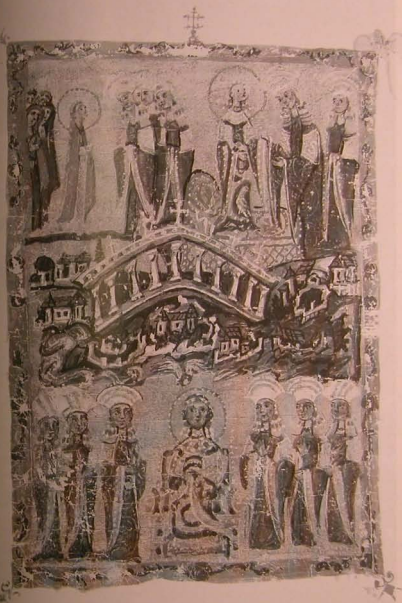
78. Göreme, Çankılı kilise (mid-eleventh century). Donor panel: Theognostos (left) and Leo and Michael (right), flanking a saint who carries the Holy Cross. (photo by Ann Wharton Epstein, courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)



80. Vat. gr. 1613, no. 98 (*Menologium* of Basil II, beginning of eleventh century).
St. Pelagia the Harlot. (© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)



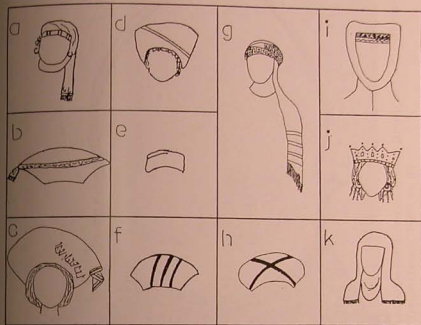
81. Petrop. gr. 291, f. IIIr (1067). Eirene Gabras. (photo Archives of the State Hermitage Museum)



83. Vat. gr. 1851, f. 3v (illustrated epithalamion of 1179). The arrival of Agnes to Constantinople. (© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)



84. Kastoria, Sts. Anargyroi (c. 1180). Donor panel, detail: The Virgin and Child and Anna Radene. [after Pelekanides S. and Chatzidakis M., *Kastoria* (Athens, 1985), fig. 22 on p. 42]



86. Middle and Late Byzantine female head-dresses (not to scale):
 a. *Vat. gr.* 1613, no. 98 (beginning of eleventh century). St. Pelagia
 b. *Vat. gr.* 752, f. 449v (c. 1059). A Hebrew woman dancing
 c. Soganlı, Canavar Kilise. Female donor (c. 1060)
 d. *Petrop. gr.* 291, f. IIIr (1067). Eirene Gabras
 e. *Koutoumousiou* 60, f. Iv (before 1169). Female donor or supplicant
 f. *Vat. gr.* 1851, f. 3v (1179). A lady of the court
 g. Kastoria, St. Nicholas Kasnitzes (1160-1180). Anna, wife of the donor
 h. Kastoria, Sts. Anargyroi (c. 1180). Anna Radene
 i. Arta, Panagia Bellas (1295/6). Anna, sister-in-law of donor (after Orlandos)
 j. *Lincoln Typikon*, ff. 1v, 2r, 3r, 4r, 5r, 6r, 8r, 9v (1327-1342). Female members of the family of Theodora Synadene
 k. Constantinople, Chora Monastery, Tomb D (fourteenth century). The wife of Michael Tornikes



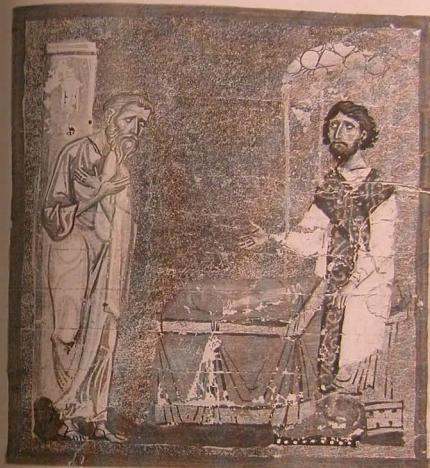
87. Washington D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection. Gold, crescent-shaped earring (twelfth century). (photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)



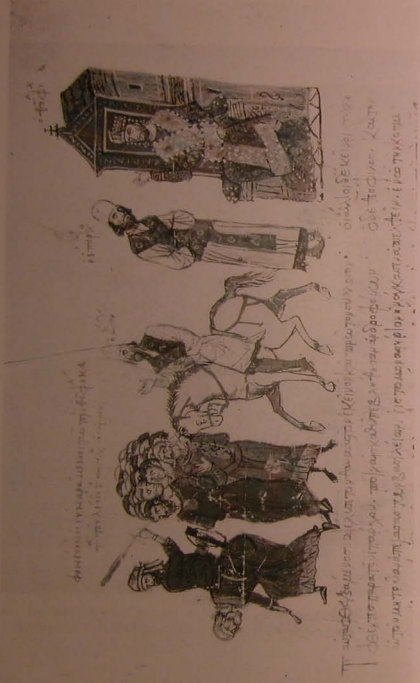
88. Taranto, Museo Nazionale. Pair of gold earrings with three pellets (ninth-eleventh century). [after D'Angela C., *Ori bizantini del Museo Nazionale di Taranto* (Taranto, 1989), no. 10]



89. Rossano Gospels, f. 16 (sixth century). Second of the Trial miniatures: Christ or Barabbas. (with the kind permission of the Museo Diocesano di Arte Sacra, Rossano)



90. Athens 93, f. 85r (last quarter of twelfth century). Joseph of Arimathea demanding the body of Christ for burial. (with the permission of the National Library of Greece / photo Manoles Manole)



91. Madrid. Biblioteca Nacional, cod. Vitr. 26-2 (Madrid Skylitzes), f. 43r(a) (mid-twelfth century). Theophilus orders the prefect to punish those responsible for the assassination of Leo V. (photo Laboratorio Fotografico de la Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid)



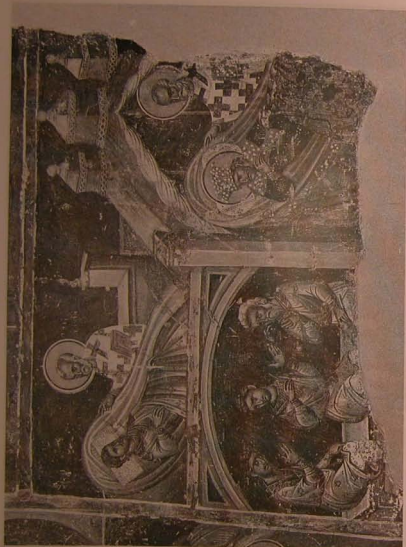
92. Thessalonike, St. Nicholas Orphanos (1310-1320). Christ before Pilate. (photo Ivan Djordjevic)



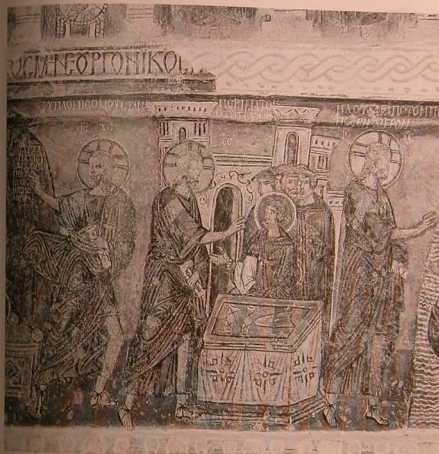
93. Constantinople, Chora Monastery (1315-1321). Infancy cycle, Enrolment for Taxation. (photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)



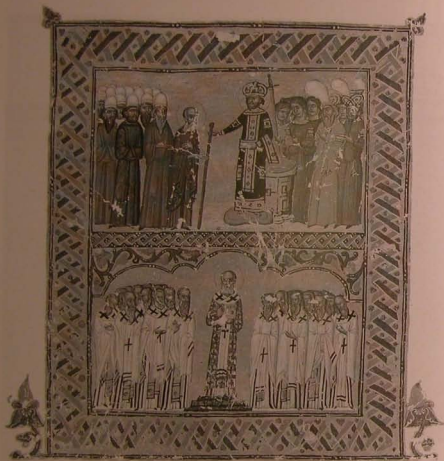
94. Kastoria, St. Nicholas Kasnitzes (1160-1180). Cycle of St. Nicholas, St. Nicholas appears to Ablabius. [after Πεγεκανίδης Ετ., *Καστοριά Ι. Βυζαντινά τοιχογραφία. Πίνακες* (Thessalonike, 1953), pl. 606]



95. Thessalonike, St. Nicholas Orphanos (1310-1320). Scenes from the cycle of St. Nicholas: The three generals in prison (bottom left); St. Nicholas appears to Ablabius (top left); St. Nicholas appears to Constantine (right). (photo Ivan Djordjević)



96. Göreme, New Tokalı kilise (mid-tenth century). The Calling of St. Matthew. (photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)



97. *Par. gr. 543, f. 288v* (fourteenth century). Theodosios I and St. Gregory of Nazianzos.
(photo Bibliothèque nationale de France)



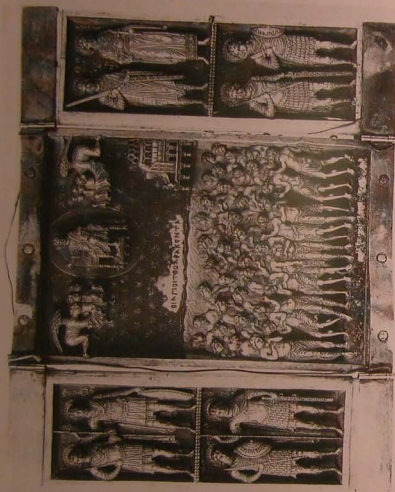
98. Paris, The Louvre. The Harbaville ivory triptych (tenth century). (photo Cnac-Mnam /
Dist RMN, D. Arnaudet)



99. Bachkovo Monastery, ossuary chapel, narthex of the crypt (mid-twelfth century). The Last Judgment, detail: chorus of Martyrs. (photo Elka Bakalova)



100. Paris, The Louvre. Steatite icon of the *Hetoimasia* and saints (late tenth-early eleventh century). (photo Cnac-Mnam / Dist RMN, D. Arnaudet)



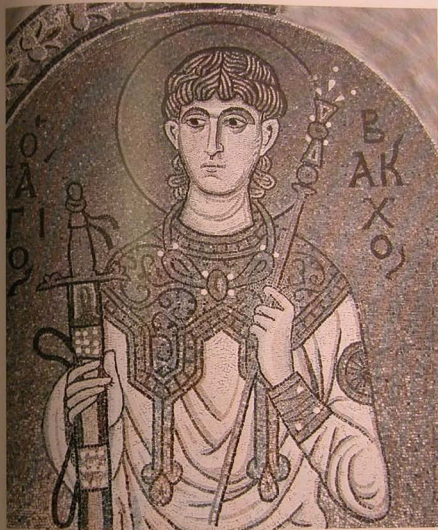
101. Saint Petersburg, The Hermitage. Ivory triptych with the Forty Martyrs and saints (tenth century).
(photo The State Hermitage Museum)



102. Constantinople, Chora Monastery (1315-1321). Unidentified saint. (photo courtesy of
Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)



103. Göreme, Elmalı kilise (mid-eleventh century). St. Eustratios. (photo Catherine Jolivet-Lévy)



104. Daphni Monastery, *katholikon* (late eleventh century). St. Bakchos. (photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)



105. Thessalonike, basilica of St. Demetrios. St. Demetrios and donors (seventh century).
(photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)



106. Hosios Loukas, *katholikon*, north-western chapel (fourth decade of the eleventh century). Three of the Five Martyrs of Sebasteia (from left to right): St. Eugenios, St. Eustratios, and St. Auxentios, [after Chatzidakis-Bacharas J. *Les peintures murales de Hosios Loukas, Les chapelles occidentales* (Athens, 1982), fig. 13]



107. Hosios Loukas Monastery, *katholikon*, north-western chapel (fourth decade of eleventh century). St. Orestes, [after Chatzidakis-Bacharas J., *Les peintures murales de Hosios Loukas. Les chapelles occidentales* (Athens, 1982), fig. 11]



108. Hosios Loukas Monastery, *katholikon*, north-western chapel (fourth decade of eleventh century). St. Mardarios, [after Chatzidakis-Bacharas J., *Les peintures murales de Hosios Loukas. Les chapelles occidentales* (Athens, 1982), fig. 12]



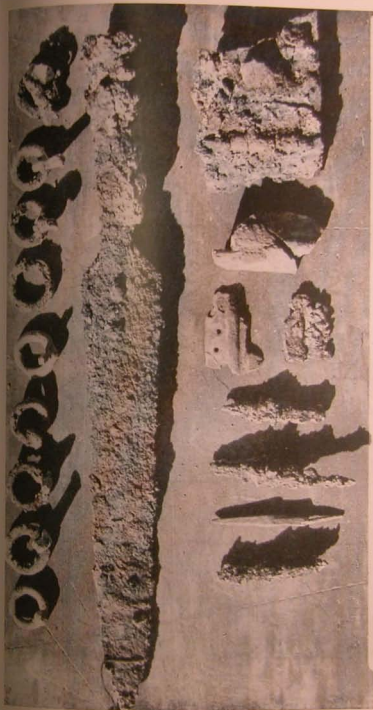
109. Kastoria, St. Nicholas Kasnitzes (1160-1180). St. Barbara. (photo Sharon E.J. Gerstel)



110. Marc. gr. Z. 17, f. IIIr (beginning of eleventh century). Triumph of Basil II. (photo Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana di Venezia)



111. Çavuşin, Pigeon House Church (963-969). The *magistros* Melias. (photo by Ann Wharton Epstein, courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)



112. Constantinople, Great Palace excavation. Finds of small plates employed in the construction of body-armour, arrowheads, a spearhead, and other iron fragments (twelfth-century context), [after *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors, being a First Report on the Excavations carried out in Istanbul on behalf of the Walker Trust (The University of St. Andrews 1935-1938)*, eds. G. Brett, W. J. Macquillay, R. B. K. Stevenson (London, 1947), pl. 58.7]



113. Çavuşin, Pigeon House Church (963-969), north wall. John Tzimiskes and the *magistros* Melias on horseback, and four of the Forty Martyrs. (photo Catherine Jolivet-Lévy)



114. Avclar, Yusuf köş kilisesi (towards the middle of the eleventh century or thirteenth century). St. Prokopios and St. Demetrios. (photo by Ann Wharton Epstein, courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)



115. Göreme, Karanlık kilise (mid-eleventh century). St. Orestes. (photo Catherine Jolivet-Lévy)



116. Göreme, Kinetar kışlak (first half or towards the middle of the eleventh century). St. Mardarios and St. Orestes. (photo by Ann Wharton Epstein, courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)



117. Hasan Dağı, Sümblülü kilise (tenth or beginning of eleventh century). St. George.
(photo Catherine Jolivet-Lévy)



118. Hosios Loukas Monastery, church of the Virgin, Joshua (end of tenth or beginning of eleventh century). [after Chatzidakis-Bacharas J., *Les peintures murales de Hosios Loukas. Les chapelles occidentales* (Athens, 1982), fig. 107]



119. Hosios Loukas Monastery, *katholikon* (fourth decade of the eleventh century). St. Demetrios, [after Chatzidakis-Bacharas J. *Les peintures murales de Hosios Loukas. Les chapelles occidentales* (Athens, 1982), fig. 85]



120. Corfu, church of St. Merkourios (1074), east wall, south apse. St. Basil and St. Merkourios. (photo 8^e Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities)



121. Vatican, Museo Sacro. Steatite icon of St. Theodore Stratelates (eleventh century). (photo courtesy of the Direzione Generale, Musei Vaticani)



122. Mount Athos, Vatopedi Monastery. Steatite icon of St. George (eleventh century). [after *Treasures of Mount Athos*, ed. A. Karakatsanis (Thessalonike, 1997), no. 9.1]



123. Kastoria, Sts. Anargyroi (c. 1180). St. George (left) and St. Demetrios (right), detail. (photo Ivan Djordjević)



124. Mount Athos, Protaton (c. 1290 or c. 1300). St. Merkourios. (photo Ivan Djordjević)



125. Ohrid, Peribleptos (1294/5). St. George. (photo Sharon E.J. Gerstel)



126. Paris, The Louvre. Steatite icon of St. Demetrios (eleventh century). (photo Cnac-Mnam / Dist RMN, D. Arnaudet)



127. Göreme, Elmalı kilise (mid-eleventh century). Crucifixion, (photo by Judith O'Neill, courtesy of Dunbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)



128. Kastoria, St. Nicholas Kasnitzes (1160-1180). St. George. (photo Ivan Djordjević)



129. Nerezi, St. Panteleimon (1164). St. Theodore Stratelates(?) (left) and St. Theodore Tiro(?) (right), (photo Ivan Djordjević)



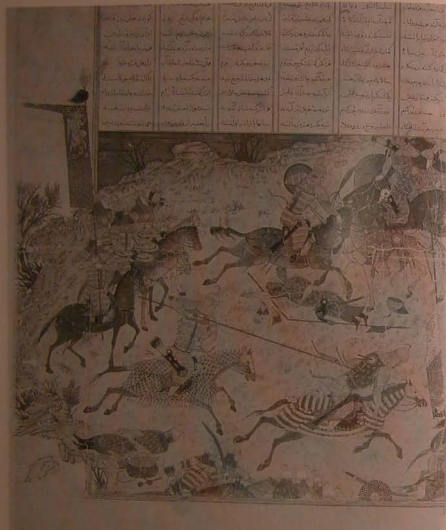
130. Thessalonike, St. Nicholas Orphanos (1310-1320). Scenes from the Passion cycle: Mocking of Christ and Way to Calvary. (photo Ivan Djordjević)



131. Thessalonike, Prophets Elias (c. 1370-1380), Massacre of the Innocents, (photo Ivan Djordjević)



132. Thessalonike, chapel of St. Euthymios (1303), St. George. (photo Ivan Djordjević)



133. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Museum, ms. Hazine 2153, f. 102a (Tabriz, second half of fourteenth century). King Minuchihir of Iran kills the fleeing Turanians. (photo Topkapı Sarayı Museum, Istanbul)

before Jericho.²⁶⁶ As one would expect, Michael's assistance was devoutly sought by the Byzantine emperor when on campaign.²⁶⁷ In the Palaiologan period the archangel's image adorned one of the imperial *phlamoula*.²⁶⁸ The military quality of the archangel Gabriel, on the other hand, appears to have been far less pronounced, though he too was sometimes attributed the title of '*archistrategos*'.²⁶⁹ He very rarely appears in military costume. He is portrayed in the traditional costume and attitude of the guardian on an iron cross with silver revetment from Cyprus (twelfth century).²⁷⁰

As a conclusion I would like to put down some thoughts on the principles which governed the representation of military costume in religious iconography, as I had the opportunity to observe them while conducting the survey the results of which were presented here. The predominant characteristics of the representation of military costume in Byzantine art were conventionality and conservatism. These were, to a great degree, due to the traditionalism of Byzantine art, which preserved and repeated established types, some of which, as we had opportunity to observe, can be traced without serious difficulty back to the art of Late Antiquity. There is no escaping this fact. However, one may legitimately wonder whether this process of reproduction of established models was a mechanical one or whether it was seen to serve another purpose, beyond the important one of remaining faithful to tradition. The only additional objective I could see it serve was that of underlining the historicity of the image in which the conventional representation was introduced. Such an interpretation is not entirely arbitrary: the validity of religious representations as a

²⁶⁶ See K. Weitzmann, *The Joshua Roll. A Work of the Macedonian Renaissance* (Princeton, 1948), fig. 13 (sheet IV).

²⁶⁷ Rohland, in fact, has associated the original promotion of the archangel's military qualities to his being adopted as a guardian of the Roman emperor in the fourth century, see Rohland, *Der Erzengel Michael*, p. 136.

²⁶⁸ Pseudo-Kod., pp. 195–196.

²⁶⁹ As, for example, on the frontispiece miniature of *Par. gr.* 510, f. Cv, where he is portrayed crowning the emperor Basil I (Appendix 2, no. 1). Note, however, that Gabriel appears in imperial, not military dress.

²⁷⁰ *La France aux portes de l'Orient. Chypre XII^{ème}–XIV^{ème} siècle*, ed. J. Charles-Gaffiot (Paris, 1991), no. 49. I thank Dr. Tassos Papacostas for this reference. The only representation of Gabriel in armour I was able to locate in monumental painting is encountered in a Serbian church, that of St. Demetrios at Peć (1330–1340), see Dumbarton Oaks Photographic Archive, Peć, Patriarchate, Church of St. Demetrios, no. C10.



133. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Museum, ms. Hazine 2153, f. 102a (Tabriz, second half of fourteenth century). King Minuchir of Iran kills the fleeing Turanians. (photo Topkapı Sarayı Museum, Istanbul)

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means of Christian instruction depended on their illustrating faithfully the historical truth as expressed in the Bible, in hagiographic texts, and in the writings of the Fathers. Thus, it would be reasonable that simple soldiers and military saints who had served in the Roman army should be represented in an outfit which preserved a semblance to Roman military costume. However, one will rightly point out that not all the figures represented in this type of military costume were Romans (consider, for example, Joshua and his Israelites). Notwithstanding, the argument of historicity and the wish to represent episodes as they had actually happened, may be shown to stand even in these cases. Following a reasoning similar to that which resulted in the enduement of biblical kings with Byzantine imperial costume, these 'non-Romans' were endued 'Roman' military equipment so as to be characterized as soldiers: this was the type of military costume that the beholder would recognize and, what is perhaps more important, this was the type of military costume that the artists knew best how to represent.

Whether intentionally or mechanically, an antique-looking core was preserved in Byzantine artistic representations of military costume. At different periods both realistic and fanciful elements were added to this core, resulting in the creation of a military outfit of a composite character. Its individual constituent elements can be identified, and, as we have seen, sometimes dated, but as a whole it was never actually in use at any given period. Fanciful elements may be attributed to artistic licence—to the limited extent that this was exercised in Byzantium—or to misunderstandings of an artistic model. What is of greater interest is trying to detect the processes that led to the incorporation of realistic elements in the conventional core. In what follows I would like to look at instances of introduction of realistic elements in the representation of body-armour as case-studies that will, hopefully, highlight the different processes at work. I chose body-armour because it is the least 'realistic' item in representations and the one which, one might say, defined the character of the whole outfit. Consequently, any deviation from tradition in its appearance is bound to be significant.

I shall begin with the lamellar cuirasses attributed to military saints in the tenth and eleventh centuries, *i.e.* during the crucial, formative centuries when the iconography of this group of martyrs was becoming firmly established. What strikes one to begin with is that, though antique models were available and actually employed in classicising

works, like the *Joshua Roll* and, later, at Daphni, artists preferred to use a new convention and a 'non-Roman' one at that: they chose to represent lamellar cuirasses. In my search for a source for the artistic convention employed to depict such cuirasses I reached the conclusion that this must have been Byzantine ceremonial armour, comparable to that seen worn by Basil II (Pl. 110). Apparently, this recourse to a contemporary prototype was not considered as damaging to the historicity of the image: what we call now 'Byzantine', was then considered 'Roman'. What is intriguing, however, is why the artists made such a turn in the first place. The fact that the iconographic type, once introduced, knew a widespread popularity would argue against its attribution to the initiative of a single artist. On the contrary, its wide dissemination and its probable ceremonial origins seem to suggest that the convention had originated from Constantinople and was, perhaps, promoted 'from above'. One cannot help thinking of the members of the military aristocracy, including soldier-emperors like Nikephoros II Phokas, John Tzimiskes, and Basil II, who were perhaps related with the promotion of the veneration of military saints²⁷¹ and who must have certainly considered these as their natural guardians—and this, at a time when the empire had undertaken the military offensive against its enemies both in the East and the North.²⁷² It would have been only natural that these military men would wish to have their link to their saintly patrons expressed visually by having them represented in armour similar to their own.

The next case-study takes us to the Late Byzantine period, when one observes again the relatively widespread appearance of a new component in the depiction of body-armour. This is the garment, with or without a lining of mail, worn over the cuirass. However, the uniformity that we had observed in the representation of lamellar armour in the Middle Byzantine period is absent from the Late Byzantine representations of this outer garment. Nor was the latter as widely and as consistently employed in the portrayal of military saints as the former had been. In the case of this outer garment, perhaps, one is faced with an item of military equipment which had

²⁷¹ See Oikonomides, 'Le dédoublement de saint Théodore'. Note, however, that military saints were venerated by all sections of Byzantine society, not only by the military.

²⁷² Cf. Παπαμαστοράκης, 'Ιστορίες και ιστορήσεις βυζαντινών παλληκαριών', p. 219.

become fashionable—possibly under the influence of Turkish military practices—and as such was reflected in Late Byzantine pictorial contexts, without any subtler ulterior motives in mind on the part of either the patrons or the painters.

In between these two 'extreme' cases, one comes across other isolated instances of realistic representations of body-armour. One may cite the scale cuirass of St. Demetrios at the church of Sts. Anargyroi, Kastoria, and the half-breastplate of St. George at the chapel of St. Euthymios, Thessalonike. The depiction of the latter may be in some way related, as we have suggested earlier, with the personality of the military patron of the monument, the *protostrator* Michael Glabas Tarchaniotes. The depiction of the former in the painted decoration of a monument sponsored by donors who were members of the provincial gentry and had, apparently, no connection with the military establishment of the empire, is much more difficult to understand and interpret.²⁷³ One wonders whether it should be attributed to a predilection on their part or, perhaps, on the part of the painter they had employed for realistic detail.

Whatever the processes at work, in mediaeval Byzantine representations of military costume contemporary elements would have been seen depicted side-by-side with traditional and fanciful ones, in the same monument or even in the same scene. It would seem that such discrepancies did not offend either those who commissioned a work of art or those who beheld it. One cannot help but try to imagine how figures dressed in this 'timeless' military costume would appear in the eyes of the Byzantine beholder. Perhaps, they would seem both distant and near, strange and familiar at the same time, moving, as it were, in an ageless age of their own.

²⁷³ On the donors, Theodore Lemniotes, Anna Radene, and their son, see below, Chapter 6.

CHAPTER FOUR

FURNITURE AND FURNISHINGS

Mediaeval furniture and furnishings constitute an aspect of Byzantine material culture which still remains largely unexplored. Ground-breaking studies like those of Oikonomides on the contents of the Byzantine middle-class house from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries, and of Bouras on Byzantine lighting devices, have highlighted the need for further in-depth investigation in this field.¹ The task is a difficult one since available information on this subject is fragmentary and incomplete. Relevant extant materials are limited to

- fittings of metal, usually bronze, and, rarely, bone retrieved from Byzantine archaeological contexts. These could have belonged to pieces of furniture, yet one cannot be certain of their precise function (Pl. 166)²
- a group of marble and wooden ecclesiastical furniture and furnishings, like thrones, lecterns, pieces of wooden *templa*, and door panels, from Asia Minor and the Balkans, dating mostly to the Late Byzantine period (Pls. 167–170)
- the corpus of Middle Byzantine ivory caskets
- the group of Middle Byzantine silks preserved in western ecclesiastic treasuries, some of which might have served as wall-hangings or curtains prior to their migration to the West (Pl. 193)
- mediaeval lighting devices (Pls. 197, 198, 200).

Relatively more information may be derived from written sources, such as

- descriptions of palace settings in the *De ceremoniis* and, to a lesser degree, in the treatise of pseudo-Kodinos
- monastic foundation documents and inventories of the property of monastic establishments

¹ N. Oikonomides, 'The Contents of the Byzantine House from the Eleventh to the Fifteenth Century,' *DOP* 44 (1990), pp. 205–214; L. Bouras, 'Byzantine Lighting Devices,' *JÖB* 32/3 (1981), pp. 479–491.

² See, also, Davidson, *Minor Objects*, pp. 126–129, pls. 62–64.

- legal documents, such as wills, marriage contracts, and court decisions concerning property disputes³
- poetical works, like the epic of *Digenes Akrites*, the poems of Prochoprodromos, and the epigrams of Manuel Philes
- hagiographic texts
- historiographical works, though, admittedly, the references there to furniture and furnishings are rare
- accounts of ambassadors and travellers to Constantinople
- references to Byzantine brocade used for furnishings and to furniture of Byzantine origin in the Cairo Geniza documents.⁴

Artistic representations have not been investigated systematically for relevant information because establishing whether furniture and furnishings represented in art reflected contemporary artefacts is far from straightforward. A similar investigation to the one I propose to undertake here was carried out by Han, who studied household furniture represented in Serbian painting of the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. Comparisons with descriptions in written sources and with a number of surviving pieces, some of them post-fifteenth century, led to the conclusion that the furniture depicted in Serbian monuments reflected actual types in use in contemporary Serbian palaces and monasteries.⁵

THE FURNITURE AND FURNISHINGS

Thrones

The term 'throne' refers to the stately official seats of the emperor and empress, of the patriarch, and of the bishops and abbots of monasteries. It is also employed to describe the official seats of high-ranking dignitaries of the state and judges. No vestige remains of the thrones of the Byzantine emperors or of those of Byzantine

³ These documents, as well as monastic foundation documents and inventories, have been examined by Oikonomides in his study mentioned above. He also took into consideration the evidence of hagiographic texts.

⁴ S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society. The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, 5 vols. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967-1988) (hereafter Goitein, *Medit. Society*), IV, pp. 110, 114, 116, 130.

⁵ V. Han, 'Profani namještaj na našoj srednjovjekovnoj fresci,' *ZbMPrUmet* 1 (1953), pp. 7-52.

officials. On the other hand, fragments of Byzantine episcopal thrones have survived from the Middle Byzantine period (Pl. 167). Complete thrones of bishops and abbots dated to the fourteenth and early fifteenth century have also come down to us, though admittedly, all the examples known to me originate from Serbia and Bulgaria (Pl. 168).⁶ Given the scant documentation, it is difficult to say in what respect the thrones employed by members of the various categories mentioned above differed one from another. Certain throne-types, like the lyre-backed throne in the Middle Byzantine period, appear to have been specific to imperial use. Yet, what must have distinguished imperial thrones from those of ecclesiastic and secular dignitaries was above all the lavishness of the decoration of the former. Imperial thrones are described in written sources as being golden, probably wood encased in sheets of gold, and encrusted with precious stones.⁷

Portraits of Byzantine emperors enthroned or standing in front of a throne, which would have helped us visualize these stately seats, are rare. Nikephoros II Phokas (963-969) is portrayed in the Pigeon House Church at Çavuşin standing in front of a backless throne with what appear to be turned legs (Pl. 17). Two triangular projections with a rounded top are shown placed at the far side of the throne, in the place of a backrest. The throne is encrusted with pearls and gems. Emperors seated on backless thrones can be seen in the twelfth-century *Madrid Skylitzes* as well,⁸ though in these representations the peculiar triangular projections seen at Çavuşin are absent.

The throne of Michael VII Doukas in *Coislin* 79, f. 2r, is a variation of the lyre-backed throne (Pl. 11). It is rendered with a lavish use of gold and has ornate turned legs and a backrest with curved uprights.⁹ The backrest is adorned with five superimposed dimin-

⁶ See, also, Petković and Bošković, *Manastir Dečani*, pp. 211, 230, figs. 96, 97.

⁷ See, for example, *De cer.*, pp. 22, 115, 519-520, 521, 632; *The Works of Liudprand of Cremona*, tr. F.A. Wright (London, 1930) (hereafter Liudprand, *Antapodosis*), p. 207; Liudprand, *Relatio*, p. 28; Kiinn., pp. 83, 205; *The Travels of Ibn Batūta*, tr. S. Lee (new impression London, 1984; 1st edition London, 1829) (hereafter Ibn Batūta), p. 83; *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. A. Asher, 2 vols. (London and Berlin, 1840) (hereafter Benjamin of Tudela), I, p. 53. Cf. the representation of the imperial throne in *Par. gr.* 510, f. 239r, see Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning*, fig. 27.

⁸ Grabar and Manoussacas, *Sylitzes*, fig. 35; S. Cirac-Estopañan, *Sylitzes Matritensis. Tomo I* (Barcelona and Madrid, 1965), pl. 1.

⁹ Nikephoros III Botaniates is portrayed seated on a similar, though less ornate, throne in f. 1(2bis)r of the same manuscript (Appendix 2, no. 23).

tive arcades supported on pairs of minuscule balusters. As attested by extant examples of mainly ecclesiastical furniture dated to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, minuscule arcades, balusters, and knobs were a popular feature of wood-carving in the Balkans during the Middle Ages (Pls. 168–170).¹⁰ This early representation could indicate that this wood-carving style was practiced already in the Middle Byzantine period, even though both the preserved examples and the artistic evidence suggest that it was during the Late Byzantine and Post-Byzantine periods that it achieved its greatest popularity.¹¹

Later representations of imperial thrones are less detailed. In the illustrated *epithalamion Vat. gr.* 1851, f. 1r (1179), the emperor Manuel I is shown seated on the throne with a backrest, the uprights of which are only slightly curved.¹² Almost two centuries later, John VI Kantakouzenos in *Par. gr.* 1242, f. 5v (1375), is portrayed seated on a golden throne, the backrest of which is probably curved, with straight uprights and the top decorated with a row of knobs (Pl. 24).

Information concerning the thrones of state officials in mediaeval Byzantium is scant. References to them in the sources are rare. Ibn Batūta in the account of his visit to Constantinople (1333) describes how he met a judge in the 'market of the clerks'. This judge was seated on a 'great seat covered with cloth', placed under a wooden canopy.¹³ The only portrait of a Byzantine official on a throne, as far as I know, is that of the *megas doux* Alexios Apokaukos in *Par. gr.* 2144, f. 11r (after 1331) (Pl. 68). Apokaukos is seated on a throne which, judging by its light brown colour, is wooden. Wooden panels decorated with some kind of relief or openwork ornament cover the spaces between the rectangular legs of the throne, giving the

¹⁰ See, also, E. Παπαθεοφάνους-Τσουρή, 'Ἐυλόγηται πόρτα του καθολικού της Μονῆς της Κοιμήσεως της Θεοτόκου στη Μολυβδοσκεπάστη Ἰωαννίνων,' *AE* 1993, pp. 83–105, figs. 1–2 (door panels of the *katholikon* of the Monastery of the Dormition at Ioannina, dated to the early fourteenth century); V. Han, 'Srednjovekovni primerak nameštaja iz manastira Dečana,' *ZbMPrimUmet* 14 (1970), pp. 31–41 (hexagonal stand at Dečani, dated to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century).

¹¹ The absence of finds of furniture with turned elements from Middle Byzantine archaeological contexts may be due to accidents of survival. Cf. finds of balusters employed for the decoration of wooden furniture from Early Byzantine sites in Egypt, where environmental conditions are favourable for the preservation of wood, see M.-H. Rutschowskaya, *Catalogue des bois de l'Égypte copte. Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1986), pp. 95–97 (nos. 318–335).

¹² Iacobi, 'L'epitalamio di Andronico II,' fig. 7.

¹³ J. Ebersolt, *Constantinople byzantine et les voyageurs du Levant* (Paris, 1918), p. 44.

whole a box-like appearance. The throne has a rectangular, flat backrest but no arm-supports. The seat has an elongated blue cushion.

In contrast to the rare occurrence of thrones in imperial and official portraiture, representations of thrones in religious art are numerous. They are commonly attributed to Christ and the Virgin, rulers both biblical and non-biblical, dignitaries, and bishops. They can be divided in two major groups: backless thrones and thrones with a backrest. Types belonging to both groups were employed concurrently in artistic contexts.

The represented backless thrones may be distinguished into three sub-groups:

1. thrones with turned legs. This is a type that was in use in the Early Byzantine period,¹⁴ but apparently rarely represented in Middle Byzantine artistic contexts (Pls. 100, 101). I do not know of any representations dated to the Late Byzantine period. The artistic evidence is not sufficient to prove that the throne with the turned legs was actually employed during the Middle Byzantine period.
2. thrones with rectangular legs. The backless thrones illustrated in the *Madrid Skylitzes* belong to this category.¹⁵ This is the commonest of all types represented in religious art and it appears in pictorial contexts throughout the Byzantine era (Pls. 18, 162).¹⁶ It is very likely that such thrones were actually employed in Byzantium.
3. thrones of box-like appearance, with wooden panels inserted between the four legs, as in the case of the throne of the *megas doux* Apokaukos. As far as I know, this type appears for the first time in Late Byzantine artistic contexts (Pl. 93).¹⁷ It probably reflected an actual type of throne in use during the Late Byzantine period.

¹⁴ Theodosios I, for example, is portrayed seated on such a throne on his *missorium* now in Madrid, see Chapter 1, note 6. For the use of thrones with turned legs in Roman times see G. Richter, *Ancient Furniture* (Oxford, 1926), pp. 122–124.

¹⁵ See above, note 8.

¹⁶ See, also, thrones of emperors and kings in the *Menologium* of Basil II (*II Menologio*, pp. 100, 234, 281); the throne of the Virgin in the apse mosaic of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople (Lowden, *Early Christian and Byz. Art*, fig. 99).

¹⁷ See, also, Τσιτουρίδου, *Ο ζωγραφικός διάκοσμος του Αγίου Νικολάου Ορφανού*, pls. 57–59.

Turning now to thrones with a backrest represented in religious contexts, these may be divided into the following sub-groups:

1. thrones with a lyre-shaped back, named thus after the peculiarly curved uprights of the backrest. The development and significance of representations of this type of throne have been discussed in detail by Cutler and Breckenridge.¹⁸ This type of throne first made its appearance in artistic contexts in the fifth century, on imperial coinage and, roughly at the same time, in portrayals of Christ and of the Virgin and Child.¹⁹ It is not possible to ascertain in which of the two contexts, imperial or religious, it was employed first. Representations of the lyre-backed throne knew a period of renewed popularity following the end of Iconoclasm, from the ninth century down to the eleventh. This throne was attributed to Byzantine emperors of the Macedonian dynasty portrayed on coinage.²⁰ In religious iconography it was mostly associated with the figure of the enthroned Christ, both on coinage—in His attribute as 'King of Kings'²¹—and in monumental painting, for example in the famous mosaic in the narthex of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople (Appendix 2, no. 6), and in the theophanic visions adorning the apses of tenth- and eleventh-century Cappadocian churches (Pl. 171). Lyre-backed thrones apparently disappear from both secular and religious artistic contexts in the Late Byzantine period.²² Cutler considers the lyre-backed throne as a fictitious type, ultimately inspired by the lyre of Orpheus, who was said to have tamed wild beasts with his music. According to Cutler, the lyre-backed throne was attributed to Christ in His role as the bringer of harmony to the world and, by extension, to the Byzantine emperor as Christ's vicar on Earth and His instrument of maintaining world harmony.²³ Breckenridge, on the other hand, considers that the representations of the lyre-backed throne were in

- all probability inspired by an actual imperial throne-type.²⁴ Cutler's theory as to the lyre of Orpheus being the ultimate source of inspiration of the peculiar lyre-shaped design of the backrest, not encountered in pictorial contexts prior to the fifth century, appears quite plausible. Moreover, the use of fictitious symbolic attributes in imperial and religious imagery was not unknown in Byzantium; the orb, the symbol of universal domination, is one example that comes to mind. Yet, the detailed representations of imperial thrones with curved uprights in *Coislin* 79, though admittedly relatively late, in the eleventh century, suggest that the lyre-backed throne was not an imaginary iconographic type after all. It is possible that the rhetorical comparisons between Orpheus and Christ in the Early Byzantine period were given concrete expression in the creation of a new throne-type to be employed by the emperor as Christ's representative on Earth. Alternatively, the lyre-backed throne may have acquired an existence as a real object only in the period after Iconoclasm. Breckenridge has convincingly argued that in the famous mosaic of the enthroned Christ as King of Kings in the Chrysotriklinos of the imperial palace—reflected on the coin issues of Basil I—He was represented seated on a lyre-backed throne, possibly, in imitation of the pre-iconoclastic mosaic that had stood in that same place.²⁵ The throne of the emperor was placed beneath this mosaic. It is not unlikely that this imperial throne was made to resemble that of Christ above it.²⁶
2. thrones with a flat, rectangular back. This type appears in Early Byzantine pictorial contexts (Pl. 89), but is rare in Middle and Late Byzantine religious images (Pl. 172). However, the fact that the throne of the *megas doux* Apokaukos has a back of this sort suggests that such thrones were indeed employed in mediaeval Byzantium.
 3. thrones with a flat backrest and curved top. This type was in use already during the Early Byzantine period²⁷ and continues to appear in artistic contexts during the following centuries (Pl. 98).²⁸

¹⁸ A. Cutler, *Transfigurations. Studies in the Dynamics of Byzantine Iconography* (University Park, 1975), pp. 5–52; J.D. Breckenridge, 'Christ on the Lyre-backed Throne,' *DOP* 34–35 (1980/81), pp. 247–260.

¹⁹ Breckenridge, 'Christ on the Lyre-backed Throne,' pp. 248–249, 250.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 259.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 257, 258–259; Cutler, *Transfigurations*, p. 52.

²² Cutler, *Transfigurations*, p. 30.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 45–52.

²⁴ Breckenridge, 'Christ on the Lyre-backed Throne,' p. 260.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

²⁶ Cf. Cormack and Hawkins, 'The Mosaics of St. Sophia,' pp. 242–244.

²⁷ See, for example, Delbrueck, *Consulardiptychen*, no. 65 (diptych of Probianus, vicarius of Rome; 400); *Sinai*, fig. 4 (icon with the Virgin and Child enthroned, Sts. George and Theodore, and angels; seventh century).

²⁸ See, also, *Gloria of Byzantium*, no. 246 (*Sinai*, icon of the Annunciation, twelfth

The abbot's wooden throne and the royal marble throne from Dečani²⁹ belong to this category.

4. thrones with a curved back. The famous ivory throne of Maximian, at Ravenna (c. 547), belongs to this category.³⁰ Though rarely represented in Middle Byzantine contexts,³¹ thrones with a curved back become common in artistic contexts from the thirteenth century onward (Pls. 173, 174).³²

Some illustrated backrests were but frames with a curtain suspended from their horizontal cross-bar. Such 'backrests' are frequently encountered in Middle Byzantine artistic contexts, but only rarely in Late Byzantine ones (Pls. 50, 175).³³ The purpose of this feature was perhaps to 'frame' the personage seated on the throne, in order to make him or her stand out from his/her surroundings.

During the Middle Byzantine period thrones with a back were as a rule represented without arm-rests. These became common only in Late Byzantine contexts. They are shown either attached at right angles to the back or, in the case of thrones with curved backs, as a continuation of the backrest (Pls. 45, 173). With regard to decoration, minuscule balusters, diminutive arches, and knobs became increasingly common in representations of thrones from the thirteenth century onwards.³⁴ Surviving pieces of wooden ecclesiastical furniture bearing this kind of decoration prove that, at least in their

century: throne of the Virgin); Millet, *Monuments byz. de Mistra*, pl. 90.4 (Sts. Theodores, the patron-saints presenting a supplicant to the Virgin: throne of the Virgin).

²⁹ Petković and Bošković, *Manastir Dečani*, pp. 211, 230, figs. 96, 97.

³⁰ G. Bovini, *La cattedra eburnea del vescovo Massimiano di Ravenna* (Ravenna, 1990).

³¹ For example, the seat of the youthful Virgin in the Presentation of the Virgin at Daphni, see Millet, *Le monastère de Daphni*, pl. XIX.2.

³² See, also, Στ. Πελεκανίδης, *Καλλιέργεια, ὅλης Θεσσαλίας ἁγίος Ζωγράφος* (Athens, 1973), pl. 15 (Verroia, church of the Anastasis, Annunciation: throne of the Virgin).

³³ See, also, E. Bakalova et al., *Trésors d'art médiéval bulgare, VII-XVI^e siècle* (Berne, 1988), no. 146 (ninth-tenth-century tile with glazed decoration from Preslav: Christ on a lyre-backed throne); *Il Menologio*, p. 108 (Seventh Ecumenical Council: throne of the presiding emperor); C. Stornajolo, *Miniature delle omilie di Giacomo Monaco (cod. vatic. gr. 1162) e dell'evangelario greco urbinato (cod. vatic. gr. urbin. 2)* (Rome, 1910), pl. 50 (*Vat. gr.* 1162, f. 117v); *The Church of Hagia Sophia at Trebizond*, ed. D. Talbot-Rice (Edinburgh, 1968), p. 106, fig. 71 (apse: Virgin and Child); Μοναχού Καλλίνικου, *Η τεχνική της αγιογραφίας*, fig. 23 (Mount Athos, Protaton: fresco icon of the Virgin and Child).

³⁴ In addition to the examples already cited, see, also, Millet, *Monuments byz. de Mistra*, pl. 69.1.

decoration, the depicted thrones did reflect contemporary examples. In representations all thrones had one or two elongated cushions. In some examples the cushions were covered with a fabric which continued down the front and the back of the seat (Pl. 176). The references to 'βλαττόστρωτα σελλία' (thrones covered with silk fabric) in the *De ceremoniis* might be referring to this kind of arrangement, that is, to a loose silk covering, rather than to thrones with an upholstered seat.³⁵

Other Furniture for Seating

It may be assumed that furniture for seating was employed in the imperial palace, the palaces of the aristocracy, and in the residences of ecclesiastical officials.³⁶ On the other hand, it is difficult to establish how widespread its use was among the middle and poor classes. Oikonomides has highlighted the rarity of references to furniture for seating in inventories and wills of the eleventh to the fifteenth century. Chairs (*thronia*), stools (*skamnia*, *sellia*), and benches (*makryskamnia*) are mentioned in only three documents, the resignation of abbot Sabas from Patmos (c. 1119),³⁷ the *typikon* of the Pantokrator Monastery in Constantinople (1136),³⁸ and the will of Theodosios Skaranos, a member of the provincial nobility from Hermeleia in the Chalkidike (1270-1274).³⁹ Though Oikonomides himself acknowledges that the evidence is too scarce to admit generalizations, he proposed that permanent benches of wood or masonry constructed along the walls of a room could have served the household's needs for seating. Such architectural features would not be mentioned in lists and inventories of movable property. Permanent benches, as well as permanent tables, were a feature of monastic refectories. They can be seen, for example, at the Great Laura on Mount Athos, at Nea Mone on Chios,

³⁵ *De cer.*, pp. 520, 521.

³⁶ Cf. *Manuelis Philae carmina inédita*, ed. A.E. Martini (Naples, 1900) (hereafter *Philae, Carmina*, ed. Martini), no. 66.

³⁷ MM, VI, p. 243. Note that eight of the twelve stools (*skamnia torneuta*) mentioned in this document were meant to be employed in an ecclesiastical, not a domestic context. The remaining four were to be placed wherever the abbot of the monastery saw fit.

³⁸ P. Gautier, 'Le typikon du Christ Sauver Pantocrator,' *REB* 32 (1974) (hereafter Gautier, 'Typikon du Pantocrator'), p. 99. The stools (*xylosellia*) are listed as part of the equipment of the hospital of the monastery.

³⁹ *Actes de Xéropotamou*, ed. J. Bompairé (Paris, 1964), p. 80.

at Hosios Loukas, and at Patmos.⁴⁰ At present it is not possible to determine to what extent they formed part of mediaeval domestic architecture, since archaeological research in this field is still at its infancy.⁴¹ It is, however, a fact that in some of the houses of the eleventh to the fourteenth century excavated at Pergamon, such built benches were discovered. According to Rheidt, these could have been employed for seating, sleeping, or even for storing purposes.⁴² On the other hand, no built benches have been reported from the houses of the thirteenth to fifteenth century at Mistra, nor from mediaeval houses excavated at Corinth, Thebes, Arta, and Didymoteicho (Thrace).

Byzantine artistic representations do not allow one to speak of a chair-type which was distinctive of the mediaeval Byzantine period, like the *klismas* had been in classical Greece.⁴³ Chairs are rarely represented. What seems to distinguish them from thrones is the fact that chairs appear to be of lighter construction and do not bear an encrustation of jewels. They are sometimes attributed to the four evangelists portrayed in illuminated gospel-books or on the pendentives of domed churches. Some have an unconventional appearance and may reflect existing examples. One may mention the chair of the evangelist Mark in *Athens* 93, f. 52v, dated to the last quarter of twelfth century (Pl. 177), with its high, rectangular back which consists of a framed lattice and its arm-rests set at right angles against the back. Another example worth mentioning is the chair of St. Matthew in *Burney* 19, f. 1v, also dated to the twelfth century (Pl. 178). Both the back and its arm-rests are adorned with minuscule arcades and knobs—another early example of the use of these decorative elements which will become more widespread in the monumental painting of the following period.

The stool appears in a variety of forms in Byzantine artistic contexts, the most popular being the folding stool (Pl. 80).⁴⁴ The *sella curulis*, the distinctive type of folding stool, which served as the stately seat of the consuls in the Early Byzantine period and which was also employed by Early Byzantine emperors when they assumed the

title of consul, does not, to my knowledge, appear in mediaeval Byzantine artistic contexts.⁴⁵ It is reasonable to assume that the *sella curulis* was allowed to fall into disuse after the seventh century, when the consulate ceased to be an effective magistracy.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, it would seem that the tradition of a folding stool serving as a 'seat of dignity' was transmitted to mediaeval Byzantium.⁴⁷ This is suggested by the fact that, in certain mediaeval artistic contexts, figures of authority, like emperors or officials, are represented seated on folding stools.⁴⁸ In the depiction of Christ before Pilate in the church of St. Nicholas Orphanos at Thessalonike, Pilate is seated on such a folding stool (Pl. 92). The seat is, apparently, a rectangular piece of fabric, the narrow sides of which are sewn around two cylindrical elements. The supports are two trestles, adorned with a row of minuscule white balusters at their base. The vertical and the horizontal elements of the trestles are decorated with coils of black and white colour. This unusual ornament might suggest that the supports were indeed painted thus or, perhaps, that they actually had silver leaf or white bands of leather or fabric wound around them. Alternatively, the painter may have used this pictorial device to indicate that the wooden trestles bore some kind of inlaid decoration of bone or ivory.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ On the *sella curulis* see Delbrueck, *Consulardiptychen*, pp. 63–64; O. Wanscher, *Sella Curulis. The Folding Stool. An Ancient Symbol of Dignity* (Copenhagen, 1980), pp. 121–190; T.F. Mathews, *The Clash of Gods. A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art* (Princeton, 1993), pp. 104–106, figs. 76–81. Note, however, that Mathews's claim that the Early Byzantine emperors employed the *sella curulis* as their official seat at the exclusion of a throne-proper should be treated with caution. True, Constantius II was portrayed seated on a *sella curulis* in the *Calendar of 354*, and appropriately so since in this case the emperor is represented in his consular insignia. Mathews, however, did not take into consideration the portrayal of Theodosios I on his *missorium* of 388, where the emperor was portrayed as the head of state dressed in his *chlamys*, not as consul in his *trabea*, and, consequently, is shown seated on a backless throne with turned legs, not on a *sella curulis*.

⁴⁶ Guillard, *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines*, II, pp. 44–46.

⁴⁷ The use of the folding stool as a seat of both secular and ecclesiastical dignity is certainly well-attested in mediaeval Western Europe, see Wanscher, *Sella Curulis*, pp. 191–262.

⁴⁸ See, for example, Grabar and Manoussacas, *Sylitizis*, figs. 61, 85; Stornajolo, *Miniature delle omilie di Giacomo Monaco*, pl. 76 (*Vat. gr.* 1162, f. 178v); St. Nicholas Kasinitzes, Katoria: The three generals before Constantine from the cycle of St. Nicholas (Constantine seats on a folding stool) (observation *in situ*).

⁴⁹ Representations of similar folding stools but without the peculiar black-and-white decoration of the trestles can be seen at Staro Nagorichino, in Christ before Caiaphas (it is the high priest who sits upon it) and at Resava, in the illustration of the parable of poor Lazarus (it is the rich man who sits upon it), see Han,

⁴⁰ Oikonomides, 'The Contents of the Byz. House,' pp. 212–213. See, also, below.

⁴¹ Cf. Ch. Bouras, 'Houses in Byzantium,' *ΔΧΑΕ* 11 (1983), pp. 1–26.

⁴² K. Rheidt, 'Byzantinische Wohnhäuser des 11. bis 14. Jahrhunderts in Pergamon,' *DOP* 44 (1990), pp. 199, 201.

⁴³ On the *klismas*, both in the Classical and Roman periods see Richter, *Ancient Furniture*, pp. 45–46, 127–129.

⁴⁴ See, also, *Il Menologio*, p. 209.

looks like a tall cushion with a rounded top. It is golden in colour and has a bejewelled band around its base. A similar cushion is represented in one of the miniatures of the *Menologium* of Basil II.⁶³ The cover of the latter has an overall scale pattern. More ornate and impressive examples of the upholstered footstool can be seen illustrated in *Coislin* 79, ff. 2r, 2v (Pls. 6, 11). They are quite voluminous and their covers are richly patterned with lozenges in one case and scales in the other. Hadermann-Misguich in a study of the decorative motifs on imperial footstools during the Middle Byzantine period has proposed that these motifs were in themselves a symbol of power and prestige, since they appear not only on the upholstered footstools but also on imperial garments and textile furnishings associated with the emperor, high officials, and holy personages.⁶⁴

The upholstered footstools depicted in portraits of Komnenian emperors are not as high as those of their predecessors, though they too have the bejewelled band around their base. Their covers are sometimes adorned with lattices enclosing floral motifs, like the footstool of Alexios I in *Vat. gr.* 666, f. 2r (Pl. 12). In *Vat. urb. gr.* 2, f. 19v, John II Komnenos and his eldest son, Alexios, appear standing on upholstered footstools decorated with great medallions which in the case of the footstool of John II enclose some kind of animal (Pl. 21). The upholstered footstools of Nicaean and Palaiologan emperors differ from those of their Middle Byzantine predecessors in that, as a rule, they do not have a bejewelled band around their base. They look almost tubular. They are always bright red in colour, not purple as some earlier examples were. From the reign of Theodore II Laskares onward (1254–1258), they have a standard decoration of golden eagles, sometimes enclosed in medallions (Appendix, 2, no. 31). The earliest representations of double-headed eagles on imperial footstools, are dated to the reign of Andronikos II Palaiologos (Pl. 23).⁶⁵

The Middle Byzantine upholstered footstools were also introduced in contemporary religious pictorial contexts (Pls. 54, 90), though they never completely supplanted the traditional box-like footstools. By

contrast, the Palaiologan imperial footstools were not reflected in Late Byzantine religious pictorial contexts.⁶⁶ Occasionally one does encounter representations of upholstered footstools without the bejewelled band around their base in the Palaiologan manner (Pl. 92), but never the bright red cushion adorned with the golden eagles. Perhaps the political connotations and the association of this item with the Byzantine ruling dynasty were too specific to permit its use in religious contexts.

Tables

One assumes that Byzantine tables were rectangular or square in shape.⁶⁷ When otherwise, this was specifically stated in the sources.⁶⁸ Ordinary tables would have been made of wood. The table of the emperor is described as 'golden', possibly wooden covered with gold leaf. Members of the aristocracy and wealthy ecclesiastics were also in a position to afford tables made of precious materials.⁶⁹ Marble tables are also mentioned in the sources.⁷⁰ The tables of some monastic refectories were built, with masonry benches around them. The examples at Nea Mone, Chios, and at Patmos have a marble top with a raised border and small niches for utensils along their sides (Pls. 180, 181).⁷¹

Not all the households investigated by Oikonomides owned a table. He has suggested that another piece of furniture, like a chest, might have served as a table. Alternatively, if a room was provided with stationary benches along the walls, people could have sat on them with their plates placed on the bench next to them.⁷² There is yet a third alternative, and this is that maybe in some households the

⁶⁶ The only representation of an upholstered footstool adorned with eagles in a religious pictorial context I have come across is encountered in a Serbian monument, Markov Manastir. It is attributed to Constantine in a scene from the cycle of St. Nicholas, see Ševčenko, *The Life of Saint Nicholas*, fig. 36.11.

⁶⁷ Liudprand, *Relatio*, p. 40.

⁶⁸ See, for example *De cer.*, p. 594 (round table); Philes, *Camina*, ed. Martini, no. 66 (table with octagonal rotating top, owned by the bishop of Strumitza).

⁶⁹ *Constantine Porphyrogenitus. De administrando imperio*, ed. Gy. Moravcsik, tr. R. Jenkins (Washington D.C., 1967) (hereafter *De adm. imp.*), p. 244. See, also, previous note.

⁷⁰ *MM*, IV, p. 57: a marble table is listed, along with a great, wooden one, among the movable property of an abandoned monastic establishment at Mantaia, near Smyrna, in Asia Minor, 1233.

⁷¹ A. Ὁρλάνδος, *Μοναστηριακή Ἀρχιτεκτονική* (Athens, 1958), p. 54.

⁷² Oikonomides, 'The Contents of the Byz. House,' pp. 212–213.

⁶³ *II Menologio*, p. 108 (Seventh Ecumenical Council: enthroned emperor).

⁶⁴ L. Hadermann-Misguich, 'Tissus de pouvoir et de prestige sous les Macédoniens et les Comnènes. À propos des coussins-de-pieds et de leurs représentations,' *ΔΧΑΕ* 17 (1993–1994), pp. 121–128.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

meal was actually laid out on a large tray or on a carpet placed on the floor, in a manner which is commonly associated with an oriental way of life.⁷³ The practice was not unknown in mediaeval Byzantium, though, it should be noted, the descriptions of people eating seated on the floor refer to occasions when the emperor was on campaign or when the meal was served in a tent.⁷⁴

With regard to types of tables represented in art one may distinguish the following categories:

1. sigma-tables, that is, tables with one curved and one straight side, named after the ancient Greek letter 'C'. The participants in the meal would recline on couches along the curved side of the table. This type was introduced in the Late Roman period and was often represented in contemporaneous artistic contexts.⁷⁵ During the mediaeval period, comparable tables were used in monastic refectories on Mount Athos (Pl. 182).⁷⁶ One wonders whether the term 'ἀποκοπή τράπεζα' mentioned in the *De ceremoniis* also refers to a table with a top of this shape.⁷⁷ I consider it unlikely that such tables were employed outside the monastic and, perhaps, the imperial milieu during the Middle and Late Byzantine periods. In art they are usually introduced into dining scenes, especially the Last Supper, most probably in imitation of Early Byzantine artistic prototypes (Pls. 183, 184).⁷⁸

⁷³ J. Sadan, *Le mobilier au Proche Orient médiéval* (Leiden, 1976), p. 81.

⁷⁴ Haldon, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, pp. 104, 106; Kantak., III, p. 28 (carpets, though no trays, are mentioned).

⁷⁵ A number of marble, sigma table-tops with raised borders, which would have been supported by wooden or, perhaps, metal stands, have been discovered in Late Roman archaeological contexts, see G. Roux, 'Tables chrétiennes en marbre découveries à Salamane,' in *Salamine de Chypre IV: Anthologie Salaminienne* (Paris, 1973), pp. 133-196 (with further bibliography) and J. Balty, 'Notes sur l'habitat romain, byzantin et arabe d'Apamée. Rapport de synthèse,' in *Apamée de Syrie*, p. 478, pl. XCIII. On the origins and development of the sigma-table see G. Åkerström-Hougen, *The Calendar and Hunting Mosaics of the Villa of the Falconer in Argos* (Stockholm, 1974), pp. 101-107, 116-117; N. Duval, 'Les maisons d'Apamée et l'architecture "palatiale" de l'antiquité tardive,' in *Apamée de Syrie*, pp. 457-464.

⁷⁶ Ὁρίανδος, *Μοναστηριακή Ἀρχιτεκτονική*, pp. 52-53. The author does not specify whether the sigma table-tops were Early Byzantine pieces in second use or whether they were contemporary to the construction of the refectories.

⁷⁷ *De. cer.*, p. 95.

⁷⁸ See, also, Chatzidakis, *Hosios Loukas*, fig. 79 (crypt: Last Supper); Stornajolo, *Miniature delle omilie di Giacomo Monaco*, pl. 17 (Val. gr. 1162, f. 44v: Benediction of the Virgin by the priests); *The Church Hagia Sophia at Trebizond*, fig. 56 (Last Supper); Χατζηδόνης, *Μυστράς*, fig. 15 (Metropolis: Wedding at Cana); *The City of Mystras*, fig. 109 (Peribleptos: Last Supper).

2. oval tables. This type, encountered in Middle and Late Byzantine art, appears to have been an artistic invention which resulted from an attempt to represent a round table in perspective,⁷⁹ or from a misunderstanding of the correct way of representing a sigma-table.⁸⁰ In Late Byzantine contexts oval tables appear commonly in representations of the Last Supper. Often, they look as if they are made of masonry rather than wood and have what appear to be marble tops with raised borders (Pl. 185). The visible side of the table at St. Nicholas Orphanos has a row of niches (Pl. 186),⁸¹ a decorative feature probably inspired by the niches for utensils on the sides of the great built tables in monastic refectories (Pl. 181).
3. rectangular tables. Their appearance in Middle Byzantine contexts, especially in dining scenes, may be called exceptional (Pl. 187).⁸² They become more common in Late Byzantine painting, though not in representations of the Last Supper. In most examples the tables are represented as if made of wood and, in some cases, are covered with a tablecloth.⁸³ In terms of decoration some tables had a row of turned balusters, pseudo-balusters, or knobs at the sides (Pls. 39, 188, 189),⁸⁴ while others had their sides closed off with panels bearing some kind of relief decoration.⁸⁵

Apart from serving at meals, tables were also employed as working benches and as writing desks.⁸⁶ It is worth noting that in portrayals

⁷⁹ Velmans, *Laur. VI*, 23, fig. 174.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, fig. 176.

⁸¹ Such niches can be seen on the front side of sigma-tables as well in thirteenth-century contexts or later (Pl. 184). In Middle Byzantine representations the straight side of the sigma-table was commonly covered with a valance, see Constantinides, *The Tetraevangelion*, pls. 75, 81; Velmans, *Laur. VI*, 23, fig. 110.

⁸² See, also, Restle, *Byz. Wall-painting*, fig. 179 (Göreme, Elmalı kilise: Last Supper).

⁸³ See, for example, Millet, *Monuments byz. de Mistra*, pl. 125.4 (Peribleptos, Benediction of the Virgin by the priests); A. Delivorrias, *Guide to the Benaki Museum* (Athens, 1980), fig. 29 (icon with the Hospitality of Abraham, fourteenth century).

⁸⁴ See, also, T. Gouma-Peterson, 'Christ as Ministrant and the Priest as the Ministrant of Christ in a Palaeologan Program of 1303,' *DOP* 32 (1978), fig. 14 (Ohrid, Peribleptos: the tables in the Expulsion of the merchants from the Temple).

⁸⁵ See above, note 83 (icon with the Hospitality of Abraham, Benaki Museum). Cf. Late Byzantine box-like thrones (Pl. 68).

⁸⁶ The use of writing desks was not common in the Classical and Roman worlds. It became gradually more widespread from the fifth century onward. By the Middle Ages it was firmly established, see B. Metzger, 'When Did Scribes Begin to Use Writing Desks?' *Akten des XI. internationalen Byzantinistenkongresses* (Munich, 1960), pp. 355-362.

of the evangelists, hymnographers, and scribes, these figures are seldom shown actually writing at a desk. The small tables that usually accompany their portraits serve as stands for their writing implements rather than as functional writing desks.⁸⁷ Some examples also have a lower open shelf for ink-bottles and for codices or scrolls.⁸⁸ Others look more like cupboards, provided with compartments and doors, for the safe-keeping of writing implements (Pl. 178).⁸⁹

Beds and Bedding

The use of beds by members of all social strata is attested in mediaeval written sources. Beds were used in the Great Palace⁹⁰ and, one supposes, in the palaces of the aristocracy as well.⁹¹ The use of beds by the members of the lower classes is attested in saints' lives written in the ninth and tenth centuries.⁹² One assumes that beds continued to be used in palaces after the tenth century; they certainly formed part of the equipment of monastic hospitals, like those of the Pantokrator in Constantinople (1136) and the Kosmosoteira at Ainos (1152).⁹³ Sleeping on a bed was apparently considered a sign of elevated social and financial status.⁹⁴ Yet, beds are rarely mentioned in Byzantine legal documents containing lists of household furniture and furnishings.⁹⁵ Oikonomides has suggested that the use

of beds in the average mediaeval Byzantine household was exceptional and that people placed their bedding either directly on the floor or on permanent benches built along the sides of the walls of the common room. These benches would have served for seating during the daytime and for sleeping during the night.⁹⁶ Alternatively, one might have placed the bedding equipment on a long chest.⁹⁷

In artistic representations of beds, the bedstead is rarely visible covered as it is under the bedding. One may cite representations of beds with turned legs in the *Menologium* of Basil II.⁹⁸ Some of these bedsteads were provided with railings at the head and/or at the feet. The railings, perhaps made of metal or of wood, comprise two vertical elements and two or more horizontal parallel bars between them. Bedsteads with such railings continue to appear in art down to the Late Byzantine period (Pl. 190).⁹⁹ It is true that bedsteads with railings at the head are encountered in much earlier pictorial contexts like the sixth-century *Vienna Genesis*.¹⁰⁰ It is, therefore, possible that at least some of the mediaeval representations were inspired by earlier artistic models. Yet, given the difference in appearance between the railings represented in Early Byzantine and mediaeval art and the functional character of this feature, I see no reason to doubt that it continued in use into the mediaeval period as well.

In the *Menologium* of Basil II one encounters a representation of a much simpler bed on which a deceased saintly nun lies.¹⁰¹ This, apparently, consisted of a plain wooden frame provided with a grid of rope to lie on. The paralytic of Bethesda in the representation of the relevant miracle of Christ (John 5:2-9) in the chapel of St. Leontios at Patmos, carries a similar bedstead, though his is

⁸⁷ See, selectively, H. Buchthal and H. Belting, *Patronage in Thirteenth-century Constantinople. An Atelier of Late Byzantine Book Illumination and Calligraphy* (Washington, D.C., 1978), pls. 66c (*Stauroniketa* 43, f. 12v, tenth century: St. Luke), 66f (*Par. suppl. gr.* 79, f. 5v, tenth century: St. Matthew).

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pls. 69b (*Brit. Mus. add.* 28815, f. 162v, tenth century: St. Luke), 79a (*Princeton, Garrett* 2, f. 125v, twelfth-thirteenth century: St. Mark).

⁸⁹ See, also, Vikan and Nesbitt, *Security in Byzantium*, fig. 14 (portrait of St. John in an eleventh-century manuscript); Constantinides, 'The Tetraevangelion', pl. 69 (*Athens* 93, f. 86v, twelfth century: St. Luke); Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage in Thirteenth-century Constantinople*, pl. 78a (*Princeton, Garrett* 2, f. 179v: St. Luke).

⁹⁰ *De cer.*, pp. 199-200.

⁹¹ In the epic of *Digenes Akrites* there is a description of a fanciful bed made out of all kinds of precious stones at the palace of Digenes on the Euphrates, see Trapp, *Digenes Akrites*, E, lines 1666-1669.

⁹² See Oikonomides, 'The Contents of the Byz. House,' note 36.

⁹³ Gautier, 'Typikon du Pantokrator' pp. 83, 85; L. Petit, 'Typikon du monastère de la Kosmosotira près d'Enos (1152)', *Izvestia Russkago Archeologicheskago Instituta v Konstantinople* 13 (1908), p. 53.

⁹⁴ See *Poèmes prodromiques*, I, line 71.

⁹⁵ MM, VI, p. 243 (resignation of abbot Sabas from Patmos, c. 1119: six beds); *Actes de Xeropotamou*, p. 80 (will of Theodosios Skaranos, 1270-1274: three beds). It is interesting to note that the beds mentioned in these two documents were col-

lapsible. All other references to beds in Byzantine legal documents known to the author are related to monastic hospitals or hospices. See above, note 93. See, also, P. Gautier, 'Le typikon de la Théotokos Evergétis,' *REB* 40 (1982), p. 87; *idem*, 'Le typikon du sébaste Grégoire Pakourianos,' *REB* 42 (1984) (hereafter Gautier, 'Typikon du Pakourianos'), p. 113; H. Delchaye, *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues* (Brussels, 1921), p. 134; *Actes de Laura*, eds. P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos, avec la collaboration de D. Papachrysanthou, III (Paris, 1979), p. 25; *Actes de Kallistos*, ed. P. Lemerle (Paris, 1988), p. 99.

⁹⁶ Oikonomides, 'The Contents of the Byz. House,' p. 210.

⁹⁷ Cf. Goitein, *Medit. Society*, IV, p. 114.

⁹⁸ *Il Menologio*, pp. 15, 22, 136.

⁹⁹ See, also, Millet, *Monuments byz. de Mistra*, pl. 101.1 (Aphendiko: Dormition).

¹⁰⁰ Mazal, *Kommentar zur Wiener Genesis*, fig. 27.

¹⁰¹ *Il Menologio*, p. 330.

provided with railings at least at one narrow side.¹⁰² The paralytic is shown carrying similar bedsteads in illustrations of the same miracle in other monuments as well (Pl. 191).¹⁰³ These bedsteads, compared to those cited earlier, are plain in appearance and are clearly shown as if made of wood. Considering the iconographic context in which they occur—a healing miracle—it appears to me quite plausible that these simply constructed bedsteads could reflect actual types of beds in use in Byzantine monastic hospitals.¹⁰⁴

Turning now to bedding equipment, this included rugs, mattresses, pillows with their pillowcases, sheets, and covers. Sleeping on a straw mat was considered a sign of great poverty. In the case of monks and ascetics, sleeping on a straw mat was an act of modesty and of voluntary deprivation. In representations of funerals of such personages, sometimes even of other ecclesiastics, the deceased are represented lying on such straw mats.¹⁰⁵ Most people, however, preferred sleeping on a mattress. The mattresses would have either been laid directly on the sleeping surface or placed over a rug or carpet.¹⁰⁶ In artistic representations of beds, the mattress is commonly shown placed over a valance, which falls down both long sides of the bedstead. In Middle Byzantine artistic contexts the valance is richly patterned with small and large medallions or with other fashionable motifs like spades and diaper patterns (Pls. 53, 190).¹⁰⁷ In Late Byzantine contexts the valance is comparatively plain in appearance, purple in colour with golden border-bands and other attachments (Pl. 192).¹⁰⁸ Pillows, like mattresses, were stuffed with wool or

cotton.¹⁰⁹ The more elaborate examples were made of silk and bore embroidered decoration.¹¹⁰ As to covers such as blankets and, possibly, quilts, these too would have been made of wool or cotton, while for the more expensive ones silk was employed.¹¹¹

Textile Furnishings

Textile furnishings other than those used for seating, bedding, and at the table, included hangings, carpets, and towels used for bathing.

Wall-Hangings and Curtains¹¹²

A large number of Byzantine silks, ranging in date from the ninth to the twelfth centuries, have been preserved in Western European treasuries (Pl. 193). In many cases their fragmentary state does not allow one to identify their original function. That at least some of these silk fragments originally formed part of wall-hangings—as distinct from curtains—is suggested by their great dimensions and by the large scale of the motifs which adorn them.¹¹³ It was not possible to identify any of the surviving Byzantine silks as a fragment of a curtain, though no doubt there must be some.

The functional purpose of curtains was to serve as partitions. In addition, they played an important part in the decoration of interior spaces. Curtains (*bela*, *kortinai*) are commonly mentioned in

¹⁰² 'Α. Ὀρλάνδος, 'Ἡ ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ καὶ αἱ βυζαντινὰι τοιχογραφίαι τῆς Μονῆς τοῦ Θεολόγου τῆς Πάτμου' (Athens, 1970), pl. 33.

¹⁰³ See, also, Gouma-Peterson, 'Christ as Ministrant,' fig. 18 (Thessalonike, church of St. Catherine).

¹⁰⁴ See above, note 95.

¹⁰⁵ See, for example, the Dormition of St. Euthymios, in his chapel at Thessalonike (observation *in situ*); the Dormition of St. Nicholas at St. Nicholas Orphanos, Thessalonike, see 'Α. Συγγρόπουλος, 'Οἱ τοιχογραφίες τοῦ Ἁγίου Νικολάου Ὁρφανοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης' (Athens, 1964), p. 116.

¹⁰⁶ In the will of George Melissenos from Lemnos(?) in 1284, there is a reference to two mattresses (*stromata*), one stuffed with cotton and one with wool, both with their carpets (*epenchia*), see MM, IV, p. 266.

¹⁰⁷ See, also, E. Diez and O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece: Daphni and Hosios Lucas* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), fig. 105 (Daphni: Birth of the Virgin); Megaw and Hawkins, 'The Church of the Holy Apostles at Perachorio,' fig. 42 (Dormition).

¹⁰⁸ See, also, C. Mavropoulou-Tsioumi, *The Church of St. Nicholas Orphanos* (Thessalonike, 1986), pl. II.

¹⁰⁹ See *Vatopédi*, I, p. 158 (will of monk Maximos, the founder of the monastery of the Virgin Boreine, near Philadelphia, 1247/1258). See, also, the representation of the Healing of the paralytic at Bethesda in the Metropolis, Mistra, in which the artist has portrayed a small boy carrying a red pillow on his shoulders standing next to the cured man (Pl. 191).

¹¹⁰ *Vatopédi*, I, p. 355 (will of Theodore Sarantenos from Verroia, 1325). See, also, MM, II, p. 406, for a reference to pillows (number not specified) worth twelve *hyperpyra*, and, *ibid.*, p. 474, for a reference to a pillowcase worth five *hyperpyra*.

¹¹¹ In the resignation of abbot Sabas from Patmos (c. 1119), there is reference to two covers of pure silk to be placed at the disposal of honoured guests, see MM, VI, p. 245.

¹¹² The following discussion concerns the use of wall-hangings and curtains in secular contexts. For the use of such textile furnishings, often embroidered, in ecclesiastical contexts see the general introduction by M. Θεοχάρη, *Εκκλησιαστικά χρυσόκέντητρα* (Athens, 1986), pp. 27–30.

¹¹³ The Bamberg silk with the image of a triumphant emperor, probably Basil II, was originally 2.60 × 2.20 m. The medallions on the Aachen elephant silk (1.62 × 1.37 m) have a diameter of 0.78–0.80 m, while the medallions on the Sens griffin silk are c. 0.63 m in diameter (Pl. 193). The lions on the Siegburg lion silk are c. 0.62–0.75 m in length and 0.405 m in height, while the eagles on the Auxerre eagle silk are c. 0.75 m in height, see Muthesius, *Byzantine Silk Weaving*, nos. M52, M58, M61, M85, M90.

descriptions of imperial ceremonial settings. They served in place of doors,¹¹⁴ they screened the emperor when protocol demanded that he change costume in the course of a ceremony,¹¹⁵ and they adorned the rooms and corridors of the imperial palace on special occasions, like the birth of a male child to the emperor¹¹⁶ or the reception of an important ambassador.¹¹⁷ During the Late Byzantine period curtains (*belothyra*) formed part of the setting for the ceremony of the *prokypsis*: they remained closed while the emperor was taking his place on the dais, and, once everything was ready, they were drawn back revealing him to the spectators.¹¹⁸ An interesting reflection of the 'revelatory function' of the curtain in religious iconography can be seen in the luxuriously illustrated Constantinopolitan manuscript of the homilies on the Virgin by James the Monk, *Val. gr.* 1162, f. 119v, dated to the second quarter of the twelfth century. In a miniature illustrating the vision of Isaiah (6:1-7), the painter has depicted a curtain, adorned with the sun, the moon, and the stars, raised to reveal God in His Glory, surrounded by the angelic host.¹¹⁹ Another instance of the reflection of the revelatory function of the curtain in

¹¹⁴ *De cer.*, pp. 23, 72.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 618.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 573, 587.

¹¹⁸ Pseudo-Kod., pp. 198, 269.

¹¹⁹ Stornajolo, *Miniature delle omilie di Giacomo Monaco*, pl. 52. The presence of the sun, the moon, and the stars suggest that this was not an ordinary 'curtain', but possibly a symbolic representation of the firmament. Be this as it may, the presence of a revelatory curtain in this context finds no textual justification in the biblical narrative of Isaiah's vision or in the passage of the homily on the Annunciation that the miniature is illustrating, see *PG* 127, cols. 641, 644. Nor is its presence justified by the iconographic tradition of this vision in Byzantine art. Its source of inspiration needs to be sought elsewhere. Imperial ceremonial is one such possible source. However, one cannot exclude the possibility that the introduction of the 'revelatory curtain' in this iconographic context, specifically associated with the Virgin and her instrumental role in the Incarnation, was in some way connected with the 'habitual miracle' that took place every Friday evening at the Blachernai church in Constantinople and which involved a revelatory veil. According to eleventh- and twelfth-century sources, the veil that covered an icon of the Virgin and Child housed at Blachernai would lift miraculously to reveal the icon beneath it, see V. Grumel, 'Le "miracle habituel" de Notre-Dame des Blachernes à Constantinople', *Échos d'Orient* 30 (1931), pp. 129-146. Michael Psellos had associated the revelatory veil in this miracle with the veil in the temple in Jerusalem which was torn when Christ, the Virgin's Son, died on the Cross, thus revealing the hidden Truth to the faithful and allowing them to become intimate with God, see *ibid.*, p. 137. It is not unlikely that similar associations were known to the creator of the miniature in the Vatican manuscript and prompted him to introduce the curtain in his rendering of

religious iconography has been identified by Constantinides in the illustration of Strophe IV of the *Akathistos Hymn* at Panagia Olymptiussa, Elasson. Strophe IV refers to the miraculous immaculate conception of Christ. In this particular representation the Virgin is portrayed frontally, seated on a throne, while a female attendant draws back a veil attached to a pole placed behind the throne. According to Constantinides, by means of this gesture the Virgin, the vessel of the Incarnation, is revealed to the beholder in majestic magnificence.¹²⁰

The use of curtains was of course not limited to the imperial court. One would expect to find them in the houses of the aristocracy and of the provincial gentry. In the will of Theodore Sarantenos from Verroia (1325) there is reference to five new curtains (*kortinai*).¹²¹ One curtain also formed part of the inheritance of Andronikos Trichas from Constantinople (1400).¹²² Such curtains would have served in the place of screens and/or interior doors.¹²³ Alternatively, in houses where there was only one large living-room they might have served in the place of interior partitions.¹²⁴

Artistic representations of curtains provide useful information as to their manner of suspension. They were provided with a row of rings through which they were attached to a wooden or metal bar. In a number of miniatures in the *Menologium* of Basil II this horizontal bar is shown supported by two brackets attached to the wall.¹²⁵ When the curtain was drawn, it would have been secured on a hook attached to one of the door-jambes¹²⁶ or tied in a knot¹²⁷ as seen in illustrations.

the vision of Isaiah as an allusion to the Virgin's intermediary role—as the vehicle of the Incarnation—in granting mankind—represented here by the prophet—the possibility to behold divine mysteries.

¹²⁰ Constantinides, *The Wall-paintings of Panagia Olymptiussa*, pp. 142-144, fig. 84b.

¹²¹ *Valopédi*, I, p. 355.

¹²² *MM*, II, p. 407.

¹²³ E. Dauterman Maguire, H. Maguire, M.J. Duncan-Flowers, *Art and Holy Powers in the Early Christian House* (Urbana-Champaign, 1989), p. 45.

¹²⁴ Cf. Goitein, *Medit. Society*, IV, p. 119.

¹²⁵ *Il Menologio*, nos. 30, 142, 146, 212. Cf. rows of finger-shaped hooks, probably used for the suspension of curtains, above the doors leading from the narthex to the nave at Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, see H. Kähler, *Die Hagia Sophia. Mit einem Beitrag von Cyril Mango über die Mosaiken* (Berlin, 1967), figs. 20-23.

¹²⁶ *Il Menologio*, nos. 30, 98, 159, 223; Pelekanides et al., *Treasures*, I, figs. 113, 223. Cf. actual Early Byzantine examples of curtain-hooks, see Dauterman Maguire, Maguire, Duncan-Flowers, *Art and Holy Powers*, no. 3.

¹²⁷ Pelekanides et al., *Treasures*, I, fig. 63.

The curtains employed in imperial ceremonial contexts are described in the sources as 'golden', probably woven or embroidered with golden thread,¹²⁸ or as red or purple.¹²⁹ Some are described as having embroidered decoration¹³⁰ and others as being adorned with decorative attachments (*sementa diakopta*).¹³¹ Curtains with figural decoration are also mentioned.¹³² One observes that the curtains were of dark colours such as red and purple. Furthermore, the use of gold thread must have made them relatively heavy. This constitutes a departure from Early Byzantine practices: at San Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, the curtains screening the entrance and the inter-columnar spaces of the colonnade of Theodoric's palace represented on the west end of the south wall are white, decorated with discreet colourful repeated patterns.¹³³ The reasons for this development are obscure. Heavy, dark-coloured curtains might have been preferred as more effective screens against the cold winter of Constantinople.¹³⁴ Alternatively, the change may be associated with developments in the character of court rituals in the mediaeval period. Red and purple curtains trimmed with gold thread must have had a desirable stately and luxurious appearance. They were yet another manifestation of the opulence of the emperors in their own right. Moreover, dark-coloured curtains used as backdrops for the display of silver objects during the reception of important ambassadors must have created a striking visual effect.¹³⁵ Finally, the screening of doorways and other openings with dark-coloured curtains was perhaps considered conducive to the creation of the mystical atmosphere much sought after in the staging of mediaeval Byzantine imperial ceremonies. Because of their opacity such curtains prevented the outsider from observing what was hidden behind them, whether this was the emperor, standing or enthroned, or the reception hall in which others had already been

¹²⁸ *De cer.*, pp. 587, 618; pseudo-Kod., p. 269.

¹²⁹ *De cer.*, p. 573.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 589.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 589: *gryponagroi* (griffins and/attacking wild asses?).

¹³³ L. von Matt, *Ravenna* (Cologne, 1971), pl. 62. Cf. fragments of Early Byzantine linen curtains with colourful patterns executed in wool, see Dauterman Maguire, Maguire, Duncan-Flowers, *Art and Holy Powers*, nos. 1-2; *Textiles of Late Antiquity*, eds. A. Stauffer et al. (New York, 1995), nos. 1, 45-48.

¹³⁴ Note, however, that some of the ceremonies in which such curtains were used took place in May, see *De cer.*, p. 570.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 570-574.

admitted. Thus, the mystery surrounding the imperial majesty was intensified and so was the beholder's sense of privilege and his emotion when the dark curtains were finally drawn to permit him a glimpse of the secret that had originally been hidden from him.

Curtains were commonly represented in art: on the lowest zone of the walls of some churches for decorative effect,¹³⁶ fancifully draped over the buildings of the setting in narrative scenes,¹³⁷ and, of course, hanging at doorways and windows. Even the most superficial survey demonstrates that in their majority the curtains represented in narrative contexts were red, purple, blue and, more rarely, green, often adorned with broad border-bands of a contrasting colour of gold, blue, red, or white at the top and/or bottom.¹³⁸ The main field of the curtain in most cases is depicted plain. Decorative motifs when they do occur include two or three parallel stripes at the top, bottom, and occasionally in the middle,¹³⁹ or small-scale repeated motifs, like spades, circles, arrows, and stars (Pl. 68).¹⁴⁰ Overall unified patterning of medallions¹⁴¹ or lattices¹⁴² is rare. In terms of decoration the curtains are relatively plain when compared to other textile furnishings, like valances, depicted in the same and other contemporary monuments. This differentiation appears to be a realistic touch. Given that, unlike wall-hangings, curtains were meant to be drawn back, knotted, or draped over a curtain-hook, they needed to be supple enough for handling and not overburdened with embroidery or densely-woven patterns. Furthermore, small-scale repeated decorative motifs were preferable to large-scale patterns, as the latter

¹³⁶ See, for example, Restle, *Byz. wall-painting*, pl. 328 (Çavuşin, Pigeon House Church); E. Bakalova, *Bachkovskata kostnitsa* (Sofia, 1977), fig. 8; Τσιτουρίδου, *Ο ζωγραφικός διάκοσμος του Αγίου Νικολάου Ορφανού*, pls. 114-115.

¹³⁷ Grozdanov and Hadermann-Misguich, *Kurbino*, fig. 36; Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, figs. 98, 104, 159, 363.

¹³⁸ *Il Menologio*, nos. 30, 98, 134, 142, 143, 146, 210, 212, 223, 320, 344, 392, 406; Pelekanides et al., *Treasures*, I, figs. 63, 113, 125, 223; II, fig. 59; Constantinides, *The Wall-paintings of Panagia Olympiotissa*, figs. 34, 35; Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, figs. 89, 99, 141; Mouriki, *The Frescoes of St. Nicholas at Platsa*, fig. 21.

¹³⁹ *Il Menologio*, nos. 159, 188, 216, 286; Pelekanides et al., *Treasures*, I, fig. 238.

¹⁴⁰ Wharton-Epstein, *Tokali Kilise*, fig. 87; *Il Menologio*, nos. 35, 303, 423; Pelekanides et al., *Treasures*, II, fig. 298; Constantinides, *The Wall-paintings of Panagia Olympiotissa*, fig. 84b.

¹⁴¹ Restle, *Byz. Wall-painting*, fig. 437 (Soğanlı, St. Barbara); *Il Menologio*, no. 397.

¹⁴² *Il Menologio*, nos. 332, 344, 408 (all three examples are due to the same painter, Nestor); Mouriki, *The Frescoes of St. Nicholas at Platsa*, fig. 4.

would lose their visual impact on the beholder when the curtain was drawn back.¹⁴³ The preference for brightly coloured curtains and draperies in narrative contexts could have been dictated by purely artistic reasons, imposed as it were by the colour-scheme favoured by mediaeval Byzantine artists. Alternatively, the depiction of such curtains might be indicative of the source of inspiration of Byzantine artists, which was probably the setting of imperial ceremonies.

Carpets

'*Epeuchion*', '*peukion*', '*tapes*' are all terms employed in Byzantine written sources to designate carpets.¹⁴⁴ Carpets were put to various uses. One prayed on them, slept on them, sat on them, even ate on them. One assumes that it is from the use of carpets as prayer-rugs that the name '*epeuchion*' was derived (*eucho* = prayer).¹⁴⁵ Carpeting the floor of a whole room on a permanent basis, even in the imperial palace and the palaces of the wealthy, appears to have been uncommon in the Middle Byzantine period.¹⁴⁶ Possibly the influence of Turkish practices led to the situation changing in the Late Byzantine period. Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, the Spanish ambassador visiting Constantinople in 1403, described the reception hall at the Blachernai palace as being covered with carpets and cushions.¹⁴⁷

Normally, carpets would have been spread on the floor to serve a specific purpose, for example sleeping, eating, seating, and folded and put away when no longer needed. In Middle and Late Byzantine written sources carpets are commonly mentioned as part of the sleeping equipment of Byzantine households. The use of carpets for seating on the floor and eating, albeit on campaign or outdoors, has

also been referred to earlier. The references to someone actually standing or walking on carpets are very rare and are confined to ceremonial occasions.¹⁴⁸ Representations of carpets in Byzantine art are almost non-existent. One such rare example is found in an illustrated Book of Job of the thirteenth century, *Par. gr.* 134, f. 184v (Pl. 194). In the miniature illustrating Job 38:36, a woman is shown seated cross-legged on a small, rectangular carpet, which has its narrow sides fringed. She is weaving on a loom.

For Bathing

Such furnishings included towels, probably of different sizes, for the hands, the head, and for the rest of the body. Towels are mentioned in use in the imperial palace.¹⁴⁹ They are also mentioned in monastic foundation documents, like that of the Pantokrator Monastery in Constantinople (1136), and in wills of individuals endowing monastic establishments.¹⁵⁰ Towels for bathing were also used in domestic contexts.¹⁵¹ They were probably made out of linen or cotton. Byzantine iconography offers limited scope for the representation of such items. Towels can be seen represented in illustrations of the Washing of the Feet, in the hands of Christ or tied around His waist (Pl. 195),¹⁵² or in the representation of Christ before Pilate, in the hands of the servant with the hand-washing set (Pl. 92). The towels are depicted with fringed borders and, sometimes, with a decoration of parallel bands, usually along their narrow sides.

Chests and Cupboards

Foodstuffs, garments and textile furnishings, books and papers, jewellery and cash, and, sometimes, icons would have been kept safely

¹⁴³ See Dauterman Maguire, Maguire, Duncan-Flowers, *Art and Holy Powers*, pp. 45, 46. The only examples of 'curtains' adorned with large-scale medallions in the *Menologium* of Basil II are, exceptionally and significantly enough, not shown gathered, see *Il Menologio*, no. 397.

¹⁴⁴ On the use of carpets in the Early Byzantine period see Dauterman Maguire, Maguire, Duncan-Flowers, *Art and Holy Powers*, p. 47.

¹⁴⁵ V. Latyshev, *Mefodiia patriarkha Konstantinopol'skago Zhitie prep. Feofana Ispovednika* (St. Petersburg, 1918), p. 12; *Theophanes Continuatus, Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1838), p. 319. I thank Prof. C. Mango for the second reference.

¹⁴⁶ The floor of certain rooms and passages of the Great Palace would be covered with carpets on special ceremonial occasions, as was the case of the reception of the Arab ambassadors in 946, see *De cer.*, p. 574 (reference to 'precious Persian spreads').

¹⁴⁷ *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the Court of Timour at Samarcand AD 1403-6*, tr. C.R. Markham (London, 1859), p. 29.

¹⁴⁸ A carpet (*epeuchion*) covered the steps on which the emperor stood in order to address a ceremonial gathering of dignitaries (*silention*) in the Magnaura, see *De cer.*, p. 546. In the *History of Belissarius*, a romance of the late fourteenth century, the path of the glorious general to the palace was covered with carpets and other textiles for him to walk over on horseback as a sign of honour, see *Ἱστορία τοῦ Βελισσαρίου*, eds. W.F. Bakker and A.F. van Gemert (Athens, 1988), X, lines 284-286. See, also, the portrait of Alexios III Komnenos of Trebizond and Theodora on the chrysobull of 1374, in which the imperial couple appear standing on a red surface possibly intended to represent a carpet (Appendix 2, no. 51).

¹⁴⁹ *De cer.*, pp. 215 (*sabana*), 586 (*cheiromakia*).

¹⁵⁰ Gautier, 'Typikon du Pantocrator', p. 93 (*komoekmagria, sabana, lentia*); Vatopedi, I, p. 158 (*prosasin*); MM, IV, p. 75 (*sabanoloutrika*).

¹⁵¹ See, for example, MM II, p. 504.

¹⁵² See, also, Mouriki, *The Mosaics of Nea Moni*, pl. 94.

in chests and cupboards. The most valuable would have been kept locked.¹⁵³ Chests are often mentioned in legal documents, such as inventories and wills, dating from the twelfth down to the fourteenth century.¹⁵⁴ One assumes that the chests would have been made of wood, and may have borne some kind of relief or inlay decoration.¹⁵⁵ The more sturdy trunks could have been used for seating, in the absence of chairs or benches, for eating in the absence of tables, and, if their length was adequate, for sleeping. Such great trunks or even smaller chests have not survived from the mediaeval period.¹⁵⁶ What has survived is a number of Middle Byzantine caskets, adorned with relief panels of ivory and bone. The subject-matter of the reliefs included both secular and religious themes. Two types of such rectangular caskets have survived: those with a flat lid and those with a lid shaped like a truncated pyramid. Round caskets, on the other hand, are rare in the mediaeval Byzantine period. Some of the rectangular examples have preserved their original locking mechanism.¹⁵⁷ Such caskets could have been used for keeping cosmetics, jewellery, cash, and personal documents.

In artistic contexts representations of chests are extremely rare. In fact I know of only one example, found in the illustrated *Alexander Romance* of the Greek Institute in Venice, f. 143v. According to a recent study this manuscript, dated to the second half of the fourteenth century, was created in the region of Trebizond by artists with Georgian connections.¹⁵⁸ What one does see in artistic representations are small, round caskets, commonly identified as incense-boxes, in the hands of saintly deacons and Old Testament patriarchs.¹⁵⁹ Caskets, both circular and rectangular, this time containing medicaments, appear in the hands of medical saints. Through the

¹⁵³ Vikan and Nesbitt, *Security in Byzantium*, p. 7, fig. 14.

¹⁵⁴ Oikonomides, 'The Contents of the Byz. House', pp. 208–209.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. references in the Cairo Geniza documents to trunks inlaid with tortoise-shell and ivory, see Goitein, *Medit. Society*, IV, p. 130.

¹⁵⁶ Wooden storage boxes and chests, some provided with internal partitions for organizing the stored objects, have been discovered in Early Byzantine Egyptian archaeological contexts, see Karanis, *An Egyptian Town in Roman Times. Discoveries of the University of Michigan Expedition to Egypt (1924–1935)*, ed. E.K. Gazda (Ann Arbor, 1983), p. 26; Dauterman Maguire, Maguire, Duncan-Flowers, *Art and Holy Powers*, p. 85, nos. 30–31.

¹⁵⁷ A. Cutler, 'On Byzantine Boxes,' *JWall* 42/43 (1984–5), pp. 32–47.

¹⁵⁸ Τραγουλιά, *Κώδιξ 5 Ελληνικού Ινστιτούτου Βενετίας*.

¹⁵⁹ See, for example, Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pl. 95 (Ayvalı köy); Millet, *Le monastère de Daphni*, figs. 53, 55.

half-opened lid of the casket held by St. Panteleimon in the church of Sts. Anargyroi at Kastoria one can see small, medicinal bottles. The key is shown in the lock (Pl. 196).

Cupboards also formed part of the equipment of the Byzantine household. They were used for storing food, utensils, or even books. In the *De ceremoniis* there is reference to cupboards employed for the display of precious objects, including crowns.¹⁶⁰ Cupboards would have had shelves and doors secured with a lock.¹⁶¹ Purposefully constructed recesses in the walls of a room or bricked up windows might also have served as cupboards.¹⁶² Such recesses form a distinctive feature of the interior of the main room, the *triklinos*, of the Late Byzantine houses at Mistra. Rectangular in shape (c. 0.60 × 1.20 × 0.30–0.40 m), they had an arched top and were provided with shelves of wood or schist slabs. They could either have been open or closed with wooden doors or a curtain.¹⁶³

I do not recall having come across representations of storage niches in art, with the exception of the niches in the sides of masonry tables used for the storage of utensils. As for free-standing cupboards, one may mention the cupboard-like writing tables which often accompany the portrayal of the evangelists and other authors in monumental and miniature painting. In mediaeval pictorial contexts I have not encountered tall free-standing cupboards comparable to those represented in Roman and Early Byzantine art.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁰ Κουκουλές, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμός*, II/2, p. 85: they were called 'small towers' (*μυρία* or *μυριακός*). Judging by their name, they must have been free-standing. The grandest and most impressive of them all was the *pentapyrgion* (a combination of five such 'small towers?'), the construction of which was attributed to the emperor Theophilos (829–842), see C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire: 312–1453, Sources and Documents* (Toronto, 1986), p. 160.

¹⁶¹ *Poèmes prodromiques*, I, lines, 203, 216; IV, lines 26–30.

¹⁶² Wall-niches, some provided with wooden shelves, and bricked-up windows used for storage purposes were a feature of domestic architecture in Late Roman Karanis. Some of these recesses were discovered complete with the items stored in them, see Karanis, pp. 25–26; F.D. Friedman, *Beyond the Pharaohs. Egypt and the Copts in the 2nd to 7th Centuries A.D.* (Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, 1989), pp. 90–93; Dauterman Maguire, Maguire, Duncan-Flowers, *Art and Holy Powers*, p. 85.

¹⁶³ 'Α. Ὁρλάνδος, 'Τὰ παλάτια καὶ τὰ σκίτια τοῦ Μυστρᾶ,' *ABME* 3 (Athens, 1937), pp. 71–72.

¹⁶⁴ Dauterman Maguire, Maguire, Duncan-Flowers, *Art and Holy Powers*, p. 85, fig. 33.

Lighting Devices

The distinctive Late Antique oil-lamp type, which was closed-shaped, with a spout for the wick at one end and a handle opposite the spout, though extremely common down to the seventh century, was discontinued in the following centuries.¹⁶⁵ Mango has suggested that this development may be indicative of candles having supplanted oil-lamps as the favourite source of lighting in domestic contexts during the course of seventh and eighth centuries.¹⁶⁶

Oikonomides in his study of the contents of the average mediaeval Byzantine household makes no reference to domestic lighting. In the documents he has surveyed all lighting devices mentioned were destined for use in ecclesiastical contexts. Even when one investigates the documents which Oikonomides had deliberately excluded because they refer to aristocratic households and great monastic foundations¹⁶⁷ one observes the same preoccupation with the lighting of churches. No references are made to lighting devices destined for use in domestic contexts. Bouras's study of Byzantine lighting devices is largely based on the information contained in monastic foundation documents and inventories, as well as wills of individuals, dating from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries.¹⁶⁸ Because of the nature of the evidence at her disposal, her discussion is concerned principally with lighting in ecclesiastical contexts. She distinguishes five main groups of devices:

1. single-light lamps, either hanging or standing
2. candelabra
3. *lammai* ('metal strips supplied with candlesticks')¹⁶⁹
4. *polycandela* (hanging, perforated, round or cruciform plates for carrying glass lamps; occasionally, also provided with spikes for candles)
5. *choroi* (polygonal, composite structures of lamps and *polycandela*).

Apart from the great *choroi*, probably designed especially for the domed churches which they were meant to illuminate,¹⁷⁰ and the

¹⁶⁵ C. Mango, 'Addendum to the Report on Everyday Life,' *JÖB* 32/1 (1982), pp. 254–255.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

¹⁶⁷ Namely, the will of Eustathios Boilas and the foundation documents of the monasteries of Petrizos (Bachkovo), the Pantokrator in Constantinople, and the Kosmosoteira at Ainos.

¹⁶⁸ Bouras, 'Byz. Lighting Devices,' pp. 479–481.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 480.

¹⁷⁰ For surviving examples of mediaeval *choroi* see Petković and Bošković, *Manastir*

lammai, particularly suitable for *templon* epistyles, all other categories of lighting devices could have been used in secular contexts as well. In the tenth century, on important ceremonial occasions requiring the brilliant decoration of many rooms in the imperial palace, silver *polycandela* were borrowed from richly-provided sanctuaries, like the Nea Ekklesia and the church at Blachernai.¹⁷¹ It is not unlikely that some of the lighting devices donated to churches by potentates like Eustathios Boilas (1059) and Gregory Pakourianos (1084)¹⁷² may originally have been used in their respective residences and need not necessarily have been ordered especially for the particular churches which were to receive the endowment. Furthermore, cheap materials, like clay and glass, may have been employed for the manufacture of lighting devices destined for domestic use, which might explain the silence of wills and inventories in this respect.

Clay oil-lamps are often included among the finds of excavations of mediaeval Byzantine sites, though they do not compare in numbers with the many thousands of surviving Roman and Early Byzantine clay lamps. The mediaeval lamps belong to a different type than their Late Antique antecedents. They have an open bowl with a rudimentary spout for the wick and are sometimes provided with a tall stand and a drip cup (Pl. 197). They are usually glazed. A variation of this basic type, which continued to be employed in Post-Byzantine times as well, was the two-level clay lamp, with two superimposed bowls for the oil.¹⁷³ Clay candlesticks are also occasionally discovered in mediaeval archaeological contexts.¹⁷⁴

Dečani, pp. 211, 230, pl. LXXII; D. Todorović, 'Polijeje u Markovom manastiru,' *Zograf* 9 (1978), pp. 28–36; *Byzantium. Treasures of Byzantine Art and Culture from British Collections*, ed. D. Buckton (London, 1994), no. 216.

¹⁷¹ *De cer.*, pp. 571, 572, 573, 581, 591.

¹⁷² P. Lemerle, 'Le testament d'Eustathios Boilas,' in his *Cinq études sur le XI^e siècle byzantin* (Paris, 1977) (hereafter Lemerle, 'Eustathios Boilas'), p. 24; Gautier, 'Typikon du Pakourianos,' pp. 43, 123.

¹⁷³ See, selectively, T. Stillwell-Mackay, 'More Byzantine and Frankish Pottery from Corinth,' *Hesperia* 36 (1967), pp. 303, 305, pls. 68, 69 (eleventh-twelfth centuries); Frantz, 'Middle Byzantine Pottery in Athens,' pp. 454, 463, figs. 14, 27, 29 (twelfth century); 'A. Κεραμόπουλλος, 'Παλαιά Χριστιανικά και Βυζαντινά τεραία ἐν Θήβαις,' *ΑΔ* 10 (1926), p. 127, figs. 4.a–e, 5 (Byzantine); X. Κολάκου, 'Ανασκαφικὴ ἐργασία, νομὸς Βοιωτίας, Θήβα, οδὸς Κασσάνδρου,' *ΑΔ* 41 (1986), B, p. 27, pl. 51b (Byzantine); A. Βαβυλοπούλου-Χαριτωνίδου, 'Κεραμικά εὐρήματα Βυζαντινῆς καὶ Μεταβυζαντινῆς ἐποχῆς ἀπὸ τὴν ἀνασκαφῇ "Νοτιάς τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως," 1955–1956,' *ΑΔ* 37 (1982), A, p. 134, pl. 40d (twelfth century); *eadem*, 'Βυζαντινά κεραμικά ἀπὸ τῆς συλλογῆς τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Μουσείου Χίου,' *ΑΔ* 21 (1988), p. 196, fig. 10.

¹⁷⁴ N. Ζήκος, 'Νομὸς Ροδόπης. Παπικιο. Μοναστηριακὸ συγκρότημα Σώστῃ Ροδόπης,' *ΑΔ* 40 (1985), B, p. 286, pl. 123b.

Glass continued to be employed for the manufacture of lamps in mediaeval Byzantium. Fragments of two lamps for *polycandela* have been unearthed at Corinth.¹⁷⁵ Glass was also employed for the construction of standing or hanging single lamps. Hanging lamps were provided either with little glass handles for suspension, like mediaeval and present-day mosque lamps,¹⁷⁶ or with a metal mount on which rings for suspension were attached (Pl. 198). Single hanging lamps, apparently made of glass, are often represented in the Presentation of the Virgin and of Christ to the Temple, where they are suspended from the ciborium (Pl. 199).¹⁷⁷ Glass bowl-shaped lamps would have also been employed in combination with openwork metal casings. One has in mind a group of openwork tinned copper hanging single lamps and '*polycandela*', found in mediaeval archaeological contexts in Asia Minor and in Greece. The tinned copper '*polycandela*' (Pl. 200), though similar to copper-alloy *polycandela* in form (Pl. 201), are not as sturdy in construction and were probably destined to hold a single glass lamp.¹⁷⁸

As to artistic representations of lighting devices, I have already mentioned the depiction of single, hanging lamps, suspended from the canopies of ciboria, in scenes like the Presentation of the Virgin and of Christ to the Temple. Single hanging lamps are also occasionally introduced in portrayals of the evangelists and other authors, both in monumental and in miniature painting (Pl. 202).¹⁷⁹ The types of lamps represented in portrayals of the evangelists, sometimes clearly shaped like shallow bowls, are quite distinct from the lamps shown

¹⁷⁵ Davidson, *Minor Objects*, nos. 801, 802 (eleventh-twelfth centuries).

¹⁷⁶ G.M. Crowfoot and D.B. Harden, 'Early Byzantine and Later Glass Lamps', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 17 (1931), p. 205.

¹⁷⁷ See, also, Jerphanion, *Églises rupestres*, pl. 198.2 (Soğanlı, Karabaş kilisesi); Grozdanov and Hadernann-Misguich, *Kurbinovo*, fig. 40; Millet, *Monuments byz. de Mistra*, pl. 134.3 (St. Sophia: the example illustrated here is clearly provided with three minuscule handles for suspension). For an interesting representation of hanging lamps in a sanctuary, this time in an unusual composition representing the Virgin triumphing over demons with the assistance of the angelic host, see Stormajolo, *Miniature delle omilie di Giacomo Monaco*, pl. 37.

¹⁷⁸ M. Mundell Mango, 'The Significance of Byzantine Tinned Copper Objects', in *Θυσία. Στη μνήμη της Ασκαρινας Μπούρα* (Athens, 1994), pp. 224-225, figs. 4-10.

¹⁷⁹ For an example in monumental painting see D. Mouriki, 'Stylistic Trends in Monumental Painting of Greece During the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *DOP* 34-35 (1980-1981) (hereafter Mouriki, 'Stylistic Trends—11th-12th c.'), p. 113, fig. 71 (Geraki, Evangelistria, c. 1200: St. John).

suspended from the ciboria of sanctuaries. The latter are, as a rule, tall, with a body sometimes bulging towards the base, and often display a non-functional foot. That this distinction should be made with relative consistency in pictorial contexts may be taken to indicate that the type of lamp usually introduced in the depiction of sanctuaries reflected a type which in real life was specifically associated with the lighting of churches. Other lighting devices represented in pictorial contexts included candelabra (Pl. 45)¹⁸⁰ and lanterns.¹⁸¹

USE IN RELIGIOUS ICONOGRAPHY

In Narrative Scenes

That the paralytic of Bethesda would carry a bed and that tables and seats would be represented in dining scenes was self-evident. That two or three candelabra should be introduced in the scenes of the three generals before Constantine and the three generals before St. Nicholas was required by the narrative of this particular episode in the life of St. Nicholas, since they were specifically mentioned among the gifts which the emperor had sent to the saint.¹⁸² That thrones and footstools would be attributed to rulers and officials is equally self-explanatory, as such items constituted components of the imagery of power and were meant to highlight the position of authority held by the persons seated.

However, there are other instances where the occurrence of furniture or furnishings in particular iconographic contexts requires some comment. Certain items were represented as part of the setting in order to define the space and/or the time of the action. The representation of a curtain in a doorway would intimate an interior space, while that of a lighting device, when not associated with the depiction of a sanctuary or church rituals, would suggest that the

¹⁸⁰ See, also, St. Nicholas Kasnitze, Kastoria: the three generals before Constantine (observation *in situ*); Μοναχού Καλλίνικου, *Η τεχνική της αγογραφίας*, fig. 27 (Mount Athos, Protaton: the Dormition of the Virgin); St. Nicholas Orphanos, Thessalonike: the Dormition of St. Nicholas (observation *in situ*). On the association of (representations of) candelabra with funeral and memorial services see Chatzidakis-Bacharas, *Les peintures murales de Hosios Loukas*, pp. 111-112.

¹⁸¹ See, for example, E. Kolias, *Patmos* (Athens, 1990), fig. 28 (Monastery of St. John, refectory; second layer: Betrayal; thirteenth century).

¹⁸² Ševčenko, *The Life of Saint Nicholas*, pp. 124-126, 128-129.

illustrated episode was taking place at night or in a dark interior.¹⁸³ Other items were represented because they constituted a standard part of the iconography of a particular theme, though their source of inspiration was other than the narrative account of the episode illustrated. One has in mind, for example, tables with writing implements introduced in trial scenes. As far as I know, the earliest representations of tables in trial scenes are encountered in the Trial miniatures of the *Rossano Gospels* (sixth century) (Pl. 89). According to Loerke, the table served as an indication that the historic Pilate had powers similar to those of a sixth-century *consularis*, that is, a provincial governor, and was, consequently, competent to act as a judge in Christ's trial.¹⁸⁴ The table continued to appear in trial scenes in Middle and Late Byzantine contexts, though any association it might have had with the *consularis* would have long been forgotten. In a number of Late Byzantine contexts a table also appears in representations of Christ before the High Priests, as for example at the Peribleptos, Ohrid,¹⁸⁵ and at St. Nicholas Orphanos, Thessalonike (Pl. 188). Its continued presence in trial scenes would suggest that the table had retained its symbolism, if not as an emblem of judicial power and authority, then as a sign that a trial is taking place.

A second example of introducing a piece of furniture which was not required by the narrative account is the depiction of a cradle in representations of the birth of a saintly figure (Pls. 203–204).¹⁸⁶ The cradle is a picturesque detail which was introduced to convey the atmosphere of the activity that accompanies the birth of a child. According to Mouriki, the representation of the cradle, encountered in mediaeval pictorial contexts from the eleventh century onward, had been borrowed from Late Antique pictorial biographic cycles,

¹⁸³ This is probably the explanation for the peculiar standing lighting device introduced in the representation of the Last Supper at Karanlık kilise (Pl. 187) and at Elmah kilise, see Restle, *Byz. Wall-painting*, pl. 179. Cf. N. Duval, 'La représentation du palais dans l'art du Bas-Empire et du Haut Moyen Age d'après le psautier d'Utrecht', *Cd* 15 (1965), p. 219.

¹⁸⁴ Loerke, 'The Miniatures of the Trial', pp. 177–179.

¹⁸⁵ Dumbarton Oaks Photographic Archive, Ohrid, St. Clement, no. G18.
¹⁸⁶ See, also, G. Millet and A. Frolov, *La peinture du Moyen Age en Yugoslavie*, Fasc. III, (Paris, 1962), pl. 1.2 (Ohrid, Peribleptos: Birth of the Virgin); Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, pl. 98 (the same); Χατζηδόνας, *Μυστράς*, figs. 14 (Metropolis: the same) 45 (Peribleptos: the same). Constantinides, *The Wall-paintings of Panagia Olympiotissa*, pl. 79 (the same).

like the one illustrating the birth and childhood of Dionysos.¹⁸⁷ It is tempting, however, to consider the Middle-Byzantine festive ceremonies associated with the birth of a male child to the emperor, during which the new-born was 'displayed' to the members of the court in its cradle, as having prompted this borrowing from Late Antique iconography in the first place.¹⁸⁸

The design and decoration of the furniture and furnishings which were depicted in art appear to have been determined by the sources of inspiration to which the artists had recourse. The example of the sigma-table offers an interesting case-study in this respect. The sigma-table was introduced in the depiction of biblical meal scenes during the Early Byzantine period. At that time, representations of the sigma-table indeed reflected contemporary practices. However, by the Middle Byzantine period, as we have seen, sigma-tables had gone out of use in everyday contexts, though they might have still been in use in the imperial palace and were certainly employed in some of the monastic refectories on Mount Athos (Pl. 182). That they continued to appear in religious iconography, even down to the Late Byzantine period, is better attributed to the repetition of a, by now, traditional iconographic type. Nevertheless, certain 'realistic' features made their appearance in Late Byzantine representations of sigma-tables. In contrast to earlier representations, sigma-tables were now depicted as being of masonry, with marble tops having raised borders and with small niches along their straight side (Pl. 184). One cannot help but think that there was a probable influence of the tables of monastic refectories on these representations. In Late Byzantine pictorial contexts masonry sigma- and their related oval tables commonly appeared in Last Supper scenes. In representations of other meal scenes, even in the same monument, some artists preferred or, perhaps, felt more at liberty to introduce other table-types which, in all probability, reflected contemporary secular examples more closely (Pls. 186, 189).

¹⁸⁷ Ντ. Μουρίκη, 'Περὶ Βυζαντινοῦ κύκλου τοῦ βίου τῆς Παναγίας εἰς φορητὴν εἰκόνα τῆς Μονῆς τοῦ "Ὁρους Σινᾶ"', *ΑΕ* 1970, p. 131.

¹⁸⁸ *De cer.*, pp. 618–619; Cf. Magdalino, *Manuel I Komnenos*, p. 243, for a twelfth-century description of the cradle being prepared in the chamber of the Porphyra in anticipation of the birth of a child to Manuel I Komnenos. For the influence of these same ceremonies on the introduction of the theme of the visiting women bearing gifts in the iconographic context of the birth of a saint see G. Babić, 'Sur l'iconographie de la composition "Nativité de la Vierge" dans la peinture byzantine', *ZRV* 7 (1961), pp. 174–175; J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge dans l'empire byzantin et en occident*, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1964, 1965), I, p. 97.

Tables, of course, were not the only items of furniture the appearance of which was being updated in pictorial contexts. As we had opportunity to observe earlier, the throne also underwent the same process. Thus, the Late Byzantine period saw the introduction of new types in religious iconography, such as the box-like backless throne and the throne with the curved back. Still, it was in the decoration of the furniture and furnishings, rather than in their design, that contemporary styles were most often reflected. One has only to think of the representations of textile furnishings for bedding patterned with medallions in Middle Byzantine monuments, and those of wooden furniture decorated with diminutive balusters, knobs, and minuscule arcades in Late Byzantine ones.

Thrones in Non-Narrative Compositions

Thrones and footstools were introduced in iconic portrayals of Christ and the Virgin in the iconographic schemes of the bema and the cupola, and in the composition of the Last Judgment. The throne as an attribute of the deity was well established long before the advent of Christianity in both pagan and Jewish traditions. That the throne should be attributed to Christ as a symbol of his divinity was only natural.¹⁸⁹ However, this symbolism was endowed with subtler nuances of meaning differing from one iconographic context to the next: the throne of Christ portrayed as the King of Kings in the Chrysotriklinos of the Great Palace and on coins of Basil I, for example, was the mark of His sovereignty; His throne in the theophanic visions that adorned the apses of a number of Cappadocian churches (tenth and eleventh centuries) was the throne of God's Glory in Heaven (Is. 6:1-3; Ez. 1:26-28) (Pls. 50, 171); His throne in the Deesis and in Last Judgment compositions in both Middle and Late Byzantine pictorial contexts, was the throne of the Judge of the Second Coming before which all nations will assemble to receive justice (Matth. 25:31-32) (Pls. 46, 51, 172, 174).

The Virgin was also portrayed enthroned, either on her own, for example in the Annunciation and in the Last Judgment among the Just in Paradise (Pl. 46), or with the Child Christ as in the icono-

graphic scheme of the altar apse of churches and in the Adoration of the Magi (Pls. 176, 205). The throne attributed to the Virgin when portrayed alone in the aforementioned iconographic contexts should be understood as a mark of distinction and honour to the Mother of God. However, when she is represented enthroned holding the Child, the throne is better interpreted as an attribute first of Christ and, only by extension, of the Virgin, the vehicle of His salutary Incarnation.¹⁹⁰ In the canonical iconographic programmes of Middle and Late Byzantine churches the Virgin, portrayed in the conch of the altar apse precisely because of her role in the Incarnation, is never, as far as I know, represented enthroned without the Child Christ. When alone in this particular iconographic context, she is portrayed standing with the hands raised in a gesture of supplication addressed to her Son portrayed in the dome.

An 'empty' throne on which are displayed, in different combinations, a gospel-book, the cross, sometimes surmounted by the crown of thorns, the spear, the sponge, a crown, and the dove, was introduced in the iconographic schemes of the bema and the dome of certain Middle and Late Byzantine churches. It may also be seen incorporated in the compositions of the Pentecost (Pl. 206) and the Last Judgment (Pls. 46, 52) or in iconic representations with eschatological connotations (Pl. 100).¹⁹¹ Any of the throne-types described in the first part of the present chapter could be represented in this particular iconographic context, with the exception of the lyre-backed throne. Scholars have given the name '*Hetoimasia*' to the theme of the 'empty' throne, encountered in Christian iconography as early as the fifth century, even though it is only from the eleventh century onward that it was actually inscribed thus. The name '*Hetoimasia*' was inspired by Ps. 9:7 and refers to the prepared throne awaiting to receive the Judge of the Second Coming. However, the fact that

¹⁸⁹ Cf. Cutler, *Transfigurations*, p. 16. Cutler's comments refer specifically to the lyre-backed throne, but I believe they may be applied to all representations of the Virgin and Child enthroned.

¹⁹¹ See, also, O. Wulff, *Die Koimesiskirche in Nicaea und ihre Mosaiken* (Strassburg, 1903), pp. 202-203 (Nicaea, church of the Dormition: vault of the sanctuary); R. Ljubinković, 'La peinture murale en Serbie et en Macédoine aux XI^e et XII^e siècles,' in his *Studije iz srednjovekovne umetnosti i kulturne istorije* (Belgrade, 1982), p. 75 (Veljusa: between the two files of bishops represented in the apse); Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus*, fig. 294 (Trikomo, church of the Panagia: dome scheme); Nikolaidēs, 'L'église de la Panagia Arakiotissa,' fig. 37 (the same); Constantinides, *The Wall-paintings of Panagia Olympiotissa*, pl. 11 (the same).

¹⁸⁹ On the probable influence of imperial imagery and ceremonial in the creation of the image of the enthroned Christ in the fourth century see Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art*, pp. 196-200.

the representation of the empty throne in pre-eleventh-century pictorial contexts was not accompanied by the title of *Hetoimasia* is an indication that it had not yet come to be considered as the sign of the Second Coming and the Last Judgment, but had different connotations altogether.¹⁹² These would vary from one monument to the next, according both to the iconographic context into which this image was introduced and to the combination of attributes that appeared on the throne. The throne represented on the vault of the bema in the church of the Dormition at Nicaea, for example, displayed the gospel, the cross, and the dove. It was flanked by angelic powers holding *labara* with 'ἄγιος, ἄγιος, ἄγιος' inscribed on them. Thus, the throne in this context has been interpreted as a symbol of the Holy Trinity, the throne itself representing the Father, while the gospel and the cross represent Christ; finally, the dove is the symbol of the Holy Spirit.¹⁹³ The throne as a symbol of the Trinity was occasionally introduced in Middle Byzantine representations of the Pentecost.¹⁹⁴ The throne with the instruments of the Passion and the dove which was sometimes depicted between the bishops in the apse alluded to Christ's sacrifice and acquired eucharistic connotations.¹⁹⁵ However, from the eleventh century, it is the throne's symbolism as the sign of the Second Coming of Christ which became predominant. This is evidenced, first of all, by the appearance of the title '*Hetoimasia*', which made the throne's eschatological connotations explicit. In the course of the eleventh century the throne was introduced in representations of the Last Judgment (Pl. 46). The *Hetoimasia* was also represented on Middle and Late Byzantine cupolas, where its presence was in agreement with the eschatological overtones of the overall scheme, at the centre of which was the Pantokrator, at the same time Almighty Creator and Judge.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹² Wulff, *Die Kōinesiskirche in Nicäa*, pp. 202–244; Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art*, pp. 199–200; Th. von Bogyay, 'Zur Geschichte der Hetoimasia,' *Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongresses* (Munich, 1960), pp. 58–61.

¹⁹³ Wulff, *Die Kōinesiskirche in Nicäa*, esp. p. 237.

¹⁹⁴ M. Σωτηρίου, 'Ετοιμασία τοῦ θρόνου,' *Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἱθική Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια*, col. 954; T. Malmquist, *Byzantine 12th Century Frescoes in Kastoria. Agioi Anargyroi and Agios Nikolaos tou Kasnitzi* (Uppsala, 1979), p. 40.

¹⁹⁵ C. Babić, 'Les discussions christologiques et le décor des églises byzantines au XII^e siècle. Les évêques officiant devant l'Hétimasia et devant l'Amnos,' *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 2 (1968), pp. 368–386; S.E.J. Gerstel, *Beholding the Sacred Mysteries* (Seattle and London, 1999), pp. 38–39.

¹⁹⁶ L. Hadermann-Misguich, 'Fresques de Chypre et de Macédoine dans la sec-

Furniture and furnishings were introduced in narrative scenes and in non-narrative compositions as part of the setting and, in the case of thrones and footstools, as attributes of the deity or as marks of authority and distinction. Conventional types, some of which can be traced back to the Early Byzantine period, were constantly repeated in mediaeval contexts. However, the present investigation has demonstrated that often the representation of furniture and furnishings in mediaeval Byzantine religious art reflected contemporary examples. On certain occasions it was in the decoration of an item, rather than in its design, that a link with contemporary practices was maintained as, for example, in the Late Byzantine representations of masonry tables. On others, the represented artefacts reflected contemporary styles both in their design and decoration. One might mention representations of certain types of thrones, chairs, stools, footstools, tables, beds, items of bedding, curtains, and hanging lamps. Finally, on certain other occasions it was in the act of introducing a particular piece of furniture into a specific iconographic context that the probable influence of contemporary practices was detected. One has in mind representations whose ultimate source of inspiration appears to have been court ceremonial and imperial portraiture as, for example, the elevation of saintly figures on footstools and, perhaps, the introduction of the cradle in birth-of-a-saint scenes. Isolating and studying such instances is an effort well worth making, not simply because they can prove to be quite informative concerning an aspect of Byzantine material culture which still remains practically unexplored, but also because they could offer 'objective' pointers to the potential sources of inspiration and the working methods of mediaeval Byzantine artists.

onde moitié du XII^e siècle,' *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Α' Διεθνoῦς Κυπριολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου* (Nicosia, 1972), II, pp. 47–49; T. Velmans, 'Quelques programmes iconographiques de coupoules chypriotes du XII^e au XV^e siècle,' *CA* 32 (1984), pp. 137–162.

THE IMPLEMENTS

Agricultural Implements

Byzantine agricultural implements were made out of wood and iron. It is commonly those made of iron or simply iron parts, like ploughshares, which are mentioned in wills⁴ and property inventories.⁵ Extant examples comprise iron parts from archaeological sites in Bulgaria, Serbia, and, to a lesser degree, Greece. The continued use of traditional cultivation methods in the Balkans, Asia Minor, and Cyprus ensured the survival of certain types of implements, such as the threshing sledge and the sickle, and permits the 'judicious use' of ethnographic material as a complementary source of information on Byzantine agricultural implements.⁶ Middle and Late Byzantine illustrated manuscripts of Hesiod's *Works and Days* provide another rich source of information on the appearance and nomenclature of Byzantine agricultural implements. It was observed that the Byzantine illuminators introduced representations of tools which were not actually mentioned by Hesiod into the miniatures accompanying the text. As Bryer has demonstrated, these additions can be safely considered to reflect actual types of tools in use in Byzantium at the time of the creation of the miniatures.⁷

For tilling the fields in preparation for sowing the plough with an iron ploughshare drawn by oxen was used.⁸ Examples of mediaeval ploughshares, coulter, as well as scrapers used to remove the earth stuck to the share, have been unearthed in Greece, Bulgaria, and Serbia (Pl. 207).⁹ As alternatives to the plough, the mattock (*makele*,

CHAPTER FIVE

IMPLEMENTS

In recent years the study of Byzantine technology and implements has become the focus of a growing interest on the part of historians and archaeologists. One has in mind studies like those of Vikan and Nesbitt on locking, sealing, and weighing, of Muthesius on silk weaving, of Bliquez on surgical instruments, and of Bryer on agricultural implements. To these one should add the publication, under the direction of Guillou, of a collection of extant examples of agricultural and handicraft implements employed in the Balkans from the Middle Ages down to the present day.¹ In the latter two works representations of implements in Byzantine art have been extensively used to supplement the dearth of other archaeological evidence dating from the mediaeval period. However, the artistic evidence is scarce. As Bryer has noted, tools are rarely depicted in Byzantine pictorial contexts, with the notable exception of agricultural implements appearing in illustrated manuscripts of Hesiod's *Works and Days* and, I may add, of writing implements in the portrayal of the evangelists and other authors.² Furthermore, when represented, tools are sometimes shown employed in a manner or in a context that did not correspond to actual practices.³

Byzantine figurative art does not offer a complete inventory of the types of implements employed in the empire at any particular period. The instruments represented are limited to agricultural tools, to implements employed in a blacksmith's workshop, in building, carpentry, spinning and weaving, surgical instruments, writing implements, and scales used in commercial and monetary transactions.

¹ See Vikan and Nesbitt, *Security in Byzantium*; A. Muthesius, 'A Practical Approach to the History of Byzantine Silk Weaving,' *JOB* 34 (1984), pp. 235-254; L.J. Bliquez, 'Two Lists of Greek Surgical Instruments and the State of Surgery in Byzantine Times,' *DOP* 38 (1984), pp. 187-204; A. Bryer, 'Byzantine Agricultural Implements: The Evidence of Medieval Illustrations of Hesiod's *Works and Days*,' *BSA* 81 (1986), pp. 45-80 (hereafter Bryer, 'Byz. Agricultural Implements'); *Les outils dans les Balkans du Moyen Âge à nos jours*, ed. A. Guillou, 2 vols. (Paris, 1986) (hereafter *Outils*).

² Bryer, 'Byz. Agricultural Implements,' pp. 49-50.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 50. See, also, below.

⁴ See, for example, *Valopédi*, I, p. 357 (will of Theodore Sarantenos from Verroia, 1325).

⁵ In the inventory of the monastery of Xylourgou on Mount Athos (1142) such tools are designated as 'siderika', see *Actes de Saint Pantéléimon*, eds. P. Lemerle, G. Dagron, S. Cirković (Paris, 1982) (hereafter Xylourgou), p. 74.

⁶ Bryer, 'Byz. Agricultural Implements,' note 10 on p. 48 and p. 49.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 52f. See, also, A. Paribeni, 'Raffigurazioni di strumenti agricoli in un manoscritto di Esiodo nella Biblioteca Ariostea di Ferrara' in *Arte profana e arte sacra*, pp. 411-445. For references to representations of agricultural tools in Byzantine artistic contexts other than the hesiodic manuscripts see A. Λιβέρι, 'Βυζαντινά γεωργικά εργαλεία και μηχανές,' *ΔΧΑΕ* 21 (2000), pp. 275-285.

⁸ Bryer, 'Byz. Agricultural Implements,' p. 68. In Byzantine lists only the share (*hymis*) is mentioned, see Xylourgou, p. 74 (four); *Valopédi*, I, p. 158 (will of the monk Maximos, 1247/1258; eleven); MM IV, p. 267 (will of the *tzouanis* George Melissenos, region of Smyrna, 1284; two).

⁹ The ploughshare illustrated in Pl. 207 was discovered in a domestic context

tzapion)¹⁰ or the two-pronged spade-fork (*ligarion*) were used.¹¹ The spade-fork was apparently very common,¹² though actual finds of mediaeval examples are rare (Pl. 208). Spade-forks can be seen illustrated in a number of Byzantine manuscripts, though sometimes they were shown employed in the wrong context.¹³ Spades made of iron or with iron shoeing could also have been used for digging. Actual U-shaped and V-shaped shoes for spades have been recovered from the settlement outside the walls of the Byzantine fortress of Braničevo (twelfth-early thirteenth century) (Pl. 210), from Preslav in Bulgaria (Pl. 211), and from mediaeval archaeological contexts in Serbia and Romania.¹⁴ Spades are rarely represented in art; when they do appear, it is not clear from the representations whether they had an iron shoe or not.¹⁵

(J1081 House) during the excavation of the mediaeval rural settlement of Panakton in Boiotia, Greece; it is dated to the fourteenth century (publication of the excavation report by S.E.J. Gerstel in *Hesperia*, forthcoming). I owe this information, as well as the photograph of the object and permission to reproduce it, to Prof. S.E.J. Gerstel, whom I here thank. For ploughshares found in Bulgaria and Serbia see I. Changova, 'Srednovekovni orüdiia na truda v Bülgaria', *IzvAI* XXV (1962) (hereafter Changova, 'Orüdiia na truda'), figs. 1–5, pl. V (lower half); *Outils*, I, pp. 286–288; II, pp. 931–934.

¹⁰ For written references to mattocks see Xylourgou, p. 74 (ten); MM IV, p. 202 (five); *Vatopédi*, I, p. 357 (fourteen). For examples found in archaeological excavations see X. Μπακιτζής, 'Νομός Ροδόκης, Πάτερμα', *ΑΔ* 35 (1980), B/2, p. 451; Changova, 'Orüdiia na truda', fig. 7, pls. I (lower half), III.2, IV (bottom row); M. Janković, 'Implements and Weapons from 9th–11th Centuries found at Ključ Dunava', *Balkanoslavica* 10 (1983), pl. VI.12. For artistic representations see *Il Menologio*, pp. 68, 420 (employed in the recovery of the relics of saints), and note 13 below. See, also, Τσιτουρίδου, Ο ζωγραφικός διάκοσμος του Αγίου Νικολάου Ορφανού, p. 127 (St. Nicholas Orphanos, Lamentation: in the background a figure is shown digging the grave—in fact, a marble sarcophagus—with a mattock).

¹¹ Bryer, 'Byz. Agricultural Implements,' pp. 68, 70, 72–73.

¹² Xylourgou, p. 74 (one); *Vatopédi*, I, p. 158 (will of monk Maximos, 1247/1258: seventeen); MM IV, pp. 57 (list of the movable property of the monastery of St. Panteleimon, Mantaia, near Smyrna, 1233: two), 202 (will of monk Gerontios, Smyrna, 1192: three), 267 (will of George Melissenos, 1284: two).

¹³ See, for example, Pelekanides *et al.*, *Treasures*, I, fig. 261 (*Dionysiou* 587m, f. 148r: spade-fork appropriately used, along with a mattock, for breaking the soil in the Discovery of the head of St. John the Baptist); Der Nersessian, *Psalters grecs*, figs. 61, 177 (*Theodore Psalter*, ff. 36r, 108r: though the captions of the miniatures refer to vineyards, the labourers are shown engaged in activities related to the cultivation of cereals, namely reaping, sowing, and digging with the two-pronged spade-fork); Omont, *Ms Grec 74*, pl. 33 (f. 39v: spade-fork employed in a vineyard, an unlikely context for its use, see Bryer, 'Byz. Agricultural Implements,' p. 50). See, also, examples illustrated in Paribeni, 'Raffigurazioni di strumenti,' figs. 10–11.

¹⁴ *Outils*, I, pp. 228–229, 283; II, pp. 783–788, 923–924.

¹⁵ *Il Menologio*, pp. 68, 420.

The implement employed for the harvesting of cereals in Byzantium was the sickle with the iron blade and a wooden handle. Its curving blade could have been serrated, as seen on examples in hesiodic illustrations, or smooth.¹⁶ A number of mediaeval sickles have been recovered from archaeological sites in Bulgaria and Serbia.¹⁷ Once harvested, the grain was separated from the chaff through the processes of threshing and winnowing. For threshing the threshing sledge (*bykane*, *do(w)kane*), consisting of a wooden board or boards provided with stone or iron 'teeth' on one side, was employed.¹⁸ For winnowing two wooden implements, the winnowing fork (*likmeterion*) and the winnowing shovel (*phyon*) were used.¹⁹ Representations of such implements in Byzantine religious pictorial contexts are almost non-existent.²⁰

The principal implements employed for the care of vineyards were the two-pronged drag-hoe (*dikella*, *dikellion*) and the pruning knife or vine-dresser's hook (*kladeuterion*).²¹ Iron parts of such tools have been unearthed during the archaeological excavation of sites in Greece, Bulgaria, and Serbia (Pl. 211).²² Their use in mediaeval Byzantium is attested also in the written sources,²³ though artistic representations are rare.²⁴ For clearing activities the pick-axe (*axine*) and the axe (*pelekys*) were used.²⁵ Axes are a common find in archaeological excavations (Pl. 212)²⁶ and the axe is the one tool most commonly

¹⁶ Bryer, 'Byz. Agricultural Implements,' p. 76.

¹⁷ Changova, 'Orüdiia na truda,' figs. 9.3, 10, pls. III.3, IV; Janković, 'Implements,' pl. II.2, III.3, IV.10; *Outils*, I, pp. 293–295; II, pp. 954–957. For representations of sickles see Der Nersessian, *Psalters grecs*, fig. 271; Omont, *Ms Grec 74*, pl. 33 (f. 70: the parable of the sower [Mark 4:3–8]). For more examples see Paribeni, 'Raffigurazioni di strumenti,' figs. 15–16, 25; Λιβέρη, 'Βυζαντινά γεωργικά εργαλεία,' pp. 279–280.

¹⁸ Bryer, 'Byz. Agricultural Implements,' pp. 79–80. Illustrations of post-mediaeval examples can be found in *Outils*, II, pp. 150–155 (Bulgaria), 716 (Romania), 971–972 (Greece).

¹⁹ Bryer, 'Byz. Agricultural Implements,' pp. 78–79.

²⁰ For examples see Λιβέρη, 'Βυζαντινά γεωργικά εργαλεία,' p. 280.

²¹ Bryer, 'Byz. Agricultural Implements,' pp. 70, 78.

²² See, also, 'Ωρες Βυζαντίου. Έργα και Ημέρες στο Βυζάντιο. Αθήνα-Θεσσαλονίκη-Μυστράς, επιμ. Α. Κυπριού. (Athens, 2001), fig. 85; Changova, 'Orüdiia na truda,' fig. 9.1–2, pl. IV; *Outils*, I, pp. 272–273; II, pp. 897–901.

²³ Xylourgou, p. 74 (fifteen *dikellia* and six *kladeuteria*); MM IV, p. 202 (will of monk Gerontios, 1192: two *kladeuteria*); *Vatopédi*, I, pp. 158 (will of monk Maximos, 1247/1258: four *kladeuteria*), 357 (will of Sarantenos, 1325: thirty-six *dikellia*).

²⁴ For a not very successful representation of a pruning knife see Bryer, 'Byz. Agricultural Implements,' p. 50.

²⁵ Xylourgou, p. 74 (one axe); MM IV, pp. 57 (one pick-axe), 202 (two pick-axes), 267 (the same); *Vatopédi*, I, p. 158 (four pick-axes).

²⁶ See, also, Davidson, *Minor Objects*, no. 1445; Changova, 'Orüdiia na truda,'

represented in art. In Middle and Late Byzantine artistic contexts it can be seen in the hands of children climbing up trees in the Entry of Christ into Jerusalem,²⁷ at the root of a tree in the Preaching of St. John the Baptist (Matth. 3:10),²⁸ and in the hands of St. Nicholas felling the cypress of Plakoma.²⁹ The axe is occasionally attributed to travellers and runaways.³⁰ For people on the road an axe would have been extremely useful for self-defence and for the provision of firewood. For lighting a fire metal flint-strikers (*pyrekbola*) were used. Two types of such devices are attested in the archaeological record. One had a distinctive B-shaped appearance and the other was a simple ellipsoidal ring (Pl. 213).³¹ A flint-striker of the second type is shown suspended from the belt of the old shepherd in the Nativity at Kurbinovo, along with a sheathed knife, and a comb (Pl. 214). This representation is, as far as I know, unique.

Handicraft Implements

Of the handicrafts practised in Byzantium only metal-working, carpentry, and spinning and weaving were actually reflected in religious artistic contexts. Beginning with metal-working, the metal to be processed was heated at a hearth, the fire of which was kept burning by means of bellows handled manually.³² The metal was manipulated with pincers, like those discovered in archaeological contexts in Greece and elsewhere in the Balkans (Pl. 215).³³ While still hot

the metal was beaten into shape on an anvil with a hammer or mallet.³⁴ Representations of hammers or mallets and pincers often occur in the iconographic contexts of the Ascent to and the Descent from the Cross (Pl. 209).³⁵

As attested both in the written and the archaeological record, tools for carpentry included axes, hand- and frame-saws, adzes, a variety of chisels, as well as augers or gimlets.³⁶ Representations of tools employed in carpentry are almost non-existent in Byzantine religious monumental painting. A rare example is the depiction of a frame-saw at the Peribleptos, Mistra, which is introduced into the Descent from the Cross.³⁷ One needs to turn to monuments decorated with mosaics and paintings in the Byzantine manner which are situated beyond the political frontiers of the empire to find detailed representations of such tools.³⁸

Spinning is an activity traditionally associated with and carried out by women within the confines of their houses. For spinning the distaff and the spindle were used. The distaff was a stick at the top of which the wool or flax to be spun was mounted, while the spindle was employed for twisting and winding the thread. Artistic representations of female characters spinning suggest that in the Middle Ages there existed three types of distaff. The first type was held in one hand while the woman spun the spindle with the other (Pl. 194). This is the type of distaff commonly attributed to the Virgin in the

figs. 8, 19, pls. IV, VI; Janković, 'Implements,' pl. II.5; Ia. Nikolova, 'Domashnii bit i vūorūzhenieto v dvoretisa na Tsarevets spored arkeologicheskaa material,' *Tsarigrad Tŭmos* 2 (Sofia, 1974), fig. 6.

²⁷ See, for example, Jerphanion, *Églises rupestres*, pl. 104.4 (Göreme, Karanlık kilise); Grozdanov and Hadernann-Misguich, *Kurbinovo*, pl. 43.

²⁸ See, for example, Wharton-Epstein, *Tokali Kilise*, figs. 24–25 (Old Tokali kilise); *Il Menologio*, p. 300; Pelekanides *et al.*, *Treasures*, I, fig. 254 (*Dionysiou* 587m, f. 138r); Μοναχού Καλλίνικου, *Η τεχνική της αγιογραφίας*, fig. 10 (Mount Athos, Protaton).

²⁹ For examples see Sevcenko, *The Life of Saint Nicholas*, pp. 91–94, pls. 3.6, 28.6.

³⁰ Restle, *Byz. Wall-painting*, pl. 49 (Göreme, chapel 4a, Journey to Bethlehem: James); Thierry, *Nouvelles églises*, pl. 69a (Hasan Dağ, Pürenli seki kilisesi, Flight into Egypt: James); Wharton-Epstein, *Tokali Kilise*, pl. 1, fig. 22 (Old Tokali kilise: the same); Der Nersessian, *Psautiers grecs*, fig. 62 (*Theodore Psalter*, f. 36v: the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus).

³¹ See, also, Janković, 'Implements,' pl. VI.3–5 (Serbia); Nikolova, 'Domashnii bit,' fig. 60; *Outils*, I, p. 183, II, p. 655 (Romania).

³² Such bellows can be seen handled by Eve on a tenth- or eleventh-century ivory panel on which Adam and Eve are represented working at the forge, see *Glorie of Byzantium*, no. 158C.

³³ See, also, Changova, 'Orūdiia na truda,' figs. 12.4, 13, pls. I (upper half), II.

³⁴ S. Vidliakov, 'Kovashki instrumenti i sūorūzheniia prez srednovekovieto v Būlgaria,' *Arheologia* 1981/3, pp. 54–63.

³⁵ See, also, Sinković, *The Church of St. Panteleimon at Nerezi*, fig. XLV; 'Ορλάνδος, *Η ἀρχιτεκτονική και αἱ βυζαντινὰ τοιχογραφία τῆς Μονῆς Πάτμου*, pl. 92 (Pampos, Monastery of St. John, refectory); Πελεκανίδης, *Καλλιέργης*, pl. 27 (Verroia, church of the Anastasis).

³⁶ For references to carpentry tools see MM IV, p. 202 (will of monk Gerontios, 1192); *Actes de Xéropotamou*, p. 80 (will of Theodosios Skaranos, 1270–1274). See, also, Bryer, 'Byz. Agricultural implements,' p. 79; For mediaeval carpentry tools found in Bulgaria see Changova, 'Orūdiia na truda,' figs. 18, 20, 21, 23, 24. For illustrations of such tools in Byzantine miniature painting see Stornajolo, *Miniature delle omilie di Giacomo Monaco*, pls. 43, 70; 'Α. 'Ορλάνδος, 'Παραστάσεις ἐργαλείων τινῶν ξυλουργοῦ, μαρμαρογλύπτου καὶ κτίστου ἐπὶ παλαιохριστιανικῶν καὶ βυζαντινῶν μνημείων,' in *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Θ' Διεθνoῦς Βυζαντινολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου* (Athens, 1955), I, p. 333, pls. 57a, 58a–b.

³⁷ Millet, *Monuments byz. de Mistra*, pl. 122.3 (shown in a basket, along with other tools).

³⁸ These, as well as representations of building tools, have been discussed by Orlandos in his 'Παραστάσεις ἐργαλείων τινῶν ξυλουργοῦ, μαρμαρογλύπτου καὶ κτίστου,' pp. 333–334, 338, pls. 57b, 62, 63a–b.

Annunciation (Pl. 216).³⁹ The second type had a longer stem and was supported at the waist of the woman spinning.⁴⁰ The third type was the distaff with a stand (Pl. 204). Distaffs of all three types were still in use in Bulgaria down to modern times.⁴¹ Spindles, pieces of wood with tapering ends, were provided at their bottom end with a metal hook and a spindle-whorl, commonly made of clay. Bronze spindle hooks have been recovered from Byzantine contexts at Corinth.⁴² Biconical clay spindle-whorls have been unearthed from mediaeval archaeological contexts in Bulgaria (ninth-fourteenth centuries) and Serbia (fourteenth-fifteenth centuries).⁴³

Surviving fragments of Byzantine silks with intricate repeated patterns suggest that there existed in Byzantium large, complicated looms, operated by two persons, suitable for the creation of such textiles.⁴⁴ One assumes that for weaving within the confines of the household comparatively simpler constructions would have been used, which would have been operated by one person only. None is extant. In Byzantine manuscripts only one type of loom is represented and this is a simple vertical loom (Pl. 194), which according to Muthesius, would not have been suitable for the manufacture of cloth with complicated patterns.⁴⁵ Representations of even this simple type of loom in Byzantine monumental painting are non-existent.

Surgical Instruments

That a variety of surgical instruments was available to Byzantine doctors is attested by two surviving lists of such objects dating to the Middle Byzantine period, by the relevant prescriptions in the rules of the hospital of the Pantokrator Monastery in Constantinople (1136), and by references found in other texts, like medical handbooks and

³⁹ See, also, Pelekanides and Chatzidakis, *Kastoria*, figs. 8 on p. 55 (St. Nicholas Kasnitzes), 5 on p. 70 (Panagia Mavriotissa).

⁴⁰ This type of distaff is very rarely represented. In fact the only representation I know is encountered in a Serbian monument, the church of the Virgin Hodegetria at the Patriarchate of Peć (c. 1330). It is held by a young woman in the Birth of the Virgin (Pl. 217).

⁴¹ *Outils*, I, pp. 174–177; II, pp. 633–642.

⁴² Davidson, *Minor Objects*, nos. 1223–1228.

⁴³ *Outils*, I, pp. 129, 285–286; II, pp. 439–440, 928.

⁴⁴ The type of loom required for the manufacture of these silks has been described by Muthesius in her 'A Practical Approach to the History of Byz. Silk Weaving,' pp. 238–239; *idem*, *Byz. Silk Weaving*, pp. 19–26.

⁴⁵ See previous note.

historiographical and hagiographic works.⁴⁶ A group of implements which have been tentatively identified as surgical instruments on the basis of their shapes and their precise execution, have been unearthed from the mediaeval Byzantine layers at Corinth dating from the ninth to twelfth centuries (Pl. 218). They are made of bronze and have elaborately turned handles. They comprise bifurcated probes and a simple probe, a spatula, a knife with a short triangular blade, and a group of implements of unknown use.⁴⁷ The knife/lancet with the short triangular blade is the implement most commonly attributed to doctor saints in Byzantine iconography. In detailed representations it is shown with a bead-and-reel handle, reminiscent of the decoration of the handles of the implements found at Corinth and elsewhere.⁴⁸ Surgical instruments would have been protected by being kept in specially-made cases. This is suggested by representations of such cases in the hands of doctor saints. The case in the left hand of St. Panteleimon at Kurbinovo (Pl. 219)⁴⁹ appears to be made of wood and is rectangular in shape. It is divided vertically in two equal compartments, each containing a lancet held in place by means of what appears to be a metal tongue attached to the central vertical axis of the case. In other examples the cases have a more conventional box-like appearance.⁵⁰

Writing Implements

Extant examples of mediaeval writing implements comprise a group of metal and bone instruments tentatively identified as styli

⁴⁶ These have been collected and studied by Bliquez in his 'Two Lists of Greek Surgical Instruments'. He has also collected all available information on extant examples of surgical instruments from the mediaeval Byzantine period. The summary account presented here is based on his work.

⁴⁷ Davidson, *Minor Objects*, nos. 1377–1391; Bliquez, 'Two Lists of Greek Surgical Instruments,' pp. 187–188. For other finds of surgical implements that could be Byzantine see *ibid.*, pp. 188–189. Cf. group of Early Byzantine surgical instruments in Dauterman Maguire, Maguire, Duncan-Flowers, *Art and Holy Powers*, nos. 120–125.

⁴⁸ See, for example, Restle, *Byz. Wall-painting*, pl. 41 (Göreme, Sakli kilise: St. Panteleimon); Thierry, *Nouvelles églises*, pl. 85a (Hasan Dağı, Direkli kilise: St. Panteleimon); Diez and Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece*, fig. 52 (Hosios Loukas, *katholikon*: St. Kosmas).

⁴⁹ A similar case, though rendered with less detail, can be seen in the hands of St. Kosmas at Hosios Loukas, see previous note.

⁵⁰ See, selectively, Mouriki, *The Mosaics of Nea Moni*, pl. 71 (St. Panteleimon); Παλεκανίδης, *Καλλιέργεια*, pl. 82 (Verroia, church of the Anastasis: Sts. Kosmas and Damianos).

recovered from the Byzantine layers at Corinth (Pl. 220).⁵¹ To these one may add the silver-gilt inkwell (h.: 0.068 m; d.: 0.065 m) adorned with mythological figures, including a Medusa-head on its lid, now in the treasury of the cathedral at Padua (Pl. 221). It is dated to the ninth-tenth centuries by the letter-forms of its two inscriptions, which identify a certain calligrapher Leo as its owner.⁵² More information may be derived from a series of sixth-century epigrams in Book VI of the *Palatine Anthology* describing writing instruments⁵³ and, indirectly, from studying the finished products themselves, that is the surviving written monuments in papyrus, parchment, and paper. Representations of writing implements in numerous portrayals of the evangelists and other authors in monumental and miniature painting help us visualize the equipment employed by mediaeval scribes.⁵⁴ However, these portraits were never meant as realistic reflections of mediaeval scribes at work in a scriptorium. The source of the portrait-types of the evangelists and of other authors has been traced back to antique prototypes, namely statues of philosophers, rhetors, and poets.⁵⁵ That the evangelists are often portrayed writing on an open codex—which was never the case in actual practice since the bifolios of a codex were bound only when the copying had been completed—also alerts us to the non-realistic character of their portrayals. Writing implements were introduced in their portraits as attributes identifying them as authors, in a similar manner that a lancet was employed to identify a saint as a doctor or a sword to identify a martyr as a soldier.

The type of instruments employed for writing depended on the material on which the words were written. For writing on a wax

tablet the stylus, a small stick with one end pointed for incising the characters on the wax surface and the other end blunt for erasing them by smoothing them out, was used (Pl. 220). Styli were made of metals, such as iron and bronze, or ivory, bone, or wood.⁵⁶ The use of wax tablets, especially for sending short messages, is attested in Byzantium as late as the tenth century,⁵⁷ and the finds of what appear to be styli in the mediaeval contexts at Corinth seem to corroborate the written evidence in this respect. The only secure representations of wax tablets I know date to the Early Byzantine period and are encountered on the ivory diptych of Probianus, *vicarius* of the city of Rome (c. 400),⁵⁸ and in the second of the Trial miniatures in the *Rossano Gospels* (Pl. 89).

Writing on parchment or paper with ink involved a greater variety of implements, for cutting the sheets to the required size, for setting up the layout of the pages, and for the actual process of writing. A knife would have been the preferred implement for cutting parchment. Sharp scissors could also have been used. Representations of scissors among writing implements while rare in the Middle Byzantine period (Pl. 222), become relatively more common in Late Byzantine art (Pl. 223).⁵⁹ Mr. N. Wilson of Lincoln College, Oxford, has informed me that scissors would have cut paper better than parchment. Perhaps the inclusion of scissors among the writing implements of the evangelists in late Middle Byzantine and Palaiologan art reflected the increasing use of paper, which was much cheaper than parchment, in the manufacture of codices in Byzantium, observed from the eleventh century onwards.⁶⁰

⁵¹ *To Βυζάντιο ως Οικουμένη*, nos. 102–113.

⁵² H. Maguire, 'Epigrams, Art and the "Macedonian Renaissance"', *DOP* 48 (1994), pp. 112–114; G. Grassi, 'Il calamaio argenteo nel tesoro del duomo di Padova' in *Arte profana e arte sacra*, pp. 653–671, with earlier bibliography.

⁵³ P. Waltz, *Anthologie Grecque, première partie: Anthologie Palatine, Tome III* (Paris, 1931), nos. 63–68; H. Hunger, *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz* (Munich, 1989), pp. 85–86.

⁵⁴ For a survey of representations of writing implements in mediaeval Serbian painting see I. Đorđević, 'Predstave pribora za pisanje i opremu knjige u srpskom srednjovekovnom slikarstvu', in *Zbornik Vladimira Mošina*, ed. D. Bogdanović (Belgrade, 1977), pp. 87–112. I thank Dr. B. Cvetković for this reference.

⁵⁵ A.M. Friend, Jr., 'The Portraits of the Evangelists in Greek and Latin Manuscripts', *Art Studies* 5 (1927), pp. 142–143; H. Hunger, 'Evangelistenbilder in den Handschriften', *RBK* II (1971), cols. 457, 458, 459.

⁵⁶ E. Mioni, *Introduzione alla Paleografia Greca* (Padua, 1973), p. 28; Dauterman Maguire, Maguire, Duncan-Flowers, *Art and Holy Powers*, no. 124; Rutschowskaya, *Catalogue des bois de l'Égypte copte*, nos. 216–246.

⁵⁷ Mioni, *Introduzione alla Paleografia Greca*, p. 15.

⁵⁸ Delbrueck, *Consulardiptychen*, no. 65.

⁵⁹ See, also, Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage in Thirteenth-century Constantinople*, pl. 78b (*Sinait. gr.* 2123, f. 34v, 1242). For examples of scissors from two Slavonic manuscripts of the late fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries see *Outils*, II, p. 909 (nos. 1.c, 1.f).

⁶⁰ For general information on the use of paper in Byzantium see Mioni, *Introduzione alla paleografia greca*, pp. 23–28; J. Irgoin, 'Les conditions matérielles de la production du livre à Byzance de 1071 à 1261', *XV CIEB* (Athens, 1976), II, pp. 5–12; N. Oikonomides, 'Caratteri esterni degli atti', in *La civiltà bizantina, oggetti e messaggio. Fonti diplomatiche e società delle province*, ed. A. Guillou (Rome, 1991), pp. 26–28.

Before the scribe actually began to write he had to set the margins of the page and have it ruled with guidelines.⁶¹ The instruments employed for measuring and setting the margins were the dividers (Pls. 178, 223).⁶² A pricking instrument was used to mark the four corners of the border defining the actual writing surface of a page, as well as other intermediary points, within this writing surface, according to the requirements of the chosen page-format.⁶³ In the case of parchment, the guidelines were usually incised by means of a ruler and a pointed instrument, a knife, or, perhaps, a stylus.⁶⁴ Alternatively, the guiding lines could have been drawn with a ruler and the 'disk of lead' mentioned in the epigrams of the *Palatine Anthology*.⁶⁵ I have not come across a representation of a ruler in portrayals of the evangelists or other authors in Byzantine art. On the other hand, knives are commonly represented since they could have been put to a variety of uses, from trimming and ruling the pages to sharpening the reed pens and erasing mistakes. As to the 'disk of lead', Hunger believes that this should be identified with the peculiar instrument terminating in a disk, seen on the writing desk of the evangelist Mark in *Koutloumoustiou* 61, f. 112v (thirteenth century) (Pl. 224).⁶⁶

The implement used for writing with ink was the *kalamos*, a pen of reed which had one end pointed with a small incision in its middle.⁶⁷ *Kalamoi* made of other materials are occasionally mentioned in the sources but they are exceptional.⁶⁸ The point of the reed pen had always to be kept sharp. For sharpening blunt points the scribe

used a pumice stone or a knife.⁶⁹ The evangelist Mark in *Pantokrator* 47, f. 114v (1301) is portrayed in the process of sharpening his pen with a knife.⁷⁰ For erasing mistakes a knife or, possibly, some other kind of bladed scraping instrument was used. A knife with a blade curved at the top, often included among the implements on the writing desks of the evangelists, was possibly intended for this purpose.⁷¹ Sponges were also used by the scribes for erasing,⁷² but they are rarely depicted in art. One such representation can be seen in *Coislin* 21, f. 276v, dating from the eleventh century.⁷³

According to the evidence of artistic representations, the ink was stored in glass flasks from which the scribe poured the quantity he needed into the inkwell. Inkwells could have been made of glass, metal, glass cased in metal, or possibly clay.⁷⁴ A great variety of inkwells is represented in art. The simplest form is the cylindrical inkwell. Sometimes cylindrical inkwells are shown as having two compartments, one for black and one for red ink.⁷⁵ Another type of inkwell was orthogonal with one rectangular compartment and one or two circular ones (Pl. 224).⁷⁶ The circular compartments contained ink. In some representations the rectangular compartment appears also to contain ink, but in others it is clearly used for keeping the *kalamoi* (Pl. 223).⁷⁷ Another variant of the combined inkwell and pen-case was a portable one (*kalamarion*). The pen-case was a rectangular box with the lid at the narrow top side. The *kalamoi* were kept in it standing, point upwards. A cylindrical inkwell was attached at the side of the case with straps going round the body of both containers. Though portable types appear in artistic representations

⁶¹ Mioni, *Introduzione alla paleografia greca*, p. 36; Hunger, *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz*, pp. 86-87.

⁶² For more examples see, selectively, Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage in Thirteenth-century Constantinople*, pl. 66a (*Sauroniketa* 43, f. 10v, tenth century); Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs*, pls. LXXXIII (*Coislin* 21, ff. 22v, 116v, 175v, 276v, eleventh century), LXXXIV (*Par. gr.* 64, ff. 63v, 101v, 157v, twelfth century).

⁶³ For probable representations of this instrument see Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs*, pl. LXXXVIII (*Par. gr.* 189, ff. 1, 93v, twelfth century). See, also, Pl. 223.

⁶⁴ Rutschowskaya, *Catalogue des bois de l'Égypte copte*, p. 67.

⁶⁵ Mioni, *Introduzione alla Paleografia Greca*, p. 29; Hunger, *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz*, p. 86.

⁶⁶ Hunger, 'Evangelistenbilder in den Handschriften,' col. 478.

⁶⁷ Hunger, *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz*, p. 86; Rutschowskaya, *Catalogue des bois de l'Égypte copte*, nos. 207-215.

⁶⁸ P. Olorico, 'Il calamo d'argento. Un carne inedito in onore di Romano II,' *JOB* 37 (1987), esp. pp. 72, 88-89.

⁶⁹ See above, note 67.

⁷⁰ Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage in Thirteenth-century Constantinople*, pl. 80c.

⁷¹ For examples see above, notes 62, 63.

⁷² Cf. Mioni, *Introduzione alla Paleografia Greca*, p. 37.

⁷³ See above, note 62.

⁷⁴ Mioni, *Introduzione alla Paleografia Greca*, p. 29.

⁷⁵ See, selectively, Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage in Thirteenth-century Constantinople*, pls. 66c, 66f (*Coislin* 195, ff. 171v, 240v, tenth century); Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs*, pls. LXXXI (*Coislin* 195, f. 9v, tenth century), LXXXII (*Coislin* 224, f. 333v, eleventh century).

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pls. LXXX (*Coislin* 20, f. 151v, tenth century), LXXXII (*Coislin* 224, f. 27v), LXXXIII (*Coislin* 21, f. 276v), LXXXIV (*Par. gr.* 64, ff. 63v, 101v, twelfth century); *Il Menologio*, p. 213.

⁷⁷ See, also, *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 58B (Cleveland Museum of Art, eleventh-century lectionary leaf with the portrait of St. Luke). At the Protaton, the inkwell-with-pen-case is provided with a lid, not shown in earlier representations (Pl. 223).

as early as the eleventh century (Pl. 65),⁷⁸ and were probably in use since a much earlier period,⁷⁹ they became common only in Late Byzantine artistic contexts (Pls. 93, 225).⁸⁰ The *kalamaria* represented at the church of the Anastasis in Verroia (Christ before the High Priests and Pilate) and at St. Nicholas Orphanos, Thessalonike (Christ before the High Priests) have the same overall ornament of white small lozenges on a dark background, probably meant to indicate some form of inlay decoration (Pls. 188, 226).

The last stage in the preparation of a codex was the binding. At the Protaton on Mount Athos, St. Matthew is portrayed trimming the pages of a book-block with the wooden boards of the cover stitched on, which is held tightly in a screw press (Pl. 227). For the trimming he is using a broad-bladed implement with wooden handles on either end. Other implements employed in the bookbinding process, namely the hammer, the awl, and the scissors, are shown lying on the desk next to him.⁸¹

USE IN RELIGIOUS ICONOGRAPHY

In Narrative Scenes

Biblical, apocryphal, and hagiographic texts offer justification for some of the occurrences of tools in narrative contexts, though not all. The account of the Annunciation in the Protoevangelion of James, according to which the Virgin was in the process of spinning the purple silk for the temple when the archangel Gabriel visited her, would explain why quite often the Virgin appears holding a spindle and a distaff in the Annunciation.⁸² On the other hand there is no textual justification for the introduction of the figure of the atten-

dant spinning in the Birth of the Virgin in Late Byzantine pictorial contexts. The axe with which St. Nicholas is portrayed felling the cypress of Plakoma is specifically mentioned in written accounts of his miracles; the axe represented at the root of a tree in the scene St. John the Baptist preaching was inspired by the metaphorical image devised by the prophet in his sermon regarding the imminent punishment of those who do not bear 'good fruit' (Matth. 3:10). On the other hand, the presence of axes in the hands of travellers and runaways or in the hands of children in the Entry into Jerusalem, the presence of hammers, mallets, pincers, and, rarely, of a mattock or a frame-saw in scenes of the Passion cycle, and, finally, the presence of writing implements in trial scenes cannot be explained in terms of the textual accounts of the illustrated events. One needs to seek justification for it elsewhere.

It is more or less self-explanatory why axes were attributed to travellers and to the children cutting branches from the trees in the Entry into Jerusalem, and why hammers, pincers, and other tools were shown used in scenes of the Passion. The images of these implements may be understood as realistic details introduced in order to underline the factual dimension of the events represented. This seems to hold true especially in the case of the representation of the implements in the Passion scenes. The reality of Christ's Suffering and Death could not have been more vividly expressed but by showing Him being nailed on the Cross or His lifeless body being detached from it with a pair of pincers. In the famous scene of the Lamentation at Nerezi (1164), the mallet, the nails, and the pincers, all in a basket, are depicted in the foreground next to a crater, the wreath of thorns, the lance, and the sponge (Pl. 228). In this particular context the tools themselves have been raised to symbols of the Passion.⁸³

Turning now to writing implements, these had been introduced into the pictorial context of Christ before Pilate as early as the sixth century, in the often-cited Trial miniatures of the *Rossano Gospels* (Pl. 89). Loerke has pointed out that the presence of pens and ink in this context indicated that the legal procedure taking place was in agreement with Roman law, stipulating that all decisions of Roman

⁷⁸ See, also, Pelekanides *et al.*, *Treasures*, I, fig. 249 (*Dionysiou* 587m, f. 129r).

⁷⁹ Rutschowskaya, *Catalogue des bois de l'Égypte copte*, p. 65, no. 206.

⁸⁰ See, also, Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage in Thirteenth-century Constantinople*, pls. 38 (*Vat. gr.* 1208, f. 3v, thirteenth century), 67a (*Vat. gr.* 361, f. 14bv, fourteenth century); Μουζαίου Καλλίνικου, *Η τέχνη της αγιογραφίας*, fig. 50 (Mount Athos, Protaton: Prochoros).

⁸¹ See J. Irigoin, 'La reliure byzantine,' in E. Baras, J. Irigoin, J. Vezin, *La reliure médiévale. Trois conférences d'initiation* (Paris, 1978), esp. pp. 26-28; *Byzance*, pp. 467-471; Muthesius, *Byz. Silk Weaving*, fig. 13. See, also, G.K. Bosch, *Islamic Bookbindings. Twelfth to Seventeenth Centuries* (Chicago, 1952), pp. 72, 74-75, 93.

⁸² G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile aux XIV^e, XV^e et XVI^e siècles* (Paris, 1916), pp. 69, 70.

⁸³ Byzantine rhetorical works dedicated to Christ's Passion might have served as a source of inspiration for the representations of the implements discussed here. This remains a possibility to be explored.

judges should appear in written form in order to be valid.⁸⁴ Writing implements continue to appear in the Trial scene down to the Late Byzantine period. Furthermore, they were also introduced in representations of Christ before the High Priests. It is noteworthy that in some Late Byzantine representations the traditional inkwell and the *kalamos* were replaced by the more fashionable *kalamarion* (Pls. 188, 226).⁸⁵ In my opinion, the presence of writing implements in these iconographic contexts even at this late date was more than a repetition of a traditional iconographic theme. The old stipulation of the Roman law that a court decision is not valid unless presented in written form was still in force during the Late Byzantine period.⁸⁶ The Byzantine beholder, familiar with the workings of contemporary Byzantine courts, would have had no difficulty in understanding the symbolism of these implements in this particular iconographic context as signs that a trial is taking place.

As to the female attendant portrayed spinning next to the cradle of the child in Late Byzantine representations of the Birth of the Virgin (Pls. 204, 217), I think that her presence should be associated with the predilection of the art of that period for secondary genre themes. The introduction of such narrative details in traditional iconographic schemes served no other iconographic necessity, than that of establishing a link between the represented event and daily life with the purpose of underlining the actuality of that event and its pertinence to the experience of the beholder. Whether the theme of the spinning woman was inspired from antique images of

⁸⁴ Loeke, 'The Miniatures of the Trial', p. 179. The importance of this stipulation in judicial procedures in the Early Byzantine period is manifested in the fact that the *theca kalamaria* (a combination of a case for the *kalamoi* and an inkwell) was included among the insignia of the praetorian prefect and other officials with judicial powers, see P.C. Berger, *The Insignia of the Notitia Dignitatum* (New York and London, 1981), pp. 32-33. It is interesting to note that a *kalamarion* is mentioned as one of the insignia of the prefect (eparch) of Constantinople in the tenth-century *De ceremoniis*, see *De cer.*, p. 268. As noted earlier, the prefect had juridical powers second only to those of the emperor. It is unclear from the text whether the tenth-century *kalamarion* was similar to its Early Byzantine antecedent, which appears to have been a free-standing case, or to the later *kalamaria*, which were portable pen-cases with inkwells.

⁸⁵ See, also, Dumbarton Oaks Photographic Archive, Ohrid, St. Clement, no. G18 (Ohrid, Peribleptos: Christ before the High Priests); Millet, *Atlios*, pls. 21.1, 22.3 (Mount Athos, Protaton: Christ before the High Priests and Christ before Pilate).

⁸⁶ Κωνσταντίνου Ἀρμενόπουλου, *Πρόχειρον Νόμων ἢ Εξάβιβλος*, ed. Κ.Γ. Πισσάκης (Athens, 1971), p. 43.

Cloth—one of the three Fates of ancient Greek mythology—spinning or whether it constituted a direct borrowing from contemporary daily life remains obscure.⁸⁷

Strictly speaking, the Last Judgment is not a narrative scene. Still I consider it worthwhile to include here a brief reference to the practice of depicting implements as attributes of individual figures in representations of the damned. Objects shown hanging from the necks of sinners indicated both the nature of their sin and the instrument of its punishment. Mouriki has demonstrated that the inspiration of representations of the damned tormented by means of the instrument of their sin must be sought in popular beliefs concerning the nature of the punishment which awaits transgressors in Hell.⁸⁸ The earliest example I know of the representation of figures of condemned men tormented in this way is encountered at Panagia Mavriotissa, Kastoria, where one sees a usurer with a purse around his neck and, more relevant to our own investigation, the falsifier of weights with a balance scale around his (Pl. 229).⁸⁹ More examples are found in monuments located outside the Byzantine empire. One may mention the church of St. George at Kalyvia in Attica, that of Bogorodica Ljeviška near Prizren, and Gračanica and Dečani in Serbia.⁹⁰ Apart from the falsifier of weights, another popular figure that appears in these monuments is the man punished for ploughing another man's field, portrayed with a plough suspended from his neck, hands, or feet.⁹¹

Finally, I would like to refer to the portrayal of the old shepherd in the Nativity at Kurbinovo (Pl. 214). His sheepskin garments and his shepherd's staff are not exceptional as they recur constantly in representations of this particular figure in both miniature and monumental painting. What is exceptional is his belt from which are suspended a sheathed knife, a comb, and a flint-striker of the ellipsoidal kind.⁹² The second staff which he holds, with a globular appendage

⁸⁷ Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge*, I, pp. 105-106.

⁸⁸ Mouriki, 'An Unusual Representation of the Last Judgment', pp. 157, 158-164.

⁸⁹ Balance scales were employed both in commercial and in monetary transactions, including the collection of taxes, see Vikan and Nesbitt, *Security in Byzantium*, pp. 29-30 and fig. 70 (*Par. gr.* 543, f. 102v, fourteenth century: balance held by one of the assistants of Julian the tax-collector).

⁹⁰ For references see above, note 88. See, also, Λιβέρη, 'Βυζαντινά γεωργικά εργαλεία', p. 275, note 4.

⁹¹ See, for example, Mouriki, 'An Unusual Representation of the Last Judgment', pl. 89; *Outils*, II, p. 930.a (Bogorodica Ljeviška), 930.b (Dečani).

⁹² The old shepherd also wears a belt with implements suspended from it on the

at its top, is also unusual. I was not able to identify its function. A small bucket is suspended from this second staff. Looking at this portrayal one derives the impression that the painter drew his inspiration directly from contemporary reality. His delight in depicting scenes inspired by the bucolic way of life is also manifested in the fact that at the feet of the old shepherd the artist represented a minuscule circular sheepfold guarded by a sheep-dog seated on a rock. The representation of the sheepfold is unique.⁹³

In the Portrayal of Saints

Representations of implements were introduced in the portrayal of saintly figures as attributes distinctive either of certain categories of saints or, more rarely, of individuals. In their majority the implements represented are indicative of the profession practised by the saints during their lives. Occasionally, one also comes across representations of tools which allude to a specific and well-known episode of a particular saint's life.

There are two categories of saints for whose characterization Byzantine artists employed representations of implements consistently: saintly authors and saintly doctors. Among the saintly authors are included the four evangelists, as well as hymnographers,⁹⁴ and the Church Fathers (Pl. 202).⁹⁵ The portrayal of ecclesiastical poets and some of the Church Fathers in writing postures imitated the well-established iconographic scheme of the evangelist-portrait, itself, as we have seen, based on earlier author-portraits. This scheme comprised the seated figure of the evangelist next to a writing desk, on which there was an assortment of writing implements. An inkwell and a *kalamos* would have been adequate to convey the impression

twelfth-century Sinai icon with the extended Nativity cycle, see *Sinai*, fig. 18. The items represented on the icon are, as far as I can make out, a knife and a pouch.

⁹³ Grozdanov and Hadernann-Misguich, *Kurbino*, p. 64.

⁹⁴ See, for example, Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, pls. 427, 429, 431, 433 (funerary chapel, pendentives of the dome: Sts. John of Damascus, Kosmas the poet, Joseph the poet, and Theophanes).

⁹⁵ Church Fathers, especially St. John Chrysostom, appear in writing postures in their portrayal as 'Sources of Wisdom'. They are portrayed seated at a desk from which a river flows. Groups of laymen and clergymen are shown drinking from the waters of this 'river of wisdom'. On the origins of this allegorical composition, probably created in the eleventh century, see 'Α. Ευγόπουλος, "Άγιος Ιωάννης ο Χρυσόστομος "Πηγή της Σοφίας", AE 1942-44, pp. 1-36; Μουρίκη, "Οι τοιχογραφίες του παρεκκλησιού της Μονής του Θεολόγου," pp. 234-235.

that the portrayed figure was involved in writing. Yet, the painters rarely limited themselves to the representation of these two items alone. In some portrayals, especially in miniature painting, the artists gave a veritable inventory of implements employed in the preparation of the sheets and in the actual writing, as seen, for example, in the eleventh-century *Coislin* 21, f. 276v, and the twelfth-century *Par. gr.* 189, ff. 1, 93v, and *Par. gr.* 64, ff. 63v, 101v, 157v.⁹⁶ Miniaturists must have been well-acquainted with implements employed in a scriptorium. In fact, some of them might have worked as scribes themselves. What is surprising is that evangelists and other saintly authors were often represented writing on the pages of a bound codex which was never the case in real life. Such representations cannot be attributed to ignorance on the part of the painters since they, especially miniaturists, were very well acquainted with actual practices. I am of the opinion that they chose to represent these figures in this non-realistic manner as a means of identifying them, not as writers at work, but as the authors of the books they held in their hands. Perhaps the intention behind the unique portrayal of St. Matthew at the Protaton was to establish the authorship and the authenticity of the gospel-book beyond doubt by showing the evangelist involved in all stages of the production of the volume, from the writing to the binding.⁹⁷ Alternatively, the portrayal of St. Matthew in this occupation may in some way reflect a peculiar interest of the unknown donor in the manufacture of codices or might be an allusion to the activity of bookbinding workshops on Mount Athos.⁹⁸

The second category of saintly figures characterized by the implements of their profession was that of the doctor saints. The most popular among them were St. Panteleimon, the three different pairs of saints called Kosmas and Damianos, and Sts. Kyros and John. Already in the eleventh century these saints were portrayed holding

⁹⁶ See above, notes 62, 63.

⁹⁷ Cf. K. Corrigan, *Visual Polemics in the Ninth-century Byzantine Psalters* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 116-118, on the preoccupation with the authenticity of biblical and patristic texts quoted in the *florilegia* employed by the opposing parties during iconoclasm and on the impression prevalent at the time that bound codices were less susceptible to falsification than loose scrolls. Note that the portraits of the remaining three evangelists at the Protaton follow traditional iconographic models (Pl. 223).

⁹⁸ On bookbinding workshops on Mount Athos and northern Greece in the Late Byzantine period see J. Irigoin, 'Un groupe de reliures byzantines au monogramme des Paléologues,' *Revue française d'histoire du livre* 36 (1982), p. 274.

a lancet in one hand and a case for their implements in the other. Occasionally they were shown holding a casket with little bottles containing medicines. One could say that the attribution of the paraphernalia of the medical profession to them did not simply characterize them as saints who had been doctors, but also suggested their efficacy to perform miraculous cures posthumously, when entreated by those in need of their assistance.

The use of representations of implements for the characterization of individual, as opposed to a category of, saints in Byzantine art is exceptional. One may mention by way of example the rare iconography of St. Marina with a hammer in one hand, ready to strike a demon whom she holds by the hair with the other. This peculiar image was inspired by an incident described in the *vita* of the saint. It is encountered in a limited number of Middle Byzantine monuments, for instance at St. Merkourios in Corfu, at Sts. Anargyroi, Kastoria, and at Kurbinovo. It became relatively more popular in the Late and Post-Byzantine periods. This image does not form part of a narrative cycle dedicated to the life of the saint. It is included among other standing figures of individual saints on the lower decorative zone of the walls of churches and is often found near a door or passage. The apotropaic content of this iconographic type certainly influenced the choice of position accorded to it: St. Marina, as a victor over the power of evil, was ideal for the role of guardian which was allocated to her.⁹⁹

In contrast to the other categories of artefacts investigated, the study of representations of implements in Byzantine religious iconography—with the exception of writing implements—has proved the least informative from an archaeological point of view. The iconographic contexts suitable for the depiction of implements were limited. Besides, there was neither room nor need for elaboration in their representation. Furthermore, one cannot distinguish between representations directly inspired from contemporary reality and those which reproduced earlier artistic models. Exceptions are rare. Yet, even if the painters were copying earlier models, the implements represented remained, in a way, 'contemporary': the slow development of technology in the Balkans and Asia Minor, prior to the advent of the

machine, ensured in a way the survival of certain basic types of implements—including those reflected in pictorial contexts—from one period to the next.

It is in the semiotic analysis of representations of implements in religious iconography that their main interest lies. The depiction of such utilitarian objects as agricultural and handicraft tools in narrative compositions helped endow the images with a matter-of-fact dimension and an immediateness, which could have been charming or touching according to context. Furthermore, representations of articles like writing implements in trial scenes, tools in portrayals of the damned, and implements serving as attributes of certain categories or individual saints bear witness to the popular beliefs and the mundane concerns of Byzantine society which conditioned these images.

⁹⁹ Hadermann-Misguich, *Kurbinovo*, pp. 235–239.

CHAPTER SIX

COMMENTARY

The previous chapters concentrated on investigating the occurrence of imperial, official, aristocratic, and military dress, as well as furniture, furnishings, and tools especially in the mural decoration of ecclesiastical buildings located in present-day Turkey, Greece, Cyprus, Yugoslav Macedonia, Serbia, and Bulgaria, and dating mainly to the eleventh through to the fifteenth centuries. They demonstrated that secular contemporary artefacts were reflected in religious iconography to a degree greater than usually assumed, and highlighted the usefulness of employing artistic representations as an aid in the study of mediaeval Byzantine material culture. An important part of these same chapters was dedicated to the examination of the semiotic function of representations of contemporary secular artefacts as a component of the pictorial language of Byzantine religious art.

The findings of the preceding discussion suggest that 'realism' in the representation of artefacts in religious iconography was a complex phenomenon, distinguished by diversity in its motivation, in its creative sources, and in the identity of its instigators. 'Realism' in the representation of artefacts is understood here as referring to the anachronistic occurrence of mediaeval Byzantine artefact-types in mediaeval Byzantine depictions of the Heavenly Kingdom and illustrations of events which took place in biblical times or during the first Christian centuries. An understanding of the generative processes of this 'realism' is a prerequisite of evaluating critically the artistic evidence and using it successfully in the study of various facets of Byzantine material culture. Moreover, achieving this understanding can provide useful insights into the formative processes of mediaeval Byzantine religious art in general. In what follows I propose to take a closer look at the artistic, cultural, and historical circumstances which led to the occurrence of representations of contemporary artefacts in religious art of the eleventh through to the fifteenth centuries.

The Byzantines themselves have left us poorly informed concerning the 'mechanics' involved in the commission and execution of artistic works. Consequently, the analysis of the generative process

of 'realism' in the representation of artefacts presented here is based on the evidence provided by the monuments themselves and takes into consideration the following factors: the category to which the artefacts represented belong; the attention to detail with which they are depicted; the frequency of their occurrence; the iconographic contexts in which they appear; their semiotic function therein, and the circumstances, if known, of the creation of the works of art into which they were introduced.

The first part of the present chapter is dedicated to a discussion of the motivation and the sources of inspiration of 'realism' in the representation of artefacts in religious iconography. These issues have already been partly discussed previously. In this section my earlier findings are brought together. For the sake of comprehensiveness, the discussion here, as in the rest of this chapter, also takes into consideration representations of commoners' dress and domestic utensils. After summarizing the principal motives behind the introduction of contemporary artefacts into religious contexts, the discussion concentrates on the creative sources of this 'realism'. The importance of imperial ceremonial and administration as a source of inspiration for the majority of contemporary artefact-types in religious contexts is highlighted. It is further suggested that it was through the medium of contemporary secular, especially official, art that a number of such types infiltrated into religious contexts. However, because of the scarcity of surviving works of Byzantine secular, especially narrative, art it is not possible to determine the extent to which such borrowings took place. It becomes evident from the discussion of the sources that a direct and purposive recourse to contemporary reality and daily life beyond the imperial court for inspiration was a comparatively rare occurrence. This was due, firstly, to the traditionally indifferent attitude of religious art towards the faithful depiction of the sensible world¹ and, secondly, to the working methods of Byzantine artists who were given to the imitation of established artistic models, secular or religious, and to the use of standard pictorial formulae. The last section of the discussion of motives and

¹ The faithful representation of material reality had to be avoided since it would have resulted in images too specific in terms of time and space and would have compromised the aspiration of religious art to express eternal truths, see O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration* (London, 1948), pp. 6-7; Maguire, *Icons of Their Bodies*, p. 47.

sources is dedicated to the question of foreign influences on 'realism' in the representation of artefacts in Byzantine art, given the occurrence of a number of non-Byzantine artefact-types in Byzantine pictorial contexts. I argue that the influence of the artistic traditions of the Islamic East and the Catholic West on the Byzantine development was limited.

In the earlier chapters, representations of dress and paraphernalia were discussed diachronically as encountered in monuments created in all parts of the Byzantine empire. This approach, however, is not favourable to the detection of chronological and regional variation in the manifestation of 'realistic' tendencies in the representation of material culture. The purpose of the second part of the present chapter is to make up for this deficiency by investigating whether 'realism' in the representation of artefacts was a phenomenon which may be defined chronologically and geographically. In other words it seeks to anchor 'realism' in its historical context. The evidence for regional diversification is less forthcoming than the evidence for chronological variation. This is partly due to accidents of survival of the monuments in the different regions of the empire and partly, to the varying degrees of accessibility through publication and detailed photographic documentation of what has survived to researchers, given that *in situ* examination is not always possible. However, the most serious impediment to the study of regional patterns in the manifestation of 'realism' is the small number and the fragmentary state of the pictorial ensembles that have survived in Constantinople, the most important artistic centre in the mediaeval empire. Thus, the researcher is reduced to speculation as far as the dynamics of the relationship between the centre and the periphery are concerned.

After examining the general artistic, historical, and cultural contexts of 'realism' in the representation of artefacts in the first two parts of this chapter, its final part investigates the more personal generative processes related to the creators and recipients of Byzantine religious art. The Byzantine perception that a religious image should constitute an objective reflection of its sacred archetype in Heaven, that is Christ, the Virgin, and the saints, promoted the standardization of artistic expression and the repetition of conventional types established by common consent and consecrated by long usage.² The

² On Byzantine icon theory see, selectively, Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire*, pp. 149–177; K. Parry, *Depicting the Word. Byzantine Iconophile Thought of the Eighth and*

necessity to conform to dogma and tradition limited the field in which the personality of artists and patrons could assert itself. It seems that individual patrons and artists had little say in the introduction of contemporary artefacts which were employed as standard devices of characterization in religious art. It is mainly in the case of unique representations of dress and paraphernalia that they must have been more influential. However, it is not always possible to determine where the will of the patron ends and that of the artist begins, since the circumstances of the commission and execution of works of art are often unknown. The last section of this final part of the present chapter is concerned with the public of Byzantine religious art, also encompassing artists and patrons, as a factor influencing the occurrence of *realia* in religious contexts, and it speculates on the manner in which representations of contemporary artefacts were perceived by the Byzantine beholder.

A. MOTIVES AND SOURCES OF 'REALISM' IN THE DEPICTION OF ARTEFACTS IN BYZANTINE RELIGIOUS ART

Motivation

The motives which led to the substitution of modern artefact-types for conventional ones were diverse. A genuine interest in the observation and depiction of the sensible world independent of the dictates of iconography appears to have been the least influential in the process. For the most part 'realism' was motivated by iconographic necessity, especially the need for characterization. This was true, for example, in the case of the portrayal of rulers and saintly emperors and empresses in imperial dress and of male martyrs, the dignitaries of the Heavenly Court, in the *chlamys-costume*. It was also true of representations of Orientals, who were portrayed with earrings and distinctive head-dresses, like turbans or hats with a fur brim (Pls. 164, 230).³ On occasion, a deliberate borrowing from contemporary practices could have also taken place with the purpose of enriching a

Ninth Centuries (Leiden, New York, Cologne, 1996); *Iconoclasm*, eds. A. Bryer and J. Herrin (Birmingham, 1977); A. Grabar, *L'iconoclasm byzantin: Le dossier archéologique* (Paris, 1984); L. Brubaker, 'Byzantine Art in the Ninth Century: Theory, Practice and Culture,' *BAGS* 13 (1989), pp. 23–82; G. Dagron, 'Holy Images and Likeness,' *DOP* 45 (1991), pp. 23–33.

³ The practice of men in the Middle East to wear earrings is attested in Persian

composition's symbolic potential. This, for example, could be the reason for the attribution of the eparchic costume to Pontius Pilate in certain Middle Byzantine contexts: rather than identify him simply as an official, it highlighted his role as a judge.

The occurrence of certain other artefacts in religious pictorial contexts appears to have been a 'by-product' of a recourse to the imperial ambience in search of means suitable both for the expression of the concepts of sovereignty, authority, and rank, and for endowing the compositions with a stateliness which was considered appropriate to the compositions' sacred content. To this category belong, as we have seen, the court dress worn by attendants of a ruler, thrones and footstools, and, possibly, dark-coloured curtains. Here one may also add the vessels in the hands of visiting women in scenes illustrating the birth of the Virgin or of another saint (Pls. 203, 204, 233, 244). These were probably introduced under the influence of the ceremonies associated with the celebration of the birth of a child to the emperor.⁴ The garments with exceedingly long sleeves worn by dancing figures in various iconographic contexts, including the Mocking of Christ, constitute yet another example of this process.⁵ The portrayal of male and female dancing figures in garments with such sleeves appears to have been an innovation of the eleventh century. Once introduced, these garments remained distinctive of dancing figures in religious artistic contexts down to the Late Byzantine period. As Steppan notes, it is more than likely that the portrayal of the dancers in religious contexts, their costume included, was ultimately inspired by life in the Byzantine court.⁶

and Arab miniature painting, see B. Gray, *Persian Painting* (Geneva, 1961), pp. 28, 42; Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, p. 178. Cf. Goitein, *Medit. Society*, IV, pp. 214-215, note 469 on p. 426. As to the hat with the fur brim, it occurs in Islamic miniature painting, see, for example, with J.M. Rogers, *The Topkapı Sarayı Museum. The Albums and Illustrated Manuscripts* (London, 1986), figs. 38, 49. For more examples of representations of Orientals with earrings and/or distinctive head-gear in Byzantine artistic contexts see *Il Menologio*, pp. 251, 252, 272; Millet, *Le monastère de Daphni*, pl. VIII.3; Nikolaidēs, 'L'église de la Panagia Arakiotissa,' pp. 49-50, 75, figs. 48, 63; Μοναχού Καλλίνικου, *Η τεχνική της αγιογραφίας*, fig. 86; Mavropoulou-Tsioumi, *The Church of St. Nicholas Orphanos*, pp. 35-36.

⁴ See Babić, 'Sur l'iconographie de la composition "Nativité de la Vierge",' pp. 174-175; Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'enfance*, I, p. 97.

⁵ The representations of dancing figures in Byzantine art have been studied by T. Steppan, 'Tanzdarstellungen der mittel- und späthbyzantinischen Kunst. Ursache, Entwicklung und Aussage eines Bildmotivs,' *CA* 45 (1997), pp. 141-168.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 151, figs. 14, 15, 16. As to the Mocking of Christ, Grabar has suggested that its iconography, including the dancing figures, may have been inspired

The introduction of certain other semantically significant *realia* into religious pictorial contexts appears to have been a consequence of the influence which certain topical concerns had on the Byzantines' visualization of sacred history. The consistency in the introduction of writing implements into trial scenes, for example, can be taken as indicative of the preoccupation of Byzantine society with the competency of courts and the issue of legally binding decisions. To mention a second example, the portrayals of the condemned in Hell in distinctive dress and with the instruments of their sins tied around their neck constituted an expression of popular beliefs as to the nature of the punishment which awaits sinners after the Last Judgment. At the same time these representations provide a graphic inventory of the evils of mediaeval society in general and of agricultural communities in particular. Speaking of the influence of topical concerns, much rarer was the introduction of *realia* into specific iconographic contexts for the purposes of propaganda against the religious or political enemies of the empire. One possible example has been identified by Wharton-Epstein at Panagia Mavriotissa, Kastoria. One of the damned shown burning in the flames of Hell in the Last Judgment composition wears a black skull-cap. According to Wharton-Epstein, the cap was meant to identify this figure as a Jew. She considers this portrayal as a manifestation of the anti-Semitic fervour which, according to her interpretation, permeates the late twelfth-century iconographic programme of that monument.⁷

As may be seen from the discussion of the semiotic function of *realia* in previous chapters, one also encounters representations in religious contexts which did not serve any obvious iconographic necessity. The occurrence of some of these may be understood as a concession to fashion. Possibly the artists reproduced 'modern' types either because the objects were simply familiar or because the artists wished to introduce some variety into their work. One has in mind, for example, the depiction of male tunics with a slit at the front of

by imperial triumphs incorporating ritual acclamations, see his *L'empereur dans l'art*, p. 66, note 2.

⁷ A. Wharton-Epstein, 'Frescoes of the Mavriotissa Monastery near Kastoria: Evidence of Millenarianism and Anti-semitism in the Wake of the First Crusade,' *Gesta* XXI/1 (1982), esp. pp. 26-28. Note, however, that in certain other identifiable instances of anti-Semitic propaganda in Byzantine art the artists employed caricature rather than contemporary ethnic costume for purposes of characterisation, see Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, esp. figs. 41, 42, 56.

the skirt in Middle Byzantine contexts and female gowns with trumpet-shaped sleeves. To these one may add the female mantles that covered the head, sometimes forming a knot at the top, and then flowed straight down the shoulders without being draped around the torso, which are encountered in Late Byzantine contexts.⁸ These fashionable items appear to have been introduced into religious contexts roughly at the same time as their adoption in real life.⁹ It has been suggested that such modern elements served to underline 'the contemporary relevance' of a religious image.¹⁰ It is possible that a discerning beholder might have appreciated them in this manner. However, one cannot claim that the artists by reproducing fashionable artefacts were aiming at provoking this response in the public.¹¹ In addition to these actual fashionable artefacts, one also encounters items that became *fashionable to represent* only at a later stage in their development, regardless of their having been in use in Byzantine lands since a much earlier date. This, for example, was the case of the depiction of mail armour in the twelfth century and of bows and quivers in Late Byzantine pictorial contexts. As suggested earlier, such representations should be understood as a response to current historical conditions and the changing artistic tastes and cultural interests of Byzantine society.

Up to this point we have looked at the motivation behind representations of *realia* that came to be part of the current vocabulary of Byzantine religious iconography. Turning now to unique representations of contemporary artefacts encountered in religious contexts, some examples may be specifically associated with the personality and interests of individual patrons. The half-breastplate of St. George at St. Euthymios, Thessalonike, as we have seen, is one such example. To this one could add the representations of Arab and Bulgar costume in the *Menologium* of Basil II. In the miniature commemorating St. Symeon the Stylite the elder (c. 389–459), the saint is

⁸ See, for example, Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, pl. 257 (Samaritan woman); Mavropoulou-Tsiouri, *The Church of St. Nicholas Orphanos*, pl. IV (the same); Χατζηδόκιμος, *Μυσταγές*, figs. 33 (Aphendikio: the same), 43 (Peribleptos, Birth of the Virgin: visiting women).

⁹ This is suggested by the fact that they are encountered in portraiture roughly at the same time as their earliest appearance in religious iconographic contexts, see above, Chapter 2.

¹⁰ L. Brubaker, 'Originality in Byzantine Illumination,' in *Originality*, p. 156.

¹¹ Cf. M. Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention. On the Historical Explanation of Pictures* (New Haven and London, 1985), pp. 131–132.

shown on his column, receiving four lay visitors dressed in richly patterned ungirt tunics and turbans and, consequently, identified as Arabs; a monk stands on the other side of the column.¹² The composition is taken to allude to the saint's veneration by the non-Christian, as well as by the Christian populations of the East.¹³ It is rather surprising that the artist chose this particular theme for representation. The figures of the Arabs do not occur in later eleventh-century manuscripts illustrating scenes from the life of St. Symeon.¹⁴ Perhaps the choice of theme in the miniature of the *Menologium* of Basil II should be associated with the efforts of that emperor to maintain Byzantine influence in Syria, threatened at the time by the aggression of the Fatimid caliph of Egypt Hakim.¹⁵ In the same manuscript there is a miniature illustrating the martyrdom of a group of Christians in the hands of the Bulgars during the reign of Leo V (813–820).¹⁶ One of the Bulgar executioners wears what could be identified as ethnic costume, comprising a hat with a fur brim and a knee-length, long-sleeved caftan with galloons at the front and a fur collar and fur lining or hem. A knife and a pouch are suspended from the executioner's belt. The exceptional character of this portrayal becomes evident when compared to other martyrdom scenes in the same manuscript: other non-Byzantine executioners are invariably represented in conventional short tunics.¹⁷ To my mind, the association of the portrayal of the Bulgar executioner with the personality and policies of Basil II cannot be doubted.¹⁸

Only on rare occasions does the representation of certain items in religious contexts appear to have been the result of a direct imitation of daily life motivated by an interest in the depiction of material reality for its own sake. The attribution of a single earring to young men and boys and the representation of the dress, head-dress, and professional paraphernalia of commoners in certain twelfth-century contexts appear to have been motivated by such an interest

¹² *Il Menologio*, no. 2.

¹³ See *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 55 (pp. 100–101).

¹⁴ See, for example, Pelekanides *et al.*, *Treasures*, I, fig. 237 (*Dionysiou* 587m, f. 116r); II, figs. 327–328 (*Panteleimon* 14, ff. 2r–2v).

¹⁵ See W. Felix, *Byzanz und die islamische Welt im früheren 11. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 1962).

¹⁶ *Il Menologio*, no. 345.

¹⁷ See, for example, *ibid.*, no. 209 (Martyrdom of St. James the Persian).

¹⁸ On Byzantine-Bulgar relations during his reign see Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, pp. 307–310.

(Pls. 35, 214, 231, 232).¹⁹ An interest in the representation of contemporary reality seems also to lie behind the portrayal of the bride and the representation of the feast table in the Wedding at Cana at St. Nicholas Orphanos.²⁰ In addition to these, one may also mention the vessels in the hands of the visiting women in the Birth of the Virgin at Nerezi (Pl. 233), which are reminiscent of contemporary sgraffito-ware ceramic vessels, both in their colour scheme (brown on buff) and in their decoration (bands of intricate scrolls) (Pl. 234). What is more, the cylindrical shape of the bottle at Nerezi finds parallels in contemporary glass bottle-shapes (Pl. 235).²¹ Finally, an interest in the representation of contemporary reality and its trappings may be detected behind the depiction of domestic utensils in the Hospitality of Abraham at the Blacherna in Arta (end of thirteenth century),²² the portrayal of the young monk and the donkey carrying water-jars in a scene from the cycle of St. Gerasimos at St. Nicholas Orphanos (Pl. 236),²³ and the portrayal of the peddler carrying a two-handled jar on his back in the Birth of St. Nicholas in the homonymous church at Platasa (Pl. 237).²⁴

¹⁹ See, also, Megaw and Hawkins, 'The Church of the Holy Apostles at Perachorio,' pp. 316-317, figs. 32 (the hat with the tassel and the buckled belt with a pouch of the shepherds in the Nativity), 33 (the head-dress of the midwife in the same scene); Nikolaïdēs, 'L'église de la Panagia Arakiotissa,' p. 78, fig. 63 (the cap with the ear-flaps of the old shepherd in the Nativity); E. Τοιχαρίδης, *Οι τοιχογραφίες της μονής Λατάμου Θεσσαλονίκης και η βυζαντινή ζωγραφική του 12^{ου} αιώνα* (Thessalonike, 1986), pl. VI (head-dress of the midwife in the Nativity); Grozdanov and Hadernann-Misguich, *Kubina*, figs. 41, 55 (young male figures wearing a single earring); Pelekanides and Chatzidakis, *Kastoria*, fig. 11 on p. 33 (Sts. Anargyroi, Raising of Lazarus: the single earring of the worker unwinding the shroud), fig. 7 on p. 55 (St. Nicholas Kasmitzes, Nativity: the red waistcoat of young Salome).

²⁰ M. Parani, 'Byzantine Bridal Costume,' in *Δόρυμα. A Tribute to the A.G. Leventis Foundation on the Occasion of Its 20th Anniversary* (Nicosia, 2000), pp. 185, 204-205, 208, 210.

²¹ See, also, Davidson, *Minor Objects*, no. 750; A.H.S. Megaw, 'A Twelfth Century Scent Bottle from Cyprus,' *JGS* 1 (1959), fig. 1 (on p. 58); *idem*, 'More Gilt and Enamelled Glass from Cyprus,' *JGS* 10 (1968), figs. 4-10 (on pp. 90, 92, 93).

²² The decoration of these vessels echoes that of local slip-painted wares, see A. Βαβυλοπούλου-Χαριτωνίδου, 'Βυζαντινή κεραμική στην 'Αρτα', *ΔΧΑΕ* 12 (1984), pp. 464-465, fig. 1 (a-b).

²³ The young monk holds a smaller jug in his left hand for filling up, or distributing the contents of, the larger jars with the help of the metal funnel seen in the mouth of one of the jars. Note that there is no reference to this figure in the *vita* of St. Gerasimos. Cf. Μπακιρτζής, *Βυζ. τσουκαλολόγημα*, p. 99.

²⁴ The peddler holds a small jug in his right hand for distributing the contents of the larger vessel (some kind of refreshing drink, suitable for a woman who has just given birth?). This representation is, as far as I know, unique. The presence of

Sources of Inspiration

The present section focuses on the sources of inspiration for the contemporary artefact-types in Byzantine religious artistic contexts, namely, imperial ceremonial and administrative practice, Byzantine secular art, and daily life beyond the court. According to the findings presented in the previous chapters, the detachment of Byzantine religious art from its surrounding material reality did not apply to the representation of artefacts ultimately derived from the imperial milieu. This attitude towards the depiction of the trappings of imperial government and ceremonial appears to have been entirely unrelated to realistic tendencies in style intimating a more general interest in the observation of the sensible world. The introduction of splendid artefacts from an imperial context into religious images may have been considered as befitting the sacred character of the latter and may have been employed as an additional means of honouring the saintly archetypes of the images. The belief that not only the subject-matter but also the form of the religious image had to be appropriate to the divine or saintly nature of the archetype, and that the material out of which the image was made conferred additional honour to this archetype, was well-established in Byzantium.²⁵ Furthermore, the conviction that the imperial government and its ceremonial were a reflection of the order of the universe²⁶ resulted in the endowing of Christ and His Mother with imperial attributes, like purple-coloured garments and the red shoes for the Virgin, and the endowing of martyrs and angels with the *chlamys*-costume of Byzantine officials.²⁷

the peddler was not required by the established iconography of the Birth of St. Nicholas, see Mouriki, *The Frescoes of St. Nicholas at Platasa*, p. 45.

²⁵ Emperor Leo VI (886-912), in his sermon dedicated to the church of the monastery of Kauleas in Constantinople, specifically associated the use of gold in the church's mosaic decoration with the intention of the craftsman 'to endow the pictures with such beauty as appears in the apparel of the emperor's entourage. Furthermore, he (the craftsman) realized that the pallor of gold was an appropriate color to express the virtue of [Christ's] members'. Quoted from the translation in Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire*, p. 203. See, also, Farry, *Depicting the Word*, pp. 176-177; Grabar, *L'iconoclisme byzantin*, p. 256; Brubaker, 'Byzantine Art in the Ninth Century,' pp. 66-68.

²⁶ The classical statement of this belief in the mediaeval period is found in the tenth-century *De ceremoniis*, see *De cer.*, pp. 5.6-8, 638.3-5.

²⁷ Cf. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art*, pp. 200-202, 253; *idem*, *Les voies de la création*, pp. 41-42; *idem*, *L'iconoclisme byzantin*, pp. 232-233, 245-247, 249, 250; Cornack, *Writing in Gold*, p. 152; H. Belting, *Likeness and Presence. A History of the Image before the Era of Art* (Chicago, 1994), p. 170.

The conviction that imperial rites and protocol mirrored the universal order was enough in itself to detach the imperial court from the sphere of transitional everyday existence.²⁸ This remoteness was further enhanced by the semblance of immutable grandeur and uninterrupted continuity with the Roman past which the imperial court strove to maintain even when everything else around it was collapsing.²⁹ Imperial and official insignia in their splendour and conservatism were considered as impersonal and ageless as the establishment they epitomized.³⁰ Consequently, their use in religious pictorial contexts was not considered compromising to the transcendental character of Christian iconography.³¹

As far as one can judge from the representations themselves, the reflection of contemporary material culture in religious contexts was rarely the result of direct observation from nature. More often than not it resulted from the imitation of contemporary artistic models, Byzantine as well as non-Byzantine.³² I would argue that Byzantine secular, especially official, art served as a perennial source of contemporary artefact-types reproduced in Byzantine religious contexts throughout the period. In all probability, it was through the medium of official art that artefacts related to the imperial milieu found their way into religious contexts. This is indicated by the fact that only the items of imperial dress traditionally depicted in portraiture are encountered in religious iconography. Furthermore, the compositional structure and thematic treatment of scenes involving audiences, acclamations, and receptions encountered in religious contexts demonstrate a dependence on similar scenes in official works of art reflected

²⁸ For a glimpse as to how the common Byzantine perceived imperial ceremonial see the episode quoted in Cormack, 'The Emperor at St. Sophia,' pp. 248, 250.

²⁹ A. Grabar, 'Pseudo-Codinos et les cérémonies de la cour byzantine au XIV^e siècle,' in *Art et société*, pp. 193-221.

³⁰ This is illustrated by an eleventh-century Byzantine miniature representing the emperor enthroned flanked by four officials, which was dedicated in turn to two successive emperors (*Coislin* 79, f. 2r) (Pl. 11). The original inscription naming Michael VII Doukas as the portrayed emperor was replaced by another one giving the name of his successor, Nikephoros III. While the facial features of the emperor were slightly modified, the imperial insignia remained the same. The four officials flanking the emperor, dressed in their magnificent gala costumes, are identified by inscriptions giving their office and dignity but not their name, see Appendix 2, no. 21; Appendix 3, no. 17.

³¹ On the acceptability of images inspired by the ambience of the imperial court in religious iconography see, also, Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, p. 256.

³² The question of foreign artistic influences will be discussed separately in the following section.

in the *Madrid Skylitzes*, the illustrated *epithalamion Vat. gr.* 1851, and in *Par. gr.* 1242, f. 5v. Such loans must have been facilitated by the character of Byzantine official art, which was as formulaic as religious art. Official art had developed an imagery of power rich in symbolic implications but poor in historical specificity which could be easily taken over by and assimilated into religious iconography. The intelligent use of secular artistic types in religious contexts and the rapidity with which developments in the representation of the *loros-costume*, the crown, and the footstool were reflected in religious contexts—even though such an updating did not serve any iconographic necessity—attest to the familiarity of at least some artists with the vocabulary of contemporary secular art. Moreover, they carry the implication that the same artists could have been responsible for the execution of both secular and religious artistic works. By association, misunderstood renderings of imperial insignia in religious contexts encountered in certain monuments might be taken to imply lack of first-hand knowledge of contemporary secular pictorial models on the part of the artists responsible.

In theory, the practice of the artists to compensate for the lack of artistic models by the intelligent combination of traditional pictorial formulae³³ would have made redundant a recourse to daily life for inspiration. The occurrence in religious contexts of artefacts like fashionable aristocratic garments, elements of the commoners' dress, ethnic costume, certain types of furniture and furnishings, domestic utensils, and professional paraphernalia, demonstrates that this was not the case. A recourse to daily life, beyond the world of the imperial court, did take place during the period under consideration. However, it was largely dependent on the specific requirements of individual tasks at hand as determined by iconographic necessity or the personal interests of the donor. It was also influenced by general artistic trends current at the time of the creation of the works of art. The interest, for example, of Palaiologan painting in secondary narrative detail and genre themes was favourable to the representation of utensils for the preparation and serving of food and drink in dining and birth-of-a-saint scenes.

To conclude, the Byzantine belief that the structure of the earthly empire mirrored that of the Heavenly Kingdom must have justified,

³³ See Brubaker, 'Originality in Byzantine Illumination,' esp. p. 162.

if not prompted, borrowings from imperial imagery for the visualization of the Kingdom of God and for the translation of accounts of sacred events into images. Behind the recourse to imperial ceremonial and official art in search of a means to express the concepts of rank and authority one can detect the Byzantines' pervasive preoccupation with ceremony, precedence, and the lawful exercise of power. The artists' ease in 'tapping' imperial ceremonial and secular official art for inspiration and the consistency with which they did so throughout the period under consideration suggest that this recourse, far from being objectionable, constituted an accepted artistic practice in mediaeval Byzantium. In comparison, the recourse to daily life appears to have been erratic and infrequent.

The Question of Foreign Influences

The occurrence of a number of non-Byzantine artefacts in Byzantine religious contexts requires interpretation. Should their presence be understood as reflecting the impact of foreign cultures on Byzantine material culture or should it be attributed to the imitation by Byzantine artists of foreign artistic models? Did contact with the artistic traditions of the Islamic East and the Catholic West, neither of which was adverse to the representation of contemporary material culture, have a modifying influence on the traditional attitude of Byzantine religious art in this respect? At present our knowledge as to how well and by what means Byzantine artists became acquainted with foreign artistic traditions is minimal. The diplomatic and commercial ties between Byzantium and its neighbours, marital alliances, and the exchange of embassies and gifts must have provided opportunities for the Byzantines to come into contact with the artistic achievements of both East and West. However, as we shall see, the impact of these traditions on Byzantine religious art was very limited.

The contribution of the artistic traditions of the Christian peoples of the East, namely Georgians, Armenians, Syrians, and Copts, to the religious art of mediaeval Byzantium awaits systematic investigation.³⁴ The possible function of the traditions of these peoples as

³⁴ Successful attempts at tracing oriental, namely Caucasian, influences on Byzantine religious art have been undertaken in the field of ecclesiastic architecture. See, for example, C. Mango, 'Les monuments de l'architecture du XI^e siècle et leur signification historique et sociale,' *TM* 6 (1976), pp. 358-365.

vehicles through which Islamic influences could have penetrated Byzantine religious art still remains unexplored. Of the artistic traditions of the East the one that had the least impact on Byzantine religious iconography appears to be the art of the Islamic courts. Though the influence of this art is strongly felt in many other areas of Byzantine artistic production, it is hardly evident in religious painting, where it is limited for the most part to the rendering of certain decorative motifs.³⁵

One wonders whether the occurrence of artefacts of obviously oriental derivation, especially items of costume and military equipment, in Late Byzantine religious pictorial contexts might be associated with a predilection of Palaiologan society for Mongol and Turkish fashions. That oriental fashions were predominant in the Palaiologan Constantinopolitan court is suggested by the work of pseudo-Kodinos. He ascribes an oriental origin to a number of ceremonial garments which constituted recent additions to Byzantine court costume.³⁶ His testimony is corroborated by the visual evidence of surviving portraits of Late Byzantine officials (Pls. 67-69, 74, 76)³⁷ and by the representation of the costume and the hunting-gear of John VIII Palaiologos in the preparatory drawings and the medallion of that emperor by Pisanello (Pl. 8).³⁸ The occurrence of representations of oriental artefacts in Late Byzantine religious art certainly reflects the impact of oriental practices on Byzantine material culture.³⁹ However, I do not believe that it bespeaks a predilection for the representation of 'exotic' orientalizing details. A taste for oriental fashions

³⁵ On the subject of Islamic artistic influences in Byzantium see A. Grabar, 'Le succès des arts orientaux à la cour Byzantine sous les Macédoniens,' in his *L'art de la fin de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Âge*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1968), I, pp. 265-290. See, also, the relevant article by O. Grabar in the *ODB*, 2, pp. 1018-1019.

³⁶ Pseudo-Kod., pp. 206 (*skaranikon*, *kabbadion*, *epilourikon*), 218-219 (*granatze*). Note that he does not ascribe a western (Italian or Frankish) origin to any of the garments and head-dresses which he describes. Cf. Greg., pp. 43, 567-568.

³⁷ Garments and accessories of oriental derivation had been adopted and worn in court during the Middle Byzantine period as well. What constitutes a Palaiologan development is not the adoption of items of oriental costume *per se*, but their predominance at the expense of more traditional 'Roman' outfits, like the *chlamys-costume*.

³⁸ M. Vickers, 'Some Preparatory Drawings for Pisanello's Medallion of John VIII Palaiologus,' *ArtB* 60 (1978), esp. pp. 419-421.

³⁹ The accurate representations, down to fine structural details, of the bow and sabre of St. Merkourios at the Protaton (Pl. 124), of the sabre of the same saint at the Peribleptos in Ohrid (Pl. 135), and of the half-breastplate of St. George at St. Euthymios (Pl. 132) do not appear to be derivative in character and argue in favour of the artists having a first-hand knowledge of the actual artefacts.

in everyday life need not result in a concomitant taste for the depiction of oriental artefacts in religious painting as illustrated by the juxtaposition of the portrait of Theodore Metochites in his caftan and impressive head-dress (Pl. 69) and the rest of the pictorial decoration of the Chora Monastery: oriental artefacts, including items of military equipment the representation of which had become common at that time, are absent. Besides, the introduction of items of military equipment, like the sabre, the bow, and the quiver in Palaiologan contexts coincides with the introduction of items reflecting the impact of western military traditions, sometimes encountered side-by-side in a single portrait (Pl. 135). I am of the opinion that the occurrence of the bow and quiver in religious contexts should be associated not with a taste for 'exotic' details, but with the tendency of Late Byzantine art to expand the inventory of weapon-types attributed to military saints in art. The quiver and the bow were absent from earlier portrayals of military saints simply because such items were not customarily represented in this context, not because they were not in actual use.

It is only in the representation of Easterners at St. Nicholas Orphanos in Thessalonike (1310–1320) where one derives the impression that the artist responsible took pleasure in conjuring images of the East for their own sake.⁴⁰ The reference is to the portrayals of the young groom of the horses in the Adoration of the Magi (Pl. 205)⁴¹ and of the leading male figure of the welcoming group in the illustration of Strophe X (Return of the Magi to Babylon) of the *Akathistos Hymn* (Pl. 238).⁴² The figure of the groom was required neither by the written accounts of the episode of the Adoration nor by the established iconography of the scene. As to the costume of the figure in the Return of the Magi to Babylon, this serves to localize the action of the episode in the East.⁴³ This is at variance with

the traditional attitude of avoidance of this sort of spatial specificity which was characteristic of mediaeval Byzantine art.⁴⁴ To my mind both portrayals bespeak an unprecedented interest in the representation of exotic narrative details which is unparalleled in other monuments created in Byzantine lands at the time.

The introduction of the figure of the groom into the Adoration of the Magi at St. Nicholas Orphanos deserves closer examination. Representations of the horses of the Magi, though without the groom, can be found incorporated in the Nativity scene at Karanlık kilise and at Çanklı kilise both dating to the mid-eleventh century.⁴⁵ However, the addition at St. Nicholas Orphanos of the groom dressed in apparently contemporary oriental costume, which contrasts with the conventional 'Persian' costume of the Magi in the same scene, transforms the older theme of the horses into an illustration of courtly life. The theme of the groom and the horses is encountered in the contemporary courtly art of Persia.⁴⁶ Considering the diplomatic contacts between the Palaiologan empire and its Turkish and Mongol neighbours,⁴⁷ the introduction of the figure of the groom could have been inspired by direct knowledge of Islamic artistic models. I am of the opinion, however, that the oriental influence was felt only indirectly at St. Nicholas through the medium of western art. The theme of grooms and horses already incorporated in the Adoration of the Magi was common in the religious art of Italy and France at the time.⁴⁸ It is encountered, for example, in a panel by Duccio which forms part of his famous Siena *Maestà* (1308–1311).⁴⁹ Such western religious images provide a more plausible source than secular Islamic

⁴⁰ As a rule, the representation of contemporary ethnic costume in religious pictorial contexts was limited to cases where ethnicity was deemed significant in the definition of a portrait or of a situation and needed to be made manifest.

⁴¹ Restle, *Byz. Wall-painting*, figs. 201–202, 208. According to Millet, the theme of the horses in this context was of Eastern Christian derivation, see his *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile*, p. 151.

⁴² See, for example, A. Soudava, *Art of the Persian Courts. Selections from the Art and History Trust Collection* (New York, 1992), no. 11 (c. 1300); O. Grabar and S. Blair, *Epic Images and Contemporary History. The Illustrations of the Great Mongol Shahnama* (Chicago and London, 1980), nos. 18, 35 (1317–1354).

⁴³ A.A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, II (London, 1984), pp. 599–602; D. Morgan, 'The Mongols and the Eastern Mediterranean,' in *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, eds. B. Arbel, B. Hamilton, D. Jacoby (London, 1989), pp. 204–205.

⁴⁴ Millet and Velmans, *La peinture du Moyen Âge*, IV, p. XXII.

⁴⁵ G. Cattaneo, *L'opera completa di Duccio* (Milan, 1972), no. 71, pl. XXVIII. I thank Anna Christidou for bringing this representation to my attention.

⁴⁰ In the scenes from the life of St. Gerasimos even the colour-scheme of the landscape evokes the desert, see T. Velmans, 'Les fresques de Saint Nicholas Orphanos à Salonique et les rapports entre la peinture d'icônes et la décoration monumentale au XIV^e siècle,' *Cd* 16 (1966), p. 148.

⁴¹ He wears a turban and a short garment with an oblique opening at the front.

⁴² He is dressed in a red outer garment with an oblique opening at the front. The long sleeves of the garment are provided with openings at the shoulders for the arms to come through and hang empty at the sides.

⁴³ Similar use of contemporary ethnic costume to localize the action of episodes from the Infancy of Christ and the Acts of the apostles is encountered at Matešć in Serbia (1356–1360), see Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken in Jugoslawien*, p. 103.

models for the Thessalonikan image.⁵⁰ That the members of the workshop of St. Nicholas were aware of western artistic developments, at least as far as the representation of space is concerned, and were willing to experiment with them is attested in two scenes from the life of the homonymous saint in the narthex, namely St. Nicholas appearing to Constantine (Pl. 95) and St. Nicholas and the man with the three daughters.⁵¹ Velmans is willing to read western influences also behind the cross-legged posture of Pontius Pilate (Pl. 92), as well as the effective representation of Orientals in the same monument.⁵²

In general, however, the influence of western art on Byzantine religious iconography was limited and this not because of lack of awareness in Byzantium of recent accomplishments in the West but because of what appears to have been a conscious choice to ignore them.⁵³ This negative attitude was apparently restricted to religious painting. In other fields of artistic production, like sculptural architectural decoration, the Byzantines showed themselves relatively more

⁵⁰ The groom of the horses of the Magi was quite prominently portrayed in the Nativity scene in the *katholikon* of the Serbian monastery of Hilandar on Mount Athos (1320–1321). He can be seen seated in the foreground of the composition to the left, holding the reigns of the horses and the three swords of the Magi; on the ground to his left lie a bow in its bow-case and a quiver; see CD-ROM *In the Heart of Hilandar*, © 1998, 1999 William Taylor Hostetter, Jr. The donor of the painted decoration of the *katholikon* was king Milutin of Serbia. According to Tsigaridas, the athonite ensemble evidences close iconographic and stylistic affinities with Thessalonikan monuments, especially St. Nicholas Orphanos and St. Catherine; see Τσιγαρίδας, *Τοιχογραφίες της περιόδου των Παλαιολόγων*, esp. pp. 26–29. The theme of the groom with the horses is also encountered in the Adoration of the Magi, which forms part of the *Akathistos Hymn* cycle, at Mateić (1356–1360), see Millet and Velmans, *La peinture du Moyen Âge*, IV, p. XXII. Millet describes it as an 'Italian variation' of the antique theme of Karanlık kilise, see his, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile*, p. 157, fig. 106, but does not comment on a potential Islamic influence on the Italian development.

⁵¹ See Sevěnko, *The Life of Saint Nicholas*, pp. 88–90.

⁵² Velmans, 'Les fresques de Saint Nicholas Orphanos,' pp. 159, 171.

⁵³ Mouriki, 'Palaeologan Mistra and the West,' p. 239. Exceptions are rare. I should make clear that here I am referring to religious painting in areas that still remained under Byzantine control in the Palaiologan period. For the influence of crusader art on the introduction of equestrian portraits of military saints into the decoration of a group of late-thirteenth and fourteenth-century churches in the Byzantine Mani, see Gerstel, 'Art and Identity'. For an illustrated Book of Job executed at Mistra in 1362 (*Par. gr.* 135) the miniatures of which obviously reproduce Gothic models, see T. Velmans, 'Le Parisinus Grecus 135 et quelques autres peintures de style gothique dans les manuscrits grecs à l'époque des Paléologues,' *Qd* 17 (1967), pp. 209–235.

willing to adopt western forms.⁵⁴ Western influence in Byzantine religious iconography was limited for the most part to such secondary elements as decorative motifs—some of ultimate antique derivation—and the posture of certain figures incorporated in otherwise traditional Byzantine iconographic schemes.⁵⁵

In contrast to representations of articles of oriental lay dress, contemporary western costume was not employed, as far as I know, for the purpose of characterizing Westerners in religious iconography, though no doubt western fashions were well-known in Byzantine lands especially during the Late Byzantine period. The rare reflections of western fashions in Late Byzantine monuments concern only minor details of dress: the system of crossed strings which secures the otherwise conventional mantle of the Samaritan woman at the Peribleptos in Ohrid (Pl. 239),⁵⁶ perhaps, the pleated skirt of the drummer in the Mocking of Christ at St. Nicholas Orphanos (Pl. 130),⁵⁷ and the decoration of the mantle of the leading figure of the welcoming group in the Entry into Jerusalem at the Peribleptos (1350–1375) and, later, at the Pantanassa (c. 1430) (Pl. 240), both at Mistra.⁵⁸ It is indeed surprising that the infiltration of such western elements in Late Byzantine pictorial contexts did not take place to

⁵⁴ Mouriki, 'Palaeologan Mistra and the West,' pp. 210–213; Ch. Bouras, 'The Impact of Frankish Architecture on Thirteenth-Century Byzantine Architecture,' in *Cnsades*, pp. 247–262.

⁵⁵ Velmans, 'Les fresques de Saint Nicholas Orphanos,' pp. 159, 171; *eadem*, 'Infiltrations occidentales dans la peinture murale byzantine au XIV^e et au début du XV^e siècle,' in *Symp. Resava*, pp. 37–48; Mouriki, 'The Mask Motif in the Wall-paintings of Mistra,' *eadem*, 'Palaeologan Mistra and the West,' p. 213–245.

⁵⁶ On the western origin of this feature see A. Grabar, 'Un reflet du monde latin dans une peinture balkanique du 13^e siècle,' *Byzantion* 1 (1924), p. 231–236.

⁵⁷ His knee-length outer garment has a skirt which looks pleated. The garment is furnished with a pair of long sleeves which hang empty at the sides, the fore-arms having passed through slits provided for this purpose. We have already encountered the latter feature while discussing Palaiologan aristocratic male costume (see above). As to the pleated skirt, this was perhaps a feature of western derivation. Judging by artistic representations, male pleated garments were apparently quite popular in the West, though the western examples I have seen are admittedly later, see Levi-Pisetzky, *Storia del costume in Italia*, II, fig. 14; A. Cole, *Art of the Italian Renaissance Courts* (London, 1997), figs. 9, 88, 111; E. Welch, *Art and Society in Italy, 1350–1500* (Oxford, 1997), fig. 43.

⁵⁸ Χατζηδόνας, *Μυστράς*, fig. 51 (Peribleptos). The decoration of the mantle consists of red horizontal zigzag lines and, in all probability, reflected western fashions, see D. Mouriki, 'The Wall Paintings of the Pantanassa at Mistra: Models of a Painters' Workshop in the Fifteenth Century,' in *Twilight*, p. 227. It was perhaps reproduced in this context for its decorative effect.

a much greater degree, given the increasing physical presence of Franks and Italians in Byzantine lands from the beginning of the thirteenth century onwards and the impact of western fashions especially on Late Byzantine female dress (see above). The more widespread presence of articles of western dress in contemporaneous Serbian and Bulgarian monuments, some executed by Byzantine artists (Pl. 241),⁵⁹ seems to suggest that the absence of comparable articles from the Byzantine contexts was perhaps the result of a deliberate choice.

By contrast, representations of western military equipment were much more common in Late Byzantine pictorial contexts. It has been suggested earlier that the occurrence of certain types, like western-looking swords, probably reflected the actual use of such items in the Late Byzantine army. On the other hand, a different interpretation has been proposed as regards the concentration of representations of western items of military dress, like helmets and daggers, in the pictorial ensembles of Palaiologan Mistra, namely at the Metropolis (Pl. 242), the Aphenidiko, the Peribleptos, and the chapel of St. John.⁶⁰ This concentration is unparalleled in other areas under Byzantine control at the time. Mouriki has, therefore, suggested that the presence of such elements should be attributed to the imitation of western artistic models by the Byzantine artists working at Mistra.⁶¹ Historical conditions in Palaiologan Mistra, with its direct political and cultural links with the Franks settled in the Peloponnese since 1204 and the Italian merchants active in the region, provide the background of such artistic borrowings.⁶²

⁵⁹ See, for example, Grabar, 'Un reflet du monde latin,' pp. 236–241 (Boyana, Miracle of St. Nicholas at sea: one of the sailors wearing a white cap); Millet and Frolow, *La peinture du Moyen Âge en Yougoslavie*, III, pl. 88.2–3 (Staro Nagoričino, Mocking of Christ: one of the musicians, also wearing a white cap); Millet and Velmans, *La peinture du Moyen Âge*, IV, p. XXII, note 2, pl. 40.81 (Mateić, Trial of Sts. Peter and Paul in Rome: dress and head-gear of the audience and attendants).

⁶⁰ On painting at Mistra in general see Millet, *Monuments byz. de Mistra*; Χατζηδόνη, Μυστράς; S. Dufrenne, *Les programmes iconographiques des églises byzantines de Mistra* (Paris, 1970); D. Mouriki, 'Stylistic Trends in Monumental Painting of Greece at the Beginning of the Fourteenth Century,' in *Symp. Graecica* (hereafter Mouriki, 'Stylistic Trends—14th c.'), pp. 70–74, 83.

⁶¹ Mouriki, 'Stylistic Trends—14th c.', p. 227; *eadem*, 'Palaeologan Mistra and the West,' p. 239.

⁶² The question of western influences in the art of Mistra has been explored by Mouriki in her 'Palaeologan Mistra and the West.'

Allusion has already been made to potential western artistic influences traceable in the painted decoration of St. Nicholas Orphanos in Thessalonike, à propos the unusual theme of the groom in the Adoration of the Magi. With this in mind, it could also follow that the depiction of spears with the banderols in the hands of military saints, of mail coifs and *chausses*, and, perhaps, of the pleated garment of the musician in the Mocking of Christ in this Thessalonikan monument was also indebted to western artistic models. Yet, the painters responsible for the pictorial decoration of St. Nicholas apparently went beyond the superficial and eclectic imitation of western artistic forms. The portrayal of the bride and the feast table in the Wedding at Cana (Pl. 189) and that of the young monk with the donkey carrying the water-jars in the cycle of St. Gerasimos (Pl. 236) evoke contemporary Byzantine wedding feasts and aspects of the daily life of Orthodox monastic communities respectively. This suggests that the unknown painters had achieved a creative assimilation of Byzantine visual practices with the principles of western art, an art which strove towards naturalism and revelled in the representation of details inspired from courtly and urban daily life. In this the artists of St. Nicholas appear exceptional among their contemporaries. Even in the much later murals of the Pantanassa at Mistra (c. 1430), a monument which, more than any other in Byzantine lands, attests to the creative assimilation of western influences both in the composition of the scenes and in the taste for anecdotal detail, no comparable attitude towards the representation of contemporary reality is evident.⁶³

To conclude, Islamic figural art was predominantly secular in character, inspired from heroic feats in hunting and war and from the life of the court, with its formal audiences, feasting, and courtship. The possibility of its ever exerting any influence on Byzantine religious painting was excluded because of its premises, and the Muslim religion of its creators. The artefacts of oriental outlook encountered in Byzantine pictorial contexts either reflected the impact of Islamic material culture on Byzantine practices, which were intensified in the Late Byzantine period, or were selectively used as characterization devices in specific iconographic contexts. In contrast to Western

⁶³ Mouriki, 'The Wall Paintings of the Pantanassa at Mistra,' esp. pp. 222–223, 227–230.

Europe in the second half of the thirteenth century,⁶⁴ there is no evidence in the Palaiologan period for a taste for the depiction of what we would call 'exotic' oriental details. It is significant in this respect to point out that the only instance in Palaiologan monumental painting of an attempt to conjure up the world of the Islamic East, namely the portrayal of Orientals at St. Nicholas Orphanos, was in all probability influenced by the knowledge of western artistic models.

'Realism' in Palaiologan painting, however, remained largely unaffected by developments in the West. The aloofness of Byzantine religious painting vis-à-vis its western counterpart may be attributed partly to the different and more rigid premises on which the creation and veneration of religious images was based in Byzantium as compared to the West,⁶⁵ partly to the venerability of tradition and the concomitant apprehension of innovation, and partly to the suspicion in influential ecclesiastic and secular circles of the West and its accomplishments.⁶⁶ Behind all this, however, lies a more fundamental difference in mentality between the two cultures, a difference of which, at least, some Byzantines were very much aware. According to the archbishop of Thessalonike Symeon (†1429), the 'Latins' loved the created world almost as much as the 'foolish' ancient Greeks had done and believed that nothing is above the understanding of the human senses and reason. To this 'materialistic' world-view Byzantium opposed its own conviction in the power of faith and tradition.⁶⁷

B. CHRONOLOGICAL AND REGIONAL DIVERSITY

Having discussed the motivation and creative sources of 'realism' in the representation of artefacts in Byzantine religious art, in what

⁶⁴ See J. Raby, *Venice, Dürer, and the Oriental Mode* (London, 1982), esp. pp. 17–18.

⁶⁵ On the premises of religious art and the veneration of icons in the West see, selectively, Dagron, 'Holy Images and Likeness', p. 24; Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, pp. 297–298; G. Duby, *Foundations of a New Humanism (1280–1440)* (Geneva, 1966), pp. 104–119; M. Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy. A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* (Oxford, 1988), p. 41; and specialized essays collected in *Sacred Image*.

⁶⁶ On Byzantine attitudes towards the West, both positive and negative, see D.J. Geanakoplos, *Interaction of the 'Sibling' Byzantine and Western Cultures in the Middle Ages and Italian Renaissance (330–1600)* (New Haven and London, 1976).

⁶⁷ Δ. Πάλλας, 'Αἱ αἰσθητικαὶ ἰδέαι τῶν Βυζαντινῶν πρὸς τῆς ἀλώσεως (1453)', *ΕΕΒΕ* 34 (1965), p. 328.

follows I review the evidence with the purpose of establishing whether it may be defined in terms of chronological evolution and geographical diversification. I hope thereby to enhance our understanding of 'realism' by considering it in association with its cultural and historical context.

Considering the evidence in the following two sections I have observed the conventional division between the Middle Byzantine period, limited here to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and the Late Byzantine period, from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. In each of these two sections I discuss first briefly the types of contemporary artefacts which occur in artistic contexts during each period with the purpose of highlighting continuity with or departure from traditional practices. In part this is a summary of discussions presented in the first five chapters, but also takes into consideration realistic representations of commoners' costume and domestic utensils. In the second part of each section I review the evidence for regional diversity. Current scholarly opinion recognizes that artistic expression in the provinces demonstrated varying degrees of dependence on the art of Constantinople.⁶⁸ Yet regional artistic idioms remain ill-defined. This holds true for both the Middle and the Late Byzantine periods. The limited number of monuments from the Middle Byzantine period which have survived in Constantinople itself and the rarity of information concerning the background of the artists working in the provinces do not allow clear-cut distinctions between what constituted a transplantation of Constantinopolitan art in the provinces and what was regional adaptation or interpretation of Constantinopolitan trends. Often art-historians are forced to reconstruct such metropolitan trends mainly on the basis of the evidence provided by provincial monuments. Given these constraints, the observations presented here on the subject of regional diversification are

⁶⁸ See, selectively, C. Mango, 'Lo stile cosiddetto "monastico" della pittura bizantina,' *Habitat-Strutture-Territorio: Atti del terzo Convegno internazionale di studio sulla Civiltà medievale nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia*, ed. C.D. Fonseca (Galatina, 1978), pp. 45–63; Mouriki, 'Stylistic Trends—11th–12th c.'; O. Demus, 'Die Entstehung des Paläogenstils in der Malerei,' *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress* (Munich, 1958), pp. 1–63; *idem*, 'The Style of the Kariye Djami and Its Place in the Development of Palaeologan Art,' in *Studies*, pp. 107–159; M. Chatzidakis, 'Classicisme et tendances populaires au XIV^e siècle. Les recherches sur l'évolution du style,' *XIV CIEB* (Bucarest, 1974), I, pp. 153–188; Grape, 'Zum Stil der Mosaiken in der Kilise Camii'; Belting, Mango, Mouriki, *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos*, pp. 96–111; Mouriki, 'Stylistic Trends—14th c.'

for the most part tentative. Finally, in the third part of each section an attempt is made to interpret the findings of the inquiry into chronological and regional patterns in association with current historical and cultural conditions.

The Eleventh and the Twelfth Centuries

Types of Contemporary Artefacts Represented

In the case of imperial dress represented in religious contexts, the design and decoration of the *chlamys*- and the *loros*-costume and their accompanying insignia were updated to reflect the current styles attested in official portraiture. As to the depiction of official costume, one observes the modernization of traditionally represented outfits and the expansion of the inventory of garments and accessories represented. One may mention the introduction of official head-dresses into religious iconographic contexts. The *chlamys*-costume mirrored contemporary styles in decoration and design. Representations of other lay costume were as a rule conventional. Updating, when it did take place, usually affected female costume. One has in mind especially the gowns with trumpet-shaped sleeves and voluminous head-dresses, the latter only in miniature painting. One could also mention the dress, head-dress, and earrings of secondary female characters in certain provincial monuments which differ from one ensemble to the next and may be taken to mirror regional dress (Pl. 232).⁶⁹ The only noteworthy innovation in the representation of lay male costume was the attribution of single earrings to young male figures at Sts. Anargyroi, Kastoria, and at Kurbinovo, both monuments situated in Byzantine Macedonia (Pls. 35, 214, 231).⁷⁰ This detail may be a reflection of local male dress in that part of the empire. The use of distinctive costume for the characterization of members of professional groups was limited to dancers and shepherds. Reference has already been made to the introduction in the eleventh century of the garment with the exceedingly long sleeves into the portrayal of dancers. As to shepherds, such figures, especially of a mature age, were commonly represented in sheepskin garments (Pl. 214). Though

⁶⁹ For more examples, see above, note 19. To these one may also add the costume of young Salome in the Nativity scene at Kılıçlar kuşluk (first half or towards the mid-eleventh century), see Restle, *Byz. Wall-painting*, pl. 284 and the comments of Jerphanion, *Eglises rupestres*, I/1, p. 248.

⁷⁰ See above, note 19.

the use of such garments in art was conventional, comparable articles were in fact worn among rural populations in mediaeval Byzantium.⁷¹ During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, portrayals of shepherds were enlivened by the incorporation of interesting hats, capes, and belts from which implements were suspended.⁷²

As to the representation of ethnic costume, Jews—other than the saintly biblical figures—were attributed a head-kerchief wound around the head and neck as their only distinctive item of costume (Figs. 188, 240).⁷³ This element was introduced into Christian iconography during the sixth century and was probably initially inspired by contemporary Jewish religious practices at the time.⁷⁴ However, by the Middle Byzantine period the head-kerchief was no more than an artistic convention employed for the purpose of characterization; it did not reflect practices among mediaeval Jewish communities in Byzantium or elsewhere.⁷⁵ The only probable exception to the stereotypical portrayal of the Jew in Middle Byzantine religious art is that of the figure with the skull-cap at Panagia Mavriotissa, Kastoria, mentioned earlier.

Realistic representations of contemporary oriental costume are rare in Middle Byzantine artistic contexts. The portrayal of the Arabs in the *Menologium* of Basil II is one such instance that comes to mind. As a rule, Orientals commonly portrayed in religious art were represented in conventional costume. The Magi, the prophet Daniel, and the Three Hebrew Youths, for example, appear in traditional 'Persian' costume, comprising a short tunic worn over a pair of trousers or leggings, a mantle, and a peculiar small hat.⁷⁶ The only realistic touch in their outfit was the earring often worn by them.⁷⁷

⁷¹ Φ. Κουκουλές, *Θεσσαλονίκης Εὔσταθίου τὰ Λαογραφικά*, vol. 1 (Athens, 1950), p. 111.

⁷² See above, note 19. See, also, Chatzidakis, *Hasios Loukas*, figs. 13, 15.

⁷³ The list of examples is endless as this feature is encountered invariably in both Middle and Late Byzantine representations of the Entry into Jerusalem and of Christ before the High Priests, to mention simply the most common iconographic contexts in which the head-kerchief was introduced.

⁷⁴ Revel-Neher, *The Image of the Jew*, pp. 72–73.

⁷⁵ On mediaeval Jewish head-dresses see Goitein, *Medit. Society*, IV, pp. 158–160.

⁷⁶ This type of costume can be traced back to Late Antique prototypes (see, for example, Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making*, figs. 85, 127) and remained in use throughout the Byzantine period. See, also, Nikolaidès, 'L'église de la Panagia Arakiotissa,' pp. 49–50.

⁷⁷ See above, note 3.

The costume of what are considered to be, because of their swarthy skin, personifications of oriental nations in the Pentecost is equally conventional, comprising either a tunic or a tunic which left one shoulder bare.⁷⁸ Only rarely were such figures endowed with a turban, as in the case of one of the personifications in the eleventh-century *katholikon* of Hosios Loukas in Greece.⁷⁹

The one category of artefacts the representation of which was continuously being updated in Middle Byzantine art on the heels of developments in actual practices was that of military costume. A striking feature of body-armour in the eleventh century was the consistent representation of lamellar cuirasses, using the same formal device for their rendering, in all media and in monuments created in all parts of the empire (Pls. 114–122). In the twelfth century this uniformity apparently disappeared: representations of mail armour became more popular and, moreover, the formal devices employed for the rendering of both lamellar and scale armour differed from one monument to the next, even within the same geographic region (Pls. 123, 128, 129).

The categories of furniture and furnishings represented in Middle Byzantine painting were, more or less, those encountered in Early Byzantine artistic contexts. It is the decoration which mainly distinguishes Middle Byzantine representations of furniture and furnishings from Early Byzantine ones. Frames are often shown heavily encrusted with pearls and jewels, and textile furnishings, with the exception of curtains, were patterned with medallions of different sizes, overall diaper and scale designs, or individual motifs like spades and fleurs-de-lis.

The inventory of domestic utensils represented in mediaeval Byzantine artistic contexts appears extremely poor when compared with Early Byzantine representations.⁸⁰ In the eleventh century a great bowl placed in the centre of the table, sometimes accompanied by two goblets on either side, a small number of knives, and, occasionally, forks were considered adequate to invoke the impression that a meal was taking place. Trays, bottles, and pitchers were

⁷⁸ See, for example, Hadermann-Misguich, *Kurbinovo*, p. 179, fig. 88; Pelekanides *et al.*, *Treasures*, fig. 301 (*Panteleimon* 6, f. 39v).

⁷⁹ Chatzidakis, *Hosios Loukas*, fig. 11.

⁸⁰ Cf. K.M.D. Dunbabin, 'Wine and Water at the Roman *Convivium*,' *JRA* 6 (1993), pp. 129–140.

absent (Pls. 183, 187).⁸¹ By the end of the eleventh century, however, the repertoire of domestic utensils began to expand with the representation of ceramic and glass bottles, glass beakers and goblets, bowls with lids, and, in one instance, of a portable brazier with a cooking tripod (Pls. 203, 233).⁸²

Diversification and elaboration in the representation of tools was not necessary from the point of view of iconography. Some Middle Byzantine artists, however, took the trouble to elaborate. One has in mind especially the master of Kurbinovo (1191) and his rendering of the belt with a knife, a comb, and a flint-striker attributed to the old shepherd in the Nativity (Pl. 214), and the case with surgical instruments of St. Panteleimon (Pl. 219).

To summarize, the inventory of contemporary artefact-types reflected in eleventh- and twelfth-century religious artistic contexts is varied. The anachronistic use of familiar costume and paraphernalia for the purposes of personal characterization and of expressing abstract concepts is not surprising given the importance placed by Byzantine religious art upon clarity of pictorial content. In its depiction of artefacts associated with imperial administration and ceremonial, the religious art of the eleventh and twelfth centuries was following a long-established tradition which went back to the Late Antique period. The occurrence of fashionable artefact-types was also to be expected.⁸³ All of these phenomena may be observed throughout the history of Byzantine art. On the other hand, the great attention paid to decorative detail in the rendering of commonly represented artefacts, where a generalized depiction would have been adequate

⁸¹ See, also, Chatzidakis, *Hosios Loukas*, fig. 79 (crypt: Last Supper); Pelekanides *et al.*, *Treasures*, I, fig. 224 (*Dionysios* 587m, f. 53r: Last Supper).

⁸² For representations of glass vessels see, for example, Velmans, *Laur.* VI, 23, figs. 174, 240 (ff. 91r, 141r). The shapes of goblets, beakers, and bottles represented in this manuscript find parallels in Middle Byzantine glass production, cf. Davidson, *Minor Objects*, nos. 711–720, 722–723, 782. As for the brazier and the tripod, though the representation of such items was common in Early Byzantine representations of dining scenes (see above, note 80) and Middle Byzantine representations reproducing Early Byzantine models (e.g. in *Par.* gr. 74, ff. 143v, 156r, 195r), they do not occur in mediaeval birth-of-a-saint scenes. To my knowledge, the representation in *Vat. urb. gr.* 2, f. 167v, is unique. References to braziers of various sizes are found in a number of eleventh- and twelfth-century texts, see for example, Gautier, 'Typikon du Pakourianos,' p. 113; *idem*, 'Typikon du Pantocrator,' p. 99. References to cooking tripods can also be found in Middle Byzantine sources, see, for example, MM VI, p. 243.

⁸³ Cf. K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex. A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration* (Princeton, 1947), pp. 157–158.

for semiotic purposes, appears to be a development characteristic of artistic creativity in the eleventh and the twelfth centuries. The introduction into religious scenes of artefact-types the presence of which was not imposed by iconographic necessity is observable to a greater degree in twelfth-century contexts than in eleventh-century ones. Similarly, the depiction of the costume of secondary characters, military costume, and serving utensils exhibits greater diversity in the twelfth century than in the eleventh.

Regional Diversification

The lack of surviving monumental ensembles of the eleventh and twelfth centuries from Constantinople hinders attempts to ascertain whether developments in the representation of contemporary artefacts observed in certain provincial monuments were attributable to influences from the capital or whether they constituted localized phenomena. Still, the large number of monuments which has come down to us from different parts of the empire warrants an enquiry into the existence of regional diversification. Three areas have preserved a number of roughly contemporaneous monuments sharing certain iconographic and stylistic particularities: Cappadocia in the eleventh century, Cyprus in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, and Byzantine Macedonia in the second half of the twelfth century. The discussion in the case of Cyprus and Macedonia centres on certain representative ensembles. Each one of these is first discussed briefly in terms of its dating, patrons, and artistic workshop. The gaps in our knowledge concerning the circumstances of the foundation of individual monuments and the persons involved are reflected in the unevenness of the amount of information given here. Bibliographical references may be found under the relevant entries in Appendix 1. In order to avoid repetition, the inventory of contemporary artefact-types encountered in each of the monuments considered is presented in tabulated form in Table A on page 342.

Beginning with Cappadocia, the contemporary artefacts represented in eleventh-century monuments in that region mostly mirrored the material culture of the imperial court in Constantinople and not that of the province.⁸⁴ One has in mind representations of imperial and

⁸⁴ On Cappadocian painting see, selectively, Jerphanion, *Églises rupestres*; Restle, *Byz. Wall-painting*; Thierry, *Nouvelles églises*; eadem, *Haut Moyen-Âge en Cappadoce. Les églises de la région de Çavuşin*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1983, 1994); L. Rodley, *Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia* (Cambridge, 1985); A.J. Wharton, *Art of Empire. Painting and*

official costume (Pl. 103), ceremonial lamellar cuirasses (Pls. 115, 116), lyre-backed thrones (Pl. 171), and upholstered footstools (Pl. 183). Such 'Constantinopolitan' elements do not occur only in monuments for which artistic links with the capital can be postulated, for example, at Karanlı kilise and Karabaş kilise; they were incorporated into the artistic vocabulary of the whole region. Furthermore, representations of such 'Constantinopolitan' artefacts, as well as representations of elaborate textile furnishings, the head-dresses of the midwife and Salome at Karanlı kilise, Elmalı kilise, and Çarıklı kilise,⁸⁵ and forks⁸⁶ were not unique to the artistic idiom of Cappadocia, but are encountered in roughly contemporaneous monuments elsewhere in the empire. Their occurrence in Cappadocian ensembles is best interpreted as indicative both of the existence of an inter-regional artistic vocabulary of artefact-types, and of the realignment of local workshops with general trends, as for example the attention to decorative detail, which, apparently, was characteristic of the art of the period as a whole. Similarly, the uniformity in the rendering of lamellar armour and the restraint in reproducing contemporary artefacts beyond the demands of established iconography which is observed in Cappadocian painting should not be attributed to conservatism on the part of 'provincial' art: both these features were characteristic of general artistic creativity in the eleventh century.

Let us now turn to Cypriot painted ensembles dating to the twelfth century.⁸⁷ The monuments that will be considered here include the north church of the monastery of St. John Chrysostom Koutsovenides, the church of Panagia Phorbiotissa at Asinou, that of the Panagia at Trikomo, that of the Holy Apostles at Perachorio, the Hermitage

Architecture of the Byzantine Periphery. A Comparative Study of Four Provinces (University Park and London, 1988); Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*.

⁸⁵ The head-dress of the midwife and Salome at the three Column Churches is comparable to that of St. Pelagia and St. Thessalonike in the *Menologium* of Basil II, nos. 98, 167 (Pl. 80).

⁸⁶ Forks were represented in a number of manuscripts dated around the middle of the eleventh century, like, for example, *Dionysiou* 587m, f. 118v (1059), *Vat. gr.* 752, f. 226v (1059), the *Barberini Psalter* (c. 1060) [see Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile*, fig. 278], and *Par. gr.* 74, f. 132 (1050-1075). The last two manuscripts were executed in the scriptorium of the Monastery of Stoudios in Constantinople. For the remaining artefact-categories see discussion in the previous chapters.

⁸⁷ For a general survey of Byzantine painting in Cyprus during the twelfth century see A.H.S. Megaw, 'Twelfth Century Frescoes in Cyprus', *XII CIEB* (Ohrdruf, 1961), III, pp. 257-266; *idem*, 'Byzantine Architecture and Decoration in Cyprus: Metropolitan or Provincial?', *DOP* 28 (1974), pp. 81-88.

(Enkleistra) of St. Neophytos near Paphos, and the church of Panagia Arakiotissa at Lagoudera.

The construction and decoration of the north church at Koutso- vendes, was due to the liberality of Eumathios Philokales, a successful general of Alexios I Komnenos and twice governor (*doux*) of Cyprus during the periods after 1092 to c. 1103 and c. 1110 to some- time before 1118. It has not as yet been established to which of his two tenancies of the governorship the foundation of the church should be attributed. The rank of the patron and the high quality of the paintings, which was unheralded in earlier artistic production on the island, led scholars to believe that the painter was called in from Constantinople. It has been suggested on stylistic grounds that the painters of Panagia Phorbiotissa at Asinou and of the church of the Panagia at Trikomo were pupils of the Koutso- vendes master. The Asinou church was founded in 1105/6 by the *magistros* Nikephoros who was probably a member of the local Cypriot nobility. Paintings of the early twelfth century survive in the bema and the west bay of the naos. The painted decoration of the church at Trikomo is also dated to the early twelfth century. Its donor or donors remain unknown. The remaining three Cypriot monuments to be considered date to the second half of the twelfth century. The donor of the painted decoration of the church of the Holy Apostles at Perachorio, which is dated on iconographic and stylistic grounds between 1160 and 1180, remains unknown. The paintings are the work of a talented master who, according to Megaw, came from outside the island. More information is available as regards the decoration of the Enkleistra of St. Neophytos. In 1183 the cell of the saint, his tomb- chamber, and the bema of the adjoining chapel of the Holy Cross were covered completely with frescoes. The paintings in the nave of the chapel, which were executed by a different artist, are dated after 1197, at a time when Cyprus was no longer part of the Byzantine empire. Both phases were executed during the life-time of St. Neophytos, the peasant, self-educated ascetic who was the founder of this rock-cut hermitage. Certain iconographic peculiarities indicate that the saint was actively involved in the formulation of the iconographic programme of his establishment. The paintings of 1183 were executed by Theodore Apsoudes who left his signature on his work. Apsoudes appears to have been well-informed of recent stylistic developments. This suggests that in all probability he was called in for this task from an artistic centre outside Cyprus, possibly from

Constantinople or Palestine. The suggestion that Apsoudes was also responsible for the painted decoration of the nave of the Arakiotissa church at Lagoudera dated to 1192 remains conjectural. The decoration of the nave of the Arakiotissa was carried out at the behest of Leo Authentes, probably a member of the local gentry. Cyprus had come under Latin rule only a year earlier. The high quality of the paintings, which belong to the same stylistic phase as Kurbinovo, and the familiarity with recent stylistic and iconographic developments they evidence have been taken as an indication that the programme of 1192 was executed by a painter who had received his training in an important artistic centre outside Cyprus. The painted decoration of the apse of the Arakiotissa belongs to an earlier phase, dated to the second half of the twelfth century.

As in the case of eleventh-century Cappadocian monuments, the contemporary artefact-types represented in twelfth-century Cypriot monuments are largely those of the standard pictorial vocabulary of Byzantine religious iconography at the time: imperial and official costume, trousers,⁸⁸ the earrings of Orientals, thrones and upholstered footstools, richly patterned valances, and forks. The prompt introduction of recently developed artefact-types, like the imperial hemispherical crown, into the Cypriot ensembles is explained by the presence on the island of masters well-informed of the latest artistic developments, called in from artistic centres outside Cyprus.

The introduction of uncommon artefact-types in Cypriot monuments occurs rarely. One such instance is the attribution of a pearl earring to the Christ Child at Panagia Arakiotissa in Cyprus (Pl. 243).⁸⁹ It has been suggested on the basis of ethnographic material that this attribution constitutes an early instance of the documented Post-Byzantine local practice of first-born sons to wear an earring as a symbol of their birthright.⁹⁰ It seems unlikely, however, that a painter would have taken such a liberty with the portrayal of Christ simply for the sake of introducing some *couleur locale* in his work. A different semiotic interpretation must be sought for the presence of

⁸⁸ At Asinou, in the depiction of the Martyrdom of the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia, some of the martyrs were portrayed in trousers, see Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus*, fig. 60. Some of the Forty Martyrs appear in trousers also on two eleventh-century ivory triptychs, one in the Hermitage and the other at Berlin (Pl. 101).

⁸⁹ See, also, Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus*, fig. 91.

⁹⁰ 'Α. Στυλιανού, 'Αἱ τοιχογραφίαι τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Παναγίας τοῦ Ἀράκου, Λαγουδερά, Κύπρος,' in *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Θ' Διεθνoῦς Βυζαντινολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου* (Athens, 1955), I, p. 461; Nikolaïdēs, 'L'église de la Panagia Arakiotissa,' p. 83.

the earring.⁹¹ One cannot exclude the possibility that the Cypriot painting was executed in imitation of a prestigious non-Cypriot pictorial model, since the portrayal of the Christ Child with an earring is not unique to Cyprus.⁹²

In contrast to the earring of the Christ Child, the unique representations of the head-dress of the midwife and the hat and accessories of the shepherds in the Nativity scenes at Perachorio and Lagoudera may be taken to reflect regional costume (Pl. 232). The anecdotal character of the episodes of the bath of the Child and of the annunciation to the shepherds made these iconographic contexts suitable for the depiction of enlivening details inspired from daily life. The painter of Kılıçlar kuşluk in Cappadocia, dated to the first half or towards the mid-eleventh century, also took advantage of this opportunity.⁹³ However, while the representation of the costume of Salome in the Cappadocian monument appears to be an isolated instance of an artist reproducing an item of dress with which he was familiar, the twelfth-century Cypriot representations seem to me to be manifestations of a general trend in the art of the period. Comparable realistic elements are encountered in late twelfth-century monuments in Macedonia as well.⁹⁴ A shepherd wearing a belt with a pouch and a knife, as well as the unusual portrayal of Salome and the midwife carrying the washing utensils, were incorporated into the detailed Nativity cycle on a twelfth-century icon probably of Constantinopolitan origin at Sinai.⁹⁵ It would seem then that a taste for such anecdotal details introduced into the Nativity scene became

⁹¹ Baltoyanni, based on the comments of St. Gregory of Nyssa on Ex. 32:1-4 referring to the manufacture by Aaron of the golden calf out of the melted earrings of the Hebrews, has suggested that the earring of Christ at Panagia Arakiotissa was a symbol of His obedience to the Law, see her, 'Christ the Lamb and the *Evangelion* of the Law in a Wall Painting of Araka on Cyprus,' *ΔΧΑΕ* 17 (1993-1994), esp. p. 58. Her interpretation though interesting is not entirely satisfactory. At present I have no alternative to offer, though I believe that the fact that the Child's earring is adorned with pearls may be significant, given that the pearl was understood as a symbol of the Incarnation and of Christ Himself, see Chapter 1, note 5.

⁹² See P. Miljković-Pepek, 'Edna neproučena crkva vo s. Velmej vo Ohridskiot kraj,' *Arheološki Muzej na Makedonija, Žbornik VIII-IX* (1975-1978), pp. 105-130 (Velmej, fresco icon of the Virgin and Child); Millet and Velmans, *La peinture du Moyen Âge*, IV, pls. 80.153, 81.154 (Markov Manastir, illustration of *Strophes* XXIII and XXIV of the *Akathistos Hymn*, showing the veneration of two icons of the Virgin and Child by laymen and clergymen).

⁹³ See above, note 69.

⁹⁴ See above, note 19.

⁹⁵ *Sinai*, pp. 100-101, fig. 18.

widespread in the twelfth century and that the artists working at Perachorio and Lagoudera in Cyprus, up-to-date as they were with current artistic developments, appear to have been aware of this. Comparable realistic elements are absent from the painted decoration of Cypriot monuments executed later towards the end of the twelfth or in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, a time when revitalizing contacts between Cyprus and the major Byzantine artistic centres had been severed. By way of illustration one may mention the stereotypical portrayal of Salome and the midwife in the Nativity scene at Panagia Amasgou, Monagri, dated to the first quarter of thirteenth century.⁹⁶ The presence of 'popular' artefact-types such as items of the costume of commoners in twelfth-century paintings in Cyprus was then the result of the painters' realignment with general iconographic trends at the time, rather than a lapse into 'provincialism'.

The last area to be investigated for evidence of regional diversification is Byzantine Macedonia in the second half of the twelfth century.⁹⁷ The monuments on which the following discussion will be based include the church of St. Panteleimon at Nerezi, the church of St. Nicholas Kasnitze and that of Sts. Anargyroi, both at Kastoria, the church of St. George at Kurbinovo, and the Latomou Monastery (Hosios David) at Thessalonike.

The painted decoration of Nerezi is dated by inscription to 1164. The donor was Alexios Komnenos, a cousin of the emperor Manuel I Komnenos and a member of the Angelos family. Art-historians are in agreement that the unprecedented intensity in the expression of sorrow observed in scenes from the Passion cycle may be taken to reflect recent stylistic developments in Constantinopolitan art. Given the Constantinopolitan connections of the donor and the high quality of the Nerezi paintings, it is often assumed that the workshop responsible for their execution was called in from the capital. However, the possibility that the artists of Nerezi came from Thessalonike, the most important artistic centre of Middle Byzantine

⁹⁶ S. Boyd, 'The Church of the Panagia Amasgou, Monagri, Cyprus and Its Wall-paintings,' *DOP* 28 (1974), pl. B, figs. 19-20.

⁹⁷ On monumental painting in Byzantine Macedonia in the twelfth century see Τσλαφάκας, *Οι τοιχογραφίες της μονής Λατόμου*, pp. 149-173; *idem*, *Υατοπαίδι*, pp. 233-234; M. Panayotidi, 'The Wall-paintings in the Church of the Virgin Kosmosoteira at Fera (Vira) and Stylistic Trends in 12th Century Painting,' *BF* 14 (1989), pp. 437-484.

Macedonia, may not be excluded without further investigation. The paintings of the church of St. Nicholas Kasnitze at Kastoria evidence stylistic similarities with Nerezi, though they are considered to be of inferior quality. The donors of the painted decoration of St. Nicholas were the *magistros* Nikephoros Kasnitze and his wife Anna who probably belonged to the provincial gentry of Kastoria. Their portraits survive in the narthex (Pls. 62, 63). The frescoes, probably the work of a local workshop, are dated to 1160–1180. Twelfth-century frescoes have been preserved in the south barrel vault of the *katholikon* of the Latomou Monastery (Hosios David) at Thessalonike. There is no consensus as to their date: Tsigaridas, with whom I tend to agree, dates them to the period between 1160 to 1170, while Mouriki places them at the end of the twelfth or even at the beginning of the thirteenth century. There is, however, a general agreement concerning the high quality of the paintings. Artists capable of producing such work could have come from either Constantinople or Thessalonike. The last two monuments to be considered, the church of Sts. Anargyroi at Kastoria, and that of St. George at Kurbinovo, belong to the same stylistic trend of the late twelfth century. In fact, it has been suggested that the master painter of Sts. Anargyroi should be identified with the master of Kurbinovo. The second layer of the painted decoration of the church of Sts. Anargyroi is commonly dated to c. 1180. The donors were Theodore Lemniotes, his wife Anna Radene, and their son John. Their portraits were painted in the north aisle of the church (Pls. 66, 84). No title accompanies the name of Theodore in the surviving inscriptions. He and his family probably belonged to the provincial gentry of Kastoria. On the other hand, the identity of the donor of Kurbinovo remains unknown. The presence of imperial portraits and the portrait of a figure in what could be ecclesiastical costume—vestiges of which are preserved on the western façade of the church side-by-side with portrayals of Sts. George, Theodore, and Demetrios on horseback—have led Hadermann-Misguich to suggest that the unknown donor of Kurbinovo could have been a member of the Byzantine military or ecclesiastical establishment with Constantinopolitan connections or aspirations. The frescoes of Kurbinovo are dated by inscription to 1191. The master of Kurbinovo shows himself well-informed of current iconographic and stylistic developments presumably emanating from the capital.

Representations of the currently depicted artefact-types mentioned above are also encountered in these Macedonian monuments of the second half of the twelfth century: imperial costume and items of official and female aristocratic dress; military costume; elaborate textile furnishings; a bottle and a bowl with a lid at Nerezi; medicinal caskets and cases with surgical implements. One should also include among these current types the great triangular shield of military saints and the basket with the tools in scenes from the Passion cycle. Though these are encountered for the first time at Sts. Anargyroi and at Nerezi respectively, their occurrence in later monuments with a widespread geographical distribution argues against their introduction in the Macedonian monuments being a regional phenomenon. It should be noted, however, that in their rendering of commonly represented artefact-types the artists exhibit a certain degree of individuality. This is particularly evident in the military equipment which is different from one monument to the next. The relevant homogeneity in form and decoration of body-armour observed in eleventh-century art was abandoned for the sake of diversity.

As was the case with contemporaneous Cypriot monuments, the introduction of unusual artefact-types into Macedonian monuments largely concerns the costume and professional paraphernalia of secondary male and female figures: the caps of certain female characters at Nerezi; the costume of Salome at St. Nicholas Kasnitze; the head-dress of the midwife at the Latomou Monastery; the single earrings of young men and boys at Sts. Anargyroi and at Kurbinovo; the belt of the old shepherd also at Kurbinovo. While discussing the Cypriot ensembles I argued that the attention paid to the costume of secondary characters in the Nativity scene was characteristic of twelfth-century art in general. The Macedonian ensembles suggest that this interest in realistic detail may have extended to ancillary figures in other narrative contexts as well.

Consideration of the monuments of Cappadocia, Cyprus, and Macedonia presented here has highlighted the existence of an inter-regional vocabulary of artefact-types common to the pictorial language of Byzantine art throughout the empire. The geographical diffusion of the representations of these common artefact-types, seen together with those artefacts deriving from the imperial milieu, point towards Constantinople as the centre from which these were disseminated. Diversity and elaboration of these common artefact-types

apparently depended not so much on *where* the individual artists were working but on *when*.

Representations of details of costume and professional paraphernalia of secondary characters in narrative scenes reflect the diversification of material culture in the various regions within the Byzantine empire. Their appearance in twelfth-century monuments becomes consistent enough to suggest that there developed a general interest in the depiction of such elements at the time. That this tendency is observed in roughly contemporaneous monuments located in areas so far apart as Cyprus and Macedonia, suggests that it originated in neither of them, but that it emanated from the centre.

The Cultural Context

Where the representation of contemporary artefacts in religious contexts is concerned, the twelfth century emerges as a period of 'realistic' tendencies. It is important to underline yet again that the attention paid to realistic detail in the rendition of artefacts did not serve any iconographic necessity. These 'realistic' tendencies coincide with an increasing interest in the expression of feelings like agitation, pain, and sorrow in art and with attempts to establish a more convincing spatial relationship between human figures and pictorial setting.⁹⁸ During the course of the twelfth century there seems to have been a more general trend towards realism in religious painting and the attention paid to the representation of *realia* was but one manifestation of a broader interest in the observation and representation of the sensible world. It is not surprising to find that in representative twelfth-century monuments like Nerezi, the Latomou Monastery, or Kurbinovo, interest in the representation of *realia* is combined with power of psychological characterization and an almost naturalistic rendering of the landscape.

This development can be understood in the light of the cultural climate of the era and can be explained to some extent in terms of the parallel features observed in contemporary literature. The literature of the eleventh and especially the twelfth centuries indicates that the educated classes of both ecclesiastical and lay background were showing an increasing interest in the observation of the nat-

⁹⁸ Mouriki, 'Stylistic Trends—11th–12th c.', pp. 100–124. On the potential impact of rhetoric on the turn towards a greater sensibility in Byzantine religious art observed especially in the twelfth century see Maguire, *Art and Eloquence*, esp. p. 111.

ural world, in its scientific investigation, and, not least, in its delights and joys. Furthermore, this was a period when Byzantine literati valued the importance of personal experience and thought it worthwhile to commit to posterity. Their personality left its distinguishing mark on their works. Though expressing themselves in a pretentious language laden with archaisms and adhering to the stylistic and thematic conventions appropriate to specific literary genres, they still could introduce glimpses of their own times and give a personal outlook on current conditions and events.⁹⁹ Byzantine religious art apparently did not remain unaffected by this mentality.

In the case of certain categories of artefacts encountered in eleventh- and twelfth-century religious contexts it is possible to become more specific and associate their depiction with the particular interests and tastes of Byzantine society. Let us consider, for example, the richly patterned textile furnishings and the furniture luxuriously adorned with encrustation so common in eleventh- and especially twelfth-century religious pictorial contexts (Pls. 53, 175, 176, 183, 187, 190).¹⁰⁰ One is tempted to parallel the attention given to such decorative detail in Komnenian painting with the 'recondite vocabulary, intricate construction, [and] laboured syntax'¹⁰¹ of twelfth-century rhetoric, and read both as expressions of what has been described as 'the contemporary obsession with artistry'.¹⁰² The expansion of the inventory of serving utensils in dining scenes, to consider a second example, might be in some way related to the notable increase in expressing an interest in the quality and variety of foodstuffs observable in twelfth-century literary works as diverse in character as the letters of the archbishop of Thessalonike Eustathios and the poems of Ptochoprodromos.¹⁰³

During this period, which accentuated individuality and took pride in artistry, Byzantine artists stepped out of their anonymity for the first time and began to sign their works. It is tempting to assume

⁹⁹ M. Angold, *The Byzantine Empire, 1025–1204* (New York, 1984), pp. 76–91; Kazhdan and Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture*, pp. 138–141, 148–158; Magdalino, *Manuel I Komnenos*, pp. 363–365, 393–406; *idem*, 'The Literary Perception of Everyday Life in Byzantium. Some General Considerations and the Case of John Apokaukos,' *BS 47* (1987), pp. 28–38.

¹⁰⁰ Hadermann-Misguich, *Kurbinovo*, pp. 312–318, 507–512, 515.

¹⁰¹ Magdalino, *Manuel I Komnenos*, p. 397.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, pp. 396–397.

¹⁰³ Kazhdan and Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture*, pp. 81–88.

that the artists' new-found sense of individuality was partly responsible for the diversity we have observed in the rendering of artefact-types like the dress of commoners, arms and armour, and serving utensils. All in all, one may claim that the attention to realistic detail in the depiction of artefacts observed in Komnenian art can be explained in terms of an interest in daily life and the sensible world which stemmed from the intellectual pursuits and the confidence in the value of personal experience characteristic of the period.

The Late Byzantine Period

Types of Contemporary Artefacts Represented

In the Late Byzantine period the *chlamys* and both varieties of the *loros* continued to be the only types of imperial dress employed in religious painting, though the crossed *loros* and the imperial *chlamys* had in fact become obsolete. As to official dress, the *chlamys-costume* continued to be represented as the distinctive attire of martyrs, though in reality it was no longer in widespread use. As in the previous period, updating of the dress of non-saintly officials in Late Byzantine contexts was exceptional (Pls. 92, 97). In the case of representations of other lay costume the situation continued more or less the same as in the earlier period: the garments represented were to a large extent conventional and what instances of modernization may be observed mainly concern female costume (Pls. 189, 239). Cases of updating male lay costume in Palaiologan religious pictorial contexts are very rare. Instances include the attribution of a red pair of trousers to the paralytic of Bethesda in the representation of the related miracle in the Metropolis at Mistra (Pl. 191) and the costume of the man playing the drum in the Mocking of Christ at St. Nicholas Orphanos in Thessalonike (Pl. 130). As in the Middle Byzantine, so in the Late Byzantine period, the use of distinctive dress for the characterization of members of professional groups was limited to shepherds and dancers: shepherds continued to be portrayed in sheepskin garments¹⁰⁴ and dancers continued to appear in gowns with long flowing sleeves.¹⁰⁵ It is noteworthy that the stereo-

¹⁰⁴ See, for example, M. Αχελαιοπούλου-Ποταμιάνου, 'Η ερμηνεία μιας τοιχογραφίας στη μονή της Βλαχέρνας κοντά στην Άρτα,' ΔΧΑΕ 13 (1985-1986), p. 301; N. Νικονάνος, *Οι Άγιοι Απόστολοι Θεσσαλονίκης* (Thessalonike, 1986), fig. 14; Χατζηδόκιμος, *Μουσικά*, fig. 46 (Peribleptos).

¹⁰⁵ See, for example, Steppan, 'Tanzdarstellungen,' figs. 21, 26, 27, 29; Millet,

typical portrayal of shepherds in Late Byzantine contexts was not enlivened by the introduction of realistic details of dress as it had been in a number of eleventh- and twelfth-century representations.

In the depiction of arms and armour in Late Byzantine contexts fanciful, conventional, and contemporary elements were represented side-by-side as they had been in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Contemporary elements included commonly represented items the appearance of which had been modernized, such as helmets, shields, and swords, as well as types which were newly introduced into Byzantine religious contexts, such as protective garments worn over the body-armour, semi-rigid neck-guards, coifs, *chausses*, sabres, daggers, bows, and quivers. The typology of the represented weapons attests to the influence of western and oriental military traditions on Byzantine practices.

As far as the representation of furniture and furnishings is concerned, Late Byzantine art turned away from the highly decorative types distinctive of Komnenian art towards more plain, monumental, and, on occasion, literally solid forms which probably mirrored contemporary objects. Palaiologan art demonstrated a preference for the representation of box-like furniture, thrones with a curved back, masonry tables with lateral recesses for utensils, wooden furniture with turned ornaments, and textile furnishings of a relatively sober appearance.

The tendency to expand the inventory of types of the depicted domestic utensils—especially tableware—observed in the twelfth century was intensified during the Late Byzantine period. In dining scenes one encounters an assortment of vessels (Pls. 39, 184-186, 189),¹⁰⁶ while in birth-of-a-saint scenes a female attendant is sometimes portrayed carrying a tray with serving and drinking utensils (Pl. 204). Special reference should be made to the unique representations of the donkey with the pack-saddle with water-jars and funnel in a scene from the cycle of St. Gerasimos at St. Nicholas Orphanos (Pl. 236) and of the peddler with the jar in the Birth of St. Nicholas at Platsa (Pl. 237).

Monuments byz. de Mistra, pl. 128.4 (Peribleptos: scene from the cycle of the childhood of the Virgin).

¹⁰⁶ See, also, Tsigaridas, *Valtopaidi*, fig. 231 (The Ladder of St. John Climacus); *The City of Mystras*, fig. 109 (Peribleptos, Last Supper); Mouriki, *The Frescoes of St. Nicholas at Platsa*, pl. 14 (Last Supper).

As to tools, writing implements were the only category being updated in the Palaiologan period: the traditional *kalamoi* and inkwells were frequently replaced by the *kalamarion*, while scissors appeared more often on the writing desks of the evangelists. On the other hand, the bookbinding paraphernalia in the portrayal of the evangelist Matthew at the Protaton (Pl. 227) remain an exceptional occurrence.

To conclude, during the Late Byzantine period there was an expansion of traditional iconographic schemes with the introduction of ancillary figures, secondary episodes, and genre themes which provided more iconographic contexts suitable for the depiction of artefacts borrowed from daily life. Surprisingly, Byzantine artists did not exploit this opportunity often and representations especially of contemporary dress were introduced into Late Byzantine contexts to a degree lesser than before. Imperial and official costume was for the most part conventional. The interest in the depiction of details reflecting the contemporary commoners' costume found especially in twelfth-century monuments apparently did not continue into the later period. On the other hand, the interest in the representation of domestic utensils, especially serving vessels, detected from the late eleventh-early twelfth century onward, increased in Late Byzantine monuments. However, the most significant Late Byzantine development was the expansion of the inventory of the weapons attributed to military saints.

Regional Diversification

While carrying out the survey of representations of artefacts in Late Byzantine pictorial cycles I noticed a concentration of interesting examples in monuments located in Thessalonike and the area under its cultural influence. These monuments are dated to the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. The concentration of such representations may be understood either as a manifestation of realistic tendencies unique to the artistic idiom of Late Byzantine Macedonia or as a regional interpretation of a general trend in religious art of that period. To decide which was the case one needs to examine the Macedonian monuments more closely in terms of style, patrons, and artistic workshops, and within the broader framework of artistic creativity in Byzantium at the time. Comparisons with the few and fragmentary contemporary ensembles which have come down to us from Constantinople become important in this respect. Con-

stantinopolitan and Macedonian monuments are briefly examined in terms of chronology, patron, artistic workshop, and style. For the sake of comprehensiveness a summary discussion of Late Byzantine pictorial ensembles in the other major urban centre of the Late Byzantine empire, that is Mistra, is included at the end of this section. Bibliographical references may be found under the relevant entries in Appendix 1. The inventory of contemporary artefacts encountered in each of the monuments considered may be found in Table B on page 343.

We will begin our investigation with a consideration of the surviving Constantinopolitan monuments of the second half of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, starting with the Kyriotissa Monastery (Kalenderhane Camii). Towards the middle of the thirteenth century, that is while Constantinople was still under Latin rule, the chapel of the *diakonikon* of the Kyriotissa was decorated with a fresco cycle of St. Francis of Assisi. It is assumed that the work was commissioned by the members of a Franciscan community which was probably installed at the Kyriotissa following the occupation of the city by the crusaders. It has been convincingly argued that the painter of the St. Francis cycle was French, called in from the crusader kingdom of Jerusalem, and that the portraits of two Orthodox prelates, which constitute an integral part of the decoration of the *diakonikon* chapel, were executed by a Byzantine artist. The St. Francis chapel was walled up soon after the liberation of Constantinople in 1261. Thus, its painted decoration had no direct impact on the development of Palaiologan painting in the capital. Sometime after the St. Francis chapel had been sealed off, the *diakonikon* of the Kyriotissa was decorated with frescoes, of which only fragments—mainly of hagiographic portraits—survive. Among these are included portraits of male martyrs in the by now conventional *chlamys-costume*.

Another monument that was restored and adorned with frescoes sometime after 1261, possibly having suffered damage during the Latin occupation of Constantinople, was the *martyrion* of St. Euphemia at the Hippodrome. Its painted decoration comprises first of all a cycle of the patron saint, dated on stylistic grounds to 1280–1290. To this same phase belongs a funerary portrait of a high ecclesiastical official, possibly a patriarch or a metropolitan, judging by his vestments, who is being presented to the Virgin by St. Euphemia. Given that the church of St. Euphemia was under the jurisdiction

of the see of Chalcedon, it has been suggested that the figure of the prelate should be identified as a late thirteenth-century metropolitan of that city who commissioned the restoration and the decoration of the church but whose name is as yet unknown. The portrayals of the Forty Martyrs and of military saints also preserved in the church may be slightly later. The dress and paraphernalia in the painted decoration of St. Euphemia are conventional. Realistic tendencies, sometimes leading to innovative solutions, may be observed, nevertheless, in the architectural setting, especially in the unusual depiction of the hippodrome as an enclosed space in the scene of the martyrdom of the saint.¹⁰⁷

Late-thirteenth-century mosaics have been preserved in the narthex of Kilise Camii, the original dedication of which remains unknown. This narthex was added to a pre-existing Komnenian church at some point after 1261. Of its mosaic decoration only parts are preserved in the central and south cupolas. They are dated to the last decade of the thirteenth century on stylistic grounds. Figures of prophets in antique garb are portrayed in the central dome, while Old Testament kings in conventional tunics, mantles, and crowns appear in the south cupola. The style of the mosaics of the south cupola has been identified as a manifestation of the so-called 'cubist manner'. This is distinguished by the exaggerated corporeality of the human figure and the massiveness of the architectural elements. Prior to the publication of the Kilise Camii mosaics this manner had been considered as distinctive of Macedonian painting in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

Another Komnenian monument that was restored in the late thirteenth century was the *katholikon* of the Pammakaristos Monastery (Fethiye Camii). The sponsors of this work were Michael Glabas Tarchaneiotes and his wife Maria. Tarchaneiotes is well-known both as a successful general under Andronikos II and as a liberal patron of artists and poets. Of the pictorial decoration of the *katholikon* only fragments of the frescoes which adorned what originally was the south façade of the church survive. These fragments have been identified as belonging to a cycle of the Dormition and a typological cycle of the Virgin. The costume of the surviving figures (the

Virgin, St. Peter, Aaron and his sons) is conventional. The frescoes of the Pammakaristos, dated to the last decade of the thirteenth century, constitute a second occurrence of the 'cubist manner' in the capital. A few years after their execution, these paintings were obliterated by the construction of the adjacent funerary chapel. This was built in the first decade of the fourteenth century by Maria Tarchaneiotes, in order to house her husband's tomb. Of its lavish mosaic decoration only part is preserved: the enthroned Christ, the Virgin and John the Baptist in the bema, the Pantokrator surrounded by prophets in the dome, the scene of the Baptism, and portraits of saintly bishops and monks. According to Belting, the style of the mosaics is classicising, more akin to earlier thirteenth-century paintings than to the 'cubist manner' of the late thirteenth century. The fact that no narrative scenes other than the Baptism and no portraits of military saints and martyrs have survived makes it impossible to comment on representations of *realia* in this ensemble.

It is unfortunate that the original pictorial decoration of a third important Constantinopolitan monument dated to the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, namely the south church of the Lips Monastery (Fenari Isa Camii), has not been preserved. This church was erected by the empress Theodora (†1303), widow of Michael VIII, sometime after his death in 1282 to serve as a mausoleum for the Palaiologan family. The fresco representing St. Demetrios, which formed part of the decoration of one of the arcsoles in the south arm of the perambulatory, is dated on stylistic grounds to a later period, c. 1320.¹⁰⁸ The saint is portrayed in military dress, drawing his sword from its scabbard. His body-armour appears to me to be conventional and so does his shield. On other hand, his double-edged sword with its straight quillons reflects a type that was in actual use at the time. Stylistically, St. Demetrios is akin to the military saints portrayed in the funerary chapel of the Chora Monastery, to which we now turn.

Between 1315 and 1320/1 the Komnenian *katholikon* of the Chora Monastery (Kariye Camii) was restored and decorated with mosaics, and the funerary chapel was constructed and adorned with frescoes. Of the mosaics of the naos only the mosaic icons of Christ and the Virgin, and the Dormition survive. By contrast, most of the mosaic

¹⁰⁷ R. Naumann and H. Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche am Hippodrom zu Istanbul und ihre Fresken* (Berlin, 1966), pp. 136–138, pl. 33a.

¹⁰⁸ C. Mango and E.J. Hawkins, 'Additional Finds at Fenari Isa Camii, Istanbul,' *DOP* 22 (1968), p. 177, figs. 1–2.

decoration of the inner and outer narthexes has been preserved. The frescoes of the chapel are also very well preserved. The donor of the early fourteenth-century work at the Chora was the intellectual *logothetes tou genikou* and close associate of Andronikos II, Theodore Metochites (Pl. 69). It is commonly accepted that the mosaics and the frescoes were the work of the same Constantinopolitan workshop.

The Chora Monastery is a prime example of the so-called Second Palaiologan Style which became fashionable in the second decade of the fourteenth century. The artists of the Chora, who must have been counted among the best of their times, faced with the architecturally complex surfaces of the *katholikon* and chapel to be covered with mosaics and frescoes showed themselves ready to experiment with novel compositional solutions. Moreover, their work evidences a preoccupation with the depiction of pictorial space, though their often original renderings were not always successful.¹⁰⁹ By comparison, their attitude towards the representation of *realia* appears to me to have been more conservative. Though the extensive Mariological and Christological cycles in the narthexes of the *katholikon*, with their great number of ancillary characters and genre themes, offered ample scope for the introduction of representations of contemporary artefacts, the artists did not take advantage of the opportunity to do so. The narrative compositions were enlivened by the portrayal of children playing and of servants and attendants involved in various commonplace activities, as well as by the depiction of landscape components. Whilst the presence of these picturesque elements certainly contributed to the engaging quality of the images, their introduction in the Chora compositions was not the result of direct observation of the surrounding material world. Rather their presence should be attributed to the repetition of antique pictorial themes which had been injected into the artistic vocabulary of Palaiologan artists through the imitation of the classicising artistic products, especially manuscripts, of the tenth-century 'Macedonian renaissance'.¹¹⁰

One, of course, does come across depictions of contemporary artefact-types which it had become common or fashionable to represent in Late Byzantine contexts, as well as types which were required for the purposes of characterization as, for example, the hat of Kyrenius.

¹⁰⁹ Demus, 'The Style of the Kariye Djami,' esp. pp. 118–127.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 157–158; E. Kitzinger, 'The Hellenistic Heritage in Byzantine Art Reconsidered,' *JÖB* 31/2 (1981), pp. 664, 670.

Though the rendering of these contemporary artefact-types is for the most part competent and, in the case of the swords of the military saints in the chapel, surprisingly detailed, the treatment of costume and paraphernalia at the Chora does not seem to me to bespeak an exceptional interest in the representation of contemporary material culture on the part of the painters. In the case of the representation of arms and armour, in particular, the artists of the Chora appear to have been relatively conservative: items like helmets, bows, quivers, and sabres are absent from the portrayal of military saints in the funerary chapel and the armour of Herod and his soldiers in the Massacre of the Innocents in the exonarthex has an entirely fanciful outlook. It is tempting to think that the reserved attitude of the artists of the Chora towards the representation of contemporary military equipment was influenced by the personality of Theodore Metochites, a leading exponent of the humanistic movement of his times.¹¹¹ It is commonly acknowledged that Metochites had been actively involved in the thematic articulation—both in its layout and in particular details—of the iconographic programme of his foundation.¹¹² Perhaps his antiquarian tastes¹¹³ stood in the way of the artists depicting fashionably represented items like the bow and quiver, since these were not encountered in earlier, classicising works. Unfortunately, however, this hypothesis cannot be proven because of the lack of surviving contemporary Constantinopolitan monuments preserving numerous representations of military dress that could have been used for comparison.

The second area to be investigated for evidence of regional variation is that of Byzantine Macedonia in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.¹¹⁴ The monuments to be considered are located

¹¹¹ See Ševčenko, 'Theodore Metochites,' pp. 17–91.

¹¹² Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, pp. 188–191.

¹¹³ Demus, 'The Style of the Kariye Djami,' pp. 158–159.

¹¹⁴ For a general survey of painting in Late Byzantine Macedonia see selectively Mouriki, 'Stylistic Trends—14th c.,' *Η Παλαιολόγεια ζωγραφική στη Θεσσαλονίκη, εκδ. Δήμος Θεσσαλονίκης* (Thessalonike, 1986); A. Tsitouridou, 'La peinture monumentale à Salonique pendant la première moitié du XIV^e siècle,' in *L'art de Thessalonique*, pp. 9–19; M. Panayotidi, 'Les tendances de la peinture de Thessalonique en comparaison avec celles de Constantinople, comme expression de la situation politico-économique de ces villes pendant le XIV^e siècle,' in *Βυζάντιο και Σερβία κατά τον 14^ο αιώνα* (Athens, 1996), pp. 351–362; R. Nelson, 'Tales of Two Cities: The Patronage of Early Palaeologan Art and Architecture in Constantinople and Thessalonike,' in *Ο Μανουήλ Πανσέληνος και η εποχή του* (Athens, 1999), pp. 127–145.

in Thessalonike, Verroia, Ohrid, and on Mount Athos. Monuments created in the part of Macedonia that came under Serbian rule by the late thirteenth century and in Serbia proper, especially those attributed to the Byzantine artists Michael Astrapas and Eutykhios, are also taken into consideration, though not discussed in as great detail.

The church of the Virgin Peribleptos (St. Clement) in Ohrid was founded in 1294/5 by a Byzantine official, the *megas hetairiarches* Progonos Sgouros, and his wife, Eudokia. In the dedicatory inscription Sgouros claims to be a relative of the reigning emperor Andronikos II. The frescoes of the Peribleptos are a prime example of the 'cubist manner', to which belong also the frescoes of the south façade of the Pammakaristos and the mosaics on the south cupola of the exonarthex of Kilise Camii in Constantinople. Despite the donor's Constantinopolitan connections the artists employed by Sgouros apparently did not come from the capital. Artists' signatures identify the painters of the Peribleptos as Michael Astrapas and Eutykhios (Pl. 135). The two masters were probably of Thessalonikan origin. Michael in particular appears to have been a member of a family of artists which also included one John Astrapas, a scribe and miniaturist, and yet another Astrapas, perhaps a master builder rather than a painter, who is mentioned in the dedicatory inscription of the church of Bogorodica Ljeviška, near Prizren (1308/9).¹¹⁵ In the first two decades of the fourteenth century Michael and Eutykhios were employed by the Serbian king Milutin for the decoration of his ecclesiastical foundations at Čučer (church of St. Nikita, 1308–1320) and at Staro Nagoričino (church of St. George, 1317/8). Art-historians have also tried to attribute to this workshop the decoration or part thereof of the chapel of St. Euthymios at Thessalonike (1303), the Protaton on Mount Athos (c. 1290 or c. 1300), the church of Bogorodica Ljeviška, the church of Sts. Joachim and Anna at Studenica (1314), and that at Gračanica (1321). The last three monuments were also founded by king Milutin of Serbia.

The painted decoration of the Protaton, the main church of Karyes, which is the administrative centre of Mount Athos, constitutes yet another example of the 'cubist manner' fashionable in the period

¹¹⁵ S. Kissas, 'Solunska umetnička porodica Astrapa,' *Zograf* 5 (1974), pp. 35–37; P. Miljković-Pepck, 'L'atelier artistique préminent de la famille thessalonicienne d'Astrapas de la fin du XIII^e et des premières décennies du XIV^e siècle,' *JOB* 32/3 (1982), pp. 491–494; R. Nelson, *Theodore Hagiopetrites. A Late Byzantine Scribe and Illuminator* (Vienna, 1991), pp. 125–126.

between c. 1290 to c. 1310. We have no information concerning the exact date, the donor, or the painter of the Palaiologan frescoes of the Protaton. This Athonite ensemble is commonly dated to c. 1300. Recently, however, Kalomoirakes and others have argued in favour of a date c. 1290 and would like to associate the undertaking of the work with an initiative of the patriarch Athanasios I (1289–1293).¹¹⁶ Post-Byzantine oral tradition has attributed the paintings of the Protaton to the legendary master Manuel Panselenos, although no reference to an artist by this name has been encountered in Late Byzantine written sources. Gouma-Peterson has suggested that one of the artists working in the Protaton should be identified with one of the masters of the chapel of St. Euthymios in Thessalonike.¹¹⁷ This small chapel is attached to the south-east side of the great basilica of St. Demetrios. According to the dedicatory inscription, it was renovated and decorated with frescoes in 1303 at the behest of the *protostator* Michael Glabas Tarchaneiotos and his wife Maria. In the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century Thessalonike served as the centre of operations in the imperial government's dealings, both diplomatic and military, with the neighbouring Serbian state, hence the connection of the general Tarchaneiotos with that city.¹¹⁸ A few years earlier he and his wife had undertaken the restoration of the Pammakaristos Monastery in Constantinople. The surviving frescoes on the south façade of his foundation in the capital belong to the same stylistic trend as the frescoes of the Thessalonikan monument, namely the 'cubist manner'. The identity and origin of the masters responsible for the decoration of St. Euthymios remain unknown. Tarchaneiotos could have commissioned painters from Constantinople for this task. However, considering that Palaeologan Thessalonike was a thriving artistic centre in its own right, the artists of St. Euthymios may very well have been local.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ For a review of the different opinions concerning the date of the Protaton frescoes see T. Gouma-Peterson, 'The Frescoes of the Parekklesion of St. Euthymios in Thessaloniki: Patrons, Workshop and Style,' in *Twilight*, p. 113, note 4.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 122, 124.

¹¹⁸ D.M. Nicol, 'Thessalonica as a Cultural Centre in the Fourteenth Century,' in *Η Θεσσαλονίκη μεταξύ Ανατολής και Δύσεως* (Thessalonike, 1982), p. 122; M. Rautman, 'Aspects of Monastic Patronage in Palaeologan Macedonia,' in *Twilight*, p. 64; A. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins. The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II, 1282–1328* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), p. 94.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Nelson, 'Tales of Two Cities,' p. 134.

Another monument the painted decoration of which evidences connections with the paintings of the Protaton is the *katholikon* of the Vatopedi Monastery, also on Mount Athos. According to a nineteenth-century inscription believed to reproduce the original dedicatory inscription, the Late Byzantine frescoes of the *katholikon* were executed during the reign of Andronikos II, in 1312, at the behest of the *hieromonachos* (priest-monk) Arsenios. The names of the painters responsible remain unknown. Yet, certain iconographic peculiarities seem to suggest that they originated in Thessalonike. According to Tsigaridas, the style of one of the painters who worked in the outer narthex demonstrates great affinity to the style of the Peribleptos in Ohrid and the Protaton. On the other hand, the style of the second painter of the outer narthex is aligned with the stylistic developments of the second decade of the fourteenth century, also attested in other monuments of Byzantine Macedonia, which are going to be considered next.

The church of the Anastasis (Hagios Christos) in Verroia was founded by Xenos Psalidas and his wife Euphrosyne, who were probably members of the provincial gentry of that city. Euphrosyne saw that the work in the church was completed following her husband's death. According to the painted dedicatory inscription the frescoes were executed in 1315 by the painter Kallierges and his brothers. In this inscription Kallierges styled himself as 'the best painter of all Thessaly' [i.e. Macedonia].¹²⁰ He is sometimes identified with the painter George Kallierges who in 1322 witnessed the sale of three houses in Thessalonike. Even if the two are not to be identified they could belong to a single family of painters with Thessalonikan connections.¹²¹ Pelekanides has tried to identify Kallierges as one of the masters who worked in the church of St. Nicholas Orphanos in Thessalonike (1310–1320).¹²² However, this identification has not been widely accepted. The paintings of the church of the Anastasis belong to the same stylistic trend as the mosaics and the frescoes of the Chora Monastery in Constantinople.

The painted decoration of the church of St. Nicholas Orphanos in Thessalonike is usually dated to the years between 1310 and 1320

on the basis of stylistic and iconographic similarities with the work of Kallierges at Verroia and with the work of Michael and Eutykhios at Čučer and at Staro Nagoričino. Velman's attempt to date the ensemble towards the middle of the fourteenth century has not been accepted by other art-historians.¹²³ The donor of the St. Nicholas frescoes remains unknown. The suggestion that he should be identified with king Milutin of Serbia deserves serious consideration. We know from Serbian written sources that Milutin was responsible for the foundation of a number of monuments in Thessalonike, including a church of St. Nicholas. What is more, he himself often visited that city where his mother-in-law, the Byzantine empress Eirene (Yolande of Montferrat), held court from 1303 to 1317.¹²⁴ Certain peculiarities of the iconographic programme of St. Nicholas, such as the portrayal of St. Clement of Ohrid and the attribution of the uncommon epithet 'Gorgos' to St. George, also encountered in other foundations of Milutin, seem to support the Serbian connection.¹²⁵ The identity of the masters responsible remains unknown, though the similarities between St. Nicholas and the church of the Anastasis in Verroia seem to justify the assumption that members of the same workshop were active in both monuments.¹²⁶ However, neither of the two principal painters who worked at St. Nicholas may be identified with Kallierges. In the representation of *realia* the church of St. Nicholas seems to stand in a category of its own. Its frescoes possess the highest concentration not only of carefully rendered fashionable artefact-types, but also of objects not encountered in other contemporary monuments.

The last Macedonian monument to be considered is the church of the Holy Apostles in Thessalonike. Originally, it was a monastic *katholikon* dedicated in all probability to the Theotokos. An inscription on the lintel of the main entrance and monograms in stone and

¹²³ 'Α. Ξυγγόπουλος, 'Αἱ τοιχογραφίαι τοῦ Ἀκαθίστου εἰς τὴν Παναγίαν τῶν Χαλκῶν Θεσσαλονίκης,' ΔΧΑΕ 7 (1973–1974), pp. 61–77; Mouriki, 'Stylistic Trends—14th c.,' p. 61; Τσιτουρίδου, *Ο ζωγραφικός διάκοσμος του Αγίου Νικολάου Ορφανού*, pp. 259–266.

¹²⁴ Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, pp. 299–231.

¹²⁵ S. Kissas, 'Srpski srednjovekovni spomenici u Solunu,' *Zograf* 11 (1980), pp. 29–43; Τσιτουρίδου, *Ο ζωγραφικός διάκοσμος του Αγίου Νικολάου Ορφανού*, pp. 38–45; Gouma-Peterson, 'The Frescoes of the Parekklesion of St. Euthymios,' p. 126.

¹²⁶ These similarities include representations of *realia* (e.g. female *loras-costume*, mail coifs, ornate *kalamarion*) common to both churches (Pls. 130, 142; 188, 226).

¹²⁰ Πελεκανίδης, *Καλλιέργης*, p. 7.

¹²¹ Mouriki, 'Stylistic Trends—14th c.,' p. 67; Nelson, *Theodore Hagipetrites*, pp. 125–127.

¹²² Πελεκανίδης, *Καλλιέργης*, pp. 114–121.

brickwork identify the patriarch of Constantinople Niphon I (1310–1314) as the founder.¹²⁷ A second painted inscription above the main door of the narthex identifies Paul, abbot of the monastery and a disciple of Niphon, as the second founder. Until recently it was thought that the construction of the church and the adornment of the dome and vaults of the naos with mosaics should be dated to the years 1310–1314. It was also thought that, following the patriarch's deposition in 1314, the frescoes of the lower zone of the naos, of the ambulatory, and of the exonarthex were executed under the supervision of the abbot Paul between the years 1328 and 1334. However, a recent study has demonstrated on the basis of dendrochronological data that the church was constructed in its entirety after 1329. As a result, the role of the patriarch Niphon as founder needs to be reconsidered and the date of the mosaics needs to be pushed forward by at least fifteen years. It would follow that the mosaics and the frescoes were devised as a single unified programme of pictorial decoration and were perhaps executed by members of the same workshop. In terms of style, the mosaics and frescoes of the Holy Apostles are commonly ascribed to the same trend as the pictorial decoration of the Chora in Constantinople. As to the origin of the workshop responsible, whether Constantinopolitan or Thessalonikan, opinions remain divided.

In terms of the existence of regional variation in the representation of *realia* in monumental painting, the picture that emerges from the survey of Constantinopolitan and Macedonian monuments in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries is far from clear. However, what does become apparent is the existence of a complicated network of patrons and artists which linked Constantinople with Thessalonike, and Thessalonike with Mount Athos and the other important centres of Byzantine Macedonia,¹²⁸ as well as with Serbia. Given the widespread diffusion of styles and the mobility of patrons and artistic workshops, it seems to me that an attempt to make a clear-cut distinction between Constantinopolitan and Macedonian

¹²⁷ Niphon was a native of Verroia. On his interest in Thessalonike see Stephan, *En byzantinisches Bildensemble*, pp. 15–20. On the active interest of the patriarchs of Constantinople in the ecclesiastical affairs of Thessalonike in general see Rautman, 'Aspects of Monastic Patronage,' pp. 71–72.

¹²⁸ On networks of patrons and artisans (painters, illuminators, scribes) in Late Byzantine Macedonia in particular see Nelson, *Theodore Hagiopritres*, esp. pp. 125–128.

attitudes towards the depiction of the material world might be unrealistic. One thing, however, may be said: in the face of the relative lack of comparative material from the capital, dichotomies of the kind Thessalonikan realism versus Constantinopolitan antiquarianism appear to be biased. I believe it is better to interpret the varying degrees of interest in the depiction of material culture observed in Palaiologan ensembles in terms either of general stylistic and iconographic developments of the period or of the circumstances particular to the creation of individual monuments.

First let us consider the monuments which belong to the so-called 'cubist manner': the frescoes of the south façade of the Pammakaristos, the mosaics of the south cupola of the Kilise Camii, the frescoes of the Peribleptos in Ohrid, those of the Protaton, and those of the chapel of St. Euthymios, all dated between 1290 and 1310. What little has survived from the decoration of the two Constantinopolitan monuments does not lend itself to an investigation into attitudes towards the representation of contemporary material culture. Consequently, I will concentrate on the three Macedonian monuments. The inventory of artefact-types encountered in these three monuments includes first of all items which were currently represented at the time, such as permanent tables with niches at the sides, wooden furniture with turned ornaments, a variety of serving utensils, distaffs on stands, *kalamaria*.¹²⁹ Next to these are items which were introduced for purposes of characterization, such as the Mongol hat of St. James the Persian at the Protaton,¹³⁰ and others the presence of which was an isolated instance of spontaneous borrowing from daily life (Pl. 239).¹³¹ The occurrence of other artefacts may be specifically associated with the interests of individual patrons such as the half-breastplate attributed to St. George at St. Euthymios (Pl. 132). That it does not appear in the portrayal of the same saint, or

¹²⁹ Comparable items are encountered in the slightly earlier first phase of the decoration of the Metropolis at Mistra (1272–1288), see below.

¹³⁰ Καλλίνικου Σταυροβουνιάτη, *Η τεχνική της αιογραφίας*, fig. 86. The hat with a fur brim was meant to identify St. James as 'Persian'. Iran had come under Mongol rule at the beginning of the thirteenth century, see above, note 47. Consequently, whoever decided to attribute this head-dress to the particular saint made a well-informed choice. St. James the Persian wears a similar hat at Staro Nagoričino (1317/8), see Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, pl. XXXIV.

¹³¹ Note that the system of strings securing the mantle of the Samaritan woman does not recur in any of the other pictorial ensembles executed by the workshop of Michael Astrapas and Eutychios.

any other military saint, at Ohrid and the Protaton (Pls. 125, 152) argues in favour of associating its occurrence at St. Euthymios with the personality of the patron, the *protostrator* Michael Glabas Tarchaneiotes.

It is in these three monuments that representations of helmets, sabres, bows, quivers, and maces attributed to military saints are encountered for the first time. Once introduced, these items recur, though not consistently, in the portrayal of military saints in monuments in Thessalonike itself (Pl. 161) and at Mistra.¹³² Their occurrence at Mistra suggests that the representation of such items was not limited to Macedonian monuments alone, but was a more widespread phenomenon. The military connections of the donors of the Peribleptos in Ohrid and of the chapel of St. Euthymios, the *megas hetaireiarches* Sgouros and the *protostrator* Tarchaneiotes respectively, could suggest that military men might have been responsible for setting this trend. Similar weapons, however, occur in portrayals of military saints in the Protaton which could antedate the other two monuments and whose unknown donor was probably an ecclesiastic rather than a military man. It seems more likely that the expansion of the inventory of the weapons of military saints in Late Byzantine pictorial contexts resulted from the further development of the tendency towards diversity and elaboration in the representation of military costume already observed in the twelfth century.

What is striking about the representations of contemporary artefacts in the Peribleptos, in the chapel of St. Euthymios, and at the Protaton, is not the fact of their occurrence *per se*, but their conspicuousness and the attention with which structural details have been depicted, especially in the case of the equipment of the military saints. These two features, I believe, have their source in the style of the three monuments discussed here. The cubist manner is distinguished by what has been termed as an 'outspoken realism' manifested in the anti-classical facial types, in the imposing corporeality of the figures, in violent movements, in the expression of powerful emotions, and in the massiveness of the background buildings.¹³³ I am of the opinion that the particular attention given to realistic

detail in the rendering of artefacts was another manifestation of the general tendency towards realism distinctive of this particular stylistic trend. Unfortunately, this assertion cannot be verified because of the lack of comparative representations from the Constantinopolitan monuments.

The frescoes of the church of the Anastasis (Hagios Christos) and of St. Nicholas Orphanos, the mosaics and frescoes of the Chora Monastery (Kariye Camii) and of the Holy Apostles, and the later work of Michael Astrapas and Eutykhios at Čučer and at Staro Nagoričino in Serbian Macedonia, created in the second decade of the fourteenth century or later, belong to a different stylistic trend which lacks the intensity of expression of the earlier monuments. This style is distinguished by tall figures with small heads, by more restrained attitudes and gestures, by the narrative treatment of the subject-matter, and by an interest in secondary genre themes. This last interest was for the most part satisfied by a recourse to earlier artistic models, rather than to contemporary daily life, for inspiration.¹³⁴ The artefact-types which were currently represented and which were encountered in the monuments of the 'cubist manner' occur also at the church of the Holy Apostles, at the Anastasis, and at the Chora. The rendering of such artefacts is on occasion detailed and ornate (Pl. 226). Next to these current types, one also encounters representations of artefacts introduced for the purposes of characterization (Pl. 93) and others the presence of which was a concession to fashion (Pl. 102).

The frescoes of St. Nicholas Orphanos belong to the same stylistic trend as those of the Holy Apostles, the Anastasis, and the Chora. The similarities between St. Nicholas and the Anastasis seem to justify the view that members of the same workshop worked on both monuments. However, the exceptional interest in representations of *realia* as well as the naturalistic rendering of the landscape in St. Nicholas¹³⁵ is not observable to the same degree in the Anastasis or in other contemporaneous monuments, including the work of Michael Astrapas and Eutykhios at Čučer and at Staro Nagoričino.

¹³² Χατζηδάκης, *Μυστράς*, fig. 56 (Peribleptos).

¹³³ Demus, 'Die Entstehung des Paläologenstils,' p. 30; *idem*, 'The Style of the Kariye Djami,' pp. 145-148; Mouriki, 'Stylistic Trends—14th c.,' pp. 58-70; 78-83; Gouma-Peterson, 'The Frescoes of the Parekklesion of St. Euthymios,' esp. pp. 115-123.

¹³⁴ Demus, 'The Style of the Kariye Djami,' pp. 109-127, 148-152, 156-159; Gouma-Peterson, 'The Frescoes of the Parekklesion of St. Euthymios,' pp. 125-129.

¹³⁵ Velmans, 'Les fresques de Saint Nicholas Orphanos,' p. 148; Τσιτουρίδου, *Ο ζωγραφικός διάκοσμος του Αγίου Νικολάου Ορφανού*, p. 224. Cf. Demus, 'The Style of the Kariye Djami,' pp. 120-121.

The differences in conception and execution that separate the frescoes of St. Nicholas from its related monuments is perhaps better attributed to a decision of the painters responsible to adopt a different artistic idiom, perhaps at the behest of the unknown donor.¹³⁶

As to the painted decoration of the outer narthex of the Vatopedi Monastery (1312), it was executed by two artists with different stylistic idioms.¹³⁷ The style of the first one is very close to that of the master of the Protaton,¹³⁸ and, like him, the Vatopedi artist paid attention to the realistic and detailed representation of weapons.¹³⁹ He also introduced fashionable artefact-types in his work, like a box-like throne¹⁴⁰ and a variety of serving utensils (Pl. 185), though nothing extraordinary. The same cannot be said of the second artist who worked in the outer narthex of Vatopedi: one has only to think of the representation of the banquet that forms part of the composition of the Heavenly Ladder.¹⁴¹ Whatever instructions his brief might have contained as to who or what was represented in this scene, it is to this artist's talent and powers of characterization that we owe the realistic portrayal of the participants at the feast and the successful evocation of a world of courtly pleasures. These same powers are also evident in the scenes of the Passion cycle that he executed, though in this latter context they are manifested in the representation of faces distorted by age, pain, and grief.¹⁴² This type of psychological characterization is absent from other Macedonian monuments dating to the second decade of the fourteenth century.¹⁴³

Let us now turn briefly to the pictorial ensembles of Mistra, the other major cultural centre of the Late Byzantine empire.¹⁴⁴ Items

¹³⁶ Cf. Gouma-Peterson's comments on the significant change in the style of Michael Astrapas and Eutychios evidenced by a comparison between their work at the Peribleptos, Ohrid (1294/5) and at St. Nikita, Čučer (1308–1320), see her 'The Frescoes of the Parekklesion of St. Euthymios,' p. 126.

¹³⁷ The frescoes of the naos of the *katholikon* have been painted over in Post-Byzantine times. Only a small number of them has been cleaned and made available through publication. In their present state, it would be unwise to introduce them into a discussion of the depiction of *realia*.

¹³⁸ Tsigaridas, *Vatopaidi*, pp. 273, 275, believes that the two should be identified.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, fig. 220.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, fig. 218.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, fig. 231.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, figs. 223–224, 233–235.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 271, 278.

¹⁴⁴ Information on the artists responsible for the painted ensembles of Mistra is non-existent. The quality of the paintings and the familiarity with recent icono-

of western military equipment apart, the contemporary artefact-types in pictorial ensembles of Mistra, like the Metropolis, the church of the Hodegetria (Aphendiko), and the Peribleptos, are for the most part those of Late Byzantine pictorial contexts elsewhere. They include items of military equipment like bows and quivers, wooden furniture with turned ornaments, a variety of domestic utensils, even a distaff on a stand. The generalized rendering makes clear that the artists were simply reproducing artistic models and were not drawing inspiration from their surroundings. On occasion, they even misunderstood these models.¹⁴⁵ When, however, one contrasts at the Peribleptos of Mistra the conventional representations of lay dress and paraphernalia with the realistic and detailed depiction of sacred vessels and vestments,¹⁴⁶ it becomes evident that it was not lack of artistic skill that led to such representations of secular artefacts. Rather, this indifference is indicative of a lack of interest on the part of both the artists and their patrons in the faithful depiction of such elements.

The only ensemble where one finds evidence of an interest in the observation and depiction of daily life is the Metropolis, the first phase of which is slightly earlier than the monuments of the 'cubist manner' in Byzantine Macedonia and Constantinople. One has in mind especially the depiction of the Healing of the paralytic at Bethesda (1272–1288), where next to the healed man stands a small boy carrying a red pillow on his shoulders (Pl. 191). The presence of this figure was required neither by the gospel account of this miracle nor by the established iconography of this episode.

To conclude this investigation into regional variation in the depiction of *realia* in Late Byzantine monumental painting, the following observations can be made. The case-studies of Constantinople, Byzantine Macedonia, and, to a lesser extent, Mistra have highlighted the fact that, as in the eleventh and twelfth centuries so in the Late Byzantine period, there existed a standard vocabulary of commonly represented contemporary artefact-types which was shared by artists working in different parts of the empire. Moreover, Late Byzantine artists, irrespective of region and stylistic idiom, allowed

graphic and stylistic developments they evidence have often been taken as an indication that the artists (or their models) came from Constantinople. On painting at Mistra in general see Millet, *Monuments byz. de Mistra*; Χατζηδάκης, *Μυστράς*; Dufrenne, *Programmes*; Mouriki, 'Stylistic Trends—14th c.', pp. 70–74, 83.

¹⁴⁵ Χατζηδάκης, *Μυστράς*, fig. 56.

¹⁴⁶ Millet, *Monuments byz. de Mistra*, pls. 110.1, 113.1, 114 (Heavenly Liturgy).

the infiltration of fashionable artefacts in their work for the sake of diversity or decorative effect. As to certain rare items at the chapel of St. Euthymios and at the Protaton, I associate their occurrence to the personal interests of the donors who had commissioned the respective monuments rather than to realistic tendencies peculiar to the local artistic idiom of Late Byzantine Macedonia.

The findings of the survey of monumental painting in Constantinople, Byzantine Macedonia, and Mistra yielded equivocal evidence concerning the existence of regional variation in attitudes towards the representation of contemporary material culture. The picture is one of chronological rather than geographical diversification. An interest in the representation of contemporary artefacts—manifested either in the particular attention with which common artefact-types were rendered or in the introduction of uncommon types beyond the dictates of iconographic necessity—is observable in monuments created in the late thirteenth century and the early fourteenth century at Mistra (Metropolis) and in Byzantine Macedonia (Peribleptos in Ohrid and the Protaton). Apparently, the interest in the forms of contemporary material culture began to recede in monuments created in Byzantine lands from the second decade of the fourteenth century onwards. The pictorial decoration of St. Nicholas Orphanos in Thessalonike is exceptional in this respect.

The Cultural Context

The tendencies towards realism observed in twelfth-century painting, with the emotive participation of the characters in the events represented together with attempts at a convincing rendering of depth and the spatial relationship between the figures and their setting, were further developed in the Late Byzantine period.¹⁴⁷ An interest in the representation of the forms of contemporary material culture, beyond the dictates of traditional iconography, also continued especially in monuments dating to the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century. The 'realism' of Palaiologan art was motivated, however, by different forces than that of Komnenian art. The representation of contemporary artefacts in Palaiologan contexts appears

¹⁴⁷ Mouriki, 'Stylistic Trends—14th c.'; T. Velmans, 'Les valeurs affectives dans la peinture murale Byzantine au XIII^e siècle et la manière de les représenter,' in *Symp. Sopotani*, pp. 47–57; *eadem*, 'Le rôle du décor architectural et la représentation de l'espace dans la peinture des Paléologues,' *CA* 14 (1964), pp. 183–216.

to have been a consequence of a general interest in incidental detail. This interest can be, at least partly, interpreted in terms of the role Byzantine religious art was called upon to play in a period of political decline and turmoil.¹⁴⁸ The faithful needed spiritual support and comfort; they needed to be reminded and convinced of the reality of God's involvement in all aspects of everyday existence, through Christ and the saints, and through His Church and His ministers.¹⁴⁹ Byzantine art was obliged to develop new iconographic solutions to face this challenge.¹⁵⁰ The stress laid on narrative detail appears to be one of the means adopted to underline the connection of the images to everyday experience. Yet, the creators of Byzantine religious art often preferred to turn to older artistic prototypes rather than to contemporary daily life for inspiration for such details.

This recourse to older artistic models was a conscious process which is best understood within the broader framework of the literary and artistic movement which modern scholars have described as the 'Palaiologan renaissance'.¹⁵¹ This revival movement was distinguished by an intensified emulation of antique pictorial forms and themes, though for the most part indirectly, through the medium of the classicising works of the tenth century. This imitation of antique models did not lead to a concomitant revival of the fundamental principles, including the love of the sensible world, which had animated Hellenistic and Roman culture.

Demus has drawn attention to the fact that this renaissance went through successive stages during which the stress was laid on the

¹⁴⁸ For a general historical survey of the period see Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, pp. 418–572. On the intellectual climate of the period in particular see I. Ševčenko, 'The Decline of Byzantium Seen through the Eyes of Its Intellectuals,' *DOP* 15 (1961), pp. 167–186; *idem*, 'Theodore Metochites'.

¹⁴⁹ J. Meyendorff, 'Spiritual Trends in Byzantium in the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries,' in *Studies*, pp. 95–106; *idem*, 'Society and Culture in the Fourteenth Century. Religious Problems,' *XIV CIEB* (Bucarest, 1975), I, pp. 111–124; Gouma-Peterson, 'Christ as Ministrant,' pp. 197–216.

¹⁵⁰ See T. Velmans, *La peinture byzantine à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1978). See, also, S. Dufrenne, 'L'enrichissement du programme iconographique dans les églises byzantines du XIII^e siècle,' in *Symp. Sopotani*, esp. pp. 41–43.

¹⁵¹ On the character and sources of the Palaiologan renaissance see, selectively, I. Ševčenko, 'The Palaeologan Renaissance,' in *Renaissances before the Renaissance*, ed. W. Treadgold (Stanford, California, 1984), pp. 144–171; A. Grabar, 'The Artistic Climate in Byzantium during the Palaeologan Period,' in *Studies*, esp. pp. 9–16; T. Velmans, 'L'héritage antique dans la peinture murale byzantine à l'époque du roi Mihail (1282–1321),' in *Symp. Gračanica*, pp. 39–51; D. Mouriki, 'Revival Themes

emulation of different aspects of antique art.¹⁵² Its earlier stage, the last decades of the thirteenth century to the early fourteenth century, was distinguished by a preoccupation with the plasticity and the corporeality of the human form, the quasi three-dimensional architectural elements of the background, and the concern for the correct rendering of spatial relationships between the figures and their setting. The 'cubist manner' was an offshoot of this 'classical' phase of Early Palaiologan painting.¹⁵³ The turn towards less ornate and more solid forms observed at the time in the representation of furniture and furnishings should perhaps be seen in the light of these stylistic developments which favoured volume and monumentality at the expense of decorative effect. In addition, this general turn towards a vigorous, 'physical' kind of realism in religious art created favourable conditions for the manifestation of an interest in material culture which is evidenced in some of the monuments created in this period.

In its subsequent phase, exemplified by the mosaics and frescoes of the Chora, the revival movement acquired a pronounced antiquarian character with the reproduction of certain iconographic and stylistic devices, such as odd postures and unusual views of the human body, figures dressed in flying *himatia*, elaborate hangings as parts of the setting, peculiar architectural structures, grisaille elements, and masks. These features were quarried for the most part from works of the tenth century. Such an eclectic approach towards Hellenistic and Roman art was not likely to awaken or sustain an interest in the observation and representation of the sensible world.

Conclusions

The evidence on chronological diversification is much clearer than the evidence on regional diversity. Typological changes in the appearance of actual artefacts, especially of imperial costume, of official costume in the Middle Byzantine period, of military equipment, and of writing implements, were duly reflected in religious art irrespec-

tive of realistic stylistic tendencies or lack of them at any given period. What is more, the attitude of Byzantine religious art towards the depiction of certain artefact-types was found to vary from one period to the next in response to the changing cultural interests and artistic tastes of Byzantine society. One has in mind, for example, the particular interest in the realistic representation of the costume of commoners in twelfth-century contexts; the tendency towards diversification in the rendition of military costume from the twelfth century onward; the taste for richly adorned furniture and elaborately patterned textile furnishings in eleventh- and twelfth-century contexts and the preference for more 'solid' and sober forms in the following period; and the tendency to expand the inventory of domestic utensils, especially tableware, from the twelfth century onward.

The twelfth century, especially the second half, and the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century emerge as periods of 'realism' in the depiction of costume and paraphernalia. The attention given to realistic representations of artefacts during these two periods could be understood as a manifestation of a general turn towards greater realism in art at the time. This turn is observable in the attempts at psychological characterization of the figures, in the search, in the Palaiologan period, for volume, in the naturalistic depiction of the landscape, and in the preoccupation with the correct spatial relationship between the human figures and their pictorial setting.

The fact that the pictorial ensembles which have come down to us from Constantinople are few and fragmentary constitutes a serious impediment to the enquiry into regional diversification. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as well as in the Late Byzantine period there existed an interregional vocabulary of commonly represented artefact-types. The occurrence of standard types in roughly contemporaneous monuments in all parts of the empire argues in favour of the initial dissemination of these types from an influential artistic centre which appears to have been Constantinople. Differences in the typology of certain artefact-types as encountered in contemporaneous monuments created in different parts of the empire can be considered to reflect either regional diversification in material culture, as for example in the case of items of the costume of commoners, or the availability of non-Byzantine artistic models in a particular area, as for example in the case of certain items of western military equipment in the churches of Mistra. As for the manifestation of 'realistic' tendencies in the depiction of artefacts in certain provincial

with Elements of Daily Life in Two Palaeologan Frescoes Depicting the Baptism', in *Okeanos. Essays Presented to Ihor Ševčenko*, eds. C. Mango and O. Pritsak, *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* VII (1983), pp. 458-488; Kitzinger, 'The Hellenistic Heritage in Byzantine Art'.

¹⁵² Demus, 'The Style of the Kariye Djami,' esp. pp. 156-159.

¹⁵³ Demus, 'Die Entstehung des Paläologenstils,' pp. 22-31; *idem*, 'The Style of the Kariye Djami,' pp. 131-148; Belting, Mango, Mouriki, *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos*, pp. 102-103; Velmans, 'Le rôle du décor architectural'.

monuments, this is better understood as a local adaptation of a general trend probably emanating from Constantinople. That the decoration of the monuments in which such tendencies are observed evidences in many other respects an awareness of recent iconographic and stylistic developments in metropolitan art corroborates this assertion.

C. CREATORS AND RECIPIENTS OF RELIGIOUS ART AS FACTORS INFLUENCING THE OCCURRENCE OF *REALIA*

Within the framework provided by dogmatic restrictions, tradition, general cultural trends, and standard artistic practices, the treatment of representations of contemporary artefacts in individual monuments depended on the skills of the artists and on the tastes of the patrons.

Given the limitations placed on artistic creativity by the Orthodox icon theory,¹⁵⁴ it is unlikely that the initiative for the initial introduction of artefacts which served an important semiotic function lay with the artists. Their role in the adoption of artefact-types which served as distinctive attributes of individual figures or those which reflected the Byzantine conceptualisation of the spiritual world in terms of the imperial government must have been marginal.

As to the initial introduction of fashionable or fashionably represented artefact-types which had no significative function, famous artists, like Pantoleon in the early eleventh century and Eulalios in the second half of the twelfth,¹⁵⁵ might have been influential in triggering a trend. The presence of fashionable or fashionably represented artefact-types in a religious composition left the essence of its message unaffected and as such it would not provoke opposition from the theologians. Given that we are dealing with secondary

details it may be assumed that some artists felt relatively more at liberty to reproduce types with which they were familiar, often in response to the incentives of the cultural climate of their times.

Whilst the mechanisms of dissemination of common representations of *realia*, remain obscure, one may hypothesize about the influence of travelling workshops or of patrons on the process, about the role of portable works of art, especially illuminated manuscripts and panel icons, in the spread of iconographic types,¹⁵⁶ and about the use of motif or model books.¹⁵⁷ The roughly contemporaneous occurrence of common artefact-types in monuments with a wide geographical distribution argues in favour of dissemination from influential artistic centres.

The vocabulary of commonly-represented contemporary artefact-types was apparently shared by all artists of lay or monastic background and without any inhibitions on the part of the latter as to the acceptability of these forms. The representation of female gowns with trumpet-shaped sleeves and of fan-shaped head-dresses in two eleventh-century manuscripts created in the scriptorium of the Stoudios monastery in Constantinople, namely the gospel-book *Par. gr. 74* (mid-eleventh century) and the *Theodore Psalter* (1066),¹⁵⁸ serves to illustrate this point. The quality of the reproductions of common artefact-types fluctuated from one monument to the next. The skills, training, and understanding of prototypes by the artist determined how successful his own reproductions would be. Some artists were content with mechanically reproducing such stock types, as illustrated by the treatment of female costume in a miniature from an eleventh-century *menologium*, *Esphigmenou* 14, f. 415r. The miniature depicts the abuse of a Levite's concubine by the Benjamites of Gibeah (Judges 19:25) in two superimposed registers.¹⁵⁹ In the top register the woman

¹⁵⁴ See above, note 2. See, also, Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin*, pp. 299–302; R. Cormack, 'Painting after Iconoclasm,' in *Iconoclasm*, pp. 147–163; Dagron, 'Holy Images and Likeness,' pp. 23, 25, 33; A. Guillou, 'Le monde des images à Byzance,' in *Byzance et les images*, p. 35; T. Velmans, 'Aspects du conditionnement de l'artiste byzantin: les commanditaires, les modèles, les doctrines,' in *Artistes, artisans et production artistique au Moyen Âge*, vol. II: *commande et travail*, ed. X. Barral i Altet (Paris, 1987), pp. 79–97.

¹⁵⁵ See Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire*, pp. 213–214 (Pantoleon), 229–233 (Eulalios); I. Ševčenko, 'On Pantoleon the Painter,' *JÖB* 21 (1972), pp. 241–249; N. Bees, 'Kunstgeschichtliche untersuchungen über die Eulalios-frage und den Mosaik-schmuck der Apostelkirche zu Konstantinopel,' *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* XXXIX (1916), pp. 97–117, 231–251; XL (1917), pp. 59–77.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. E. Kitzinger, 'The Role of Miniature Painting in Mural Decoration,' in K. Weitzmann et al., *The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art* (Princeton, 1975), pp. 99–142; *idem*, 'Reflections on the Feast Cycle'.

¹⁵⁷ The question whether and in what way pictorial guides and motif or model books were employed in Byzantium remains open, see, for example, Kitzinger, *Manuale*, pp. 62–63; S. Der Nersessian, 'Copies de peintures byzantines dans un carnet arménien de "modèles",' *Cd* 18 (1968), esp. pp. 111–112; H. Buchthal, *The "Musterbuch" of Wolfenbüttel and Its Position in the Art of the Thirteenth Century* (Vienna, 1979), pp. 13–18; O. Demus, *Byzantine Art and the West* (London, 1970), pp. 31–38.

¹⁵⁸ Omont, *Ms Grec 74*, pls. 67, 71, 164; Der Nersessian, *L'illustration de psaumes grecs*, fig. 287.

¹⁵⁹ Pelekanides et al., *Treasures*, II, fig. 401.

appears in a conventional pink gown. In the register below, the same woman wears a pink gown with trumpet-shaped sleeves. Other artists saw in the depiction of current artefact-types the potential to display their skills and took advantage of it. Room for innovation in terms of iconography was limited. Hence, it was largely in the treatment of secondary details that the personality of the artist could make itself felt. Looking, for example, at the representation of the military equipment of Joshua at Hosios Loukas or of St. Merkurios at the Protaton (Pls. 118, 124), at the depiction of wooden furniture at St. Nicholas Orphanos (Pls. 92, 189), at the casket in the hands of St. Panteleimon at Sts. Anargyroi in Kastoria (Pl. 196), and at the vessels in the hands of the visiting women at Nerezi (Pl. 233), one derives the impression that the respective artists delighted in creating these images in which their artistry was revealed. Whether their motivation in doing so was a personal interest in the observation of their surrounding world or their wish to earn the acknowledgment of their patron and the public for their skills is unknown.¹⁶⁰ As to unique representations of artefacts, it is not always easy to discern where the will of the patron stops and that of the artist begins, even more so when the identity of the donor and the circumstances of his/her foundation remain obscure.

The evidence as to whether different artistic workshops had their own distinctive artefact-vocabulary or a preference for the representation of certain artefact-types is ambivalent. The occurrence of identical ornate *kalamaria* and female imperial costume at the Anastasis in Verroia and at St. Nicholas Orphanos in Thessalonike seem to suggest that this was not unlikely. On the other hand, the lack of consistency between the inventory of *realia* encountered at the Peribleptos in Ohrid, at Čučer, and at Staro Nagoričino, all three painted by the workshop of Michael Astrapas and Eutykhios and the latter two at the behest of king Milutin,¹⁶¹ suggests that a workshop's vocabulary of *realia* was far from being rigid. Rather, it seems, the treatment of *realia* in individual commissions could be affected by changes in the stylistic idiom of the workshop and influenced by the

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage in Thirteenth-Century Constantinople*, p. 54: 'It is only in costly and exceptional books that they [the painters] aimed at individual achievements'; in other words, in contexts where such achievements would be appreciated.

¹⁶¹ See Millet and Frolow, *La peinture du Moyen Âge*, III, pls. 1-18 (Peribleptos), 31-53 (St. Nikita, Čučer), 71-119 (Staro Nagoričino).

nature of the creative sources and artistic models at the disposal of the artists in each case.

The twelfth century, which saw an increasing diversity in the rendition of contemporary artefacts and the earliest occurrence of representations intimating an interest in the depiction of the material world independent of iconographic necessities, was the time when artists began to step out of their anonymity. Not only did they begin to sign their works but it was accepted as a legitimate practice for a famous master to include his self-portrait in the guise of one of the participants in a religious narrative scene, as Eulalios was supposed to have done in no less a monument than the Holy Apostles of Constantinople.¹⁶² This development is a sign of the professional confidence and of the more general developments in Byzantine society which allowed for the accentuation of individuality. That an increased, though always discreet, attention to the representation of material reality should be observed in religious painting for the first time in that period is not surprising considering that, as Grabar put it, 'l'observation directe de la nature est le fait de l'individu'.¹⁶³ It is in the work of gifted masters trained in the best Byzantine traditions that we encounter the most beautiful representations of contemporary artefacts. Trusting in their own talent and encouraged by the artistic climate of their times, the artists of Nerezi, of Kurbinovo, of Panagia Arakiotissa, of the Protaton, the Peribleptos in Ohrid, and of Vatopedi took advantage of the potential offered them by their medium and explored new possibilities without ever making a complete break with tradition. Special mention should be made of the artists responsible for the decoration of St. Nicholas Orphanos at Thessalonike. Their work shows stylistic similarities with the work of Kallierges at Verroia and with that of Michael Astrapas and Eutykhios at St. Nikita, Čučer, and at Staro Nagoričino. All these artists had their roots in the same artistic tradition and may have even been trained in the same workshop.¹⁶⁴ Still, the painted decoration of the

¹⁶² O. Demus, "The Sleepless Watcher". Ein Erklärungsversuch, *JÖB* 28 (1979), pp. 241-245. This development does not denote a change in the social status of the painters in Byzantine society. Down to the Late Byzantine period, painters in their majority were counted among the ranks of artisans and specialized craftsmen, see S. Kalopissi-Verti, 'Painters in Late Byzantine Society: The Evidence of Church Inscriptions,' *CA* 42 (1994), pp. 139-158.

¹⁶³ Grabar, *L'iconoclisme byzantin*, p. 302.

¹⁶⁴ Velmans, 'Les fresques de Saint Nicholas Orphanos,' *passim*; Mouriki, 'Stylistic Trends—14th c.,' p. 61.

Thessalonikan monument stands out from the other three for its predilection for realistic detail in the depiction of artefacts and its interest in themes directly inspired from daily life. Such a significant difference in the treatment of subject-matter as evidenced at St. Nicholas could have only been caused by a wish to comply with the demands of the unknown patron. Seen in this light the artists of St. Nicholas appear as remarkably capable of adapting their idiom to the new requirements of their commission.

Evaluating the influence that individual patrons might have had on the introduction of *realia* into the pictorial decoration of their commissions is not always possible given that often their identity and personal circumstances are not known. The representation of contemporary artefact-types which had been incorporated into the artistic vocabulary of a given period either as personal attributes or under the influence of the collective tastes of Byzantine society were impersonal in character as they can be found in monuments varying in their social range of patronage. It would seem that the rank or gender of the patron did not have any direct bearing on the occurrence of such artefacts in his/her foundation. As to the identity of those responsible for their initial adoption by Byzantine art one can do no more than speculate. In the case of distinctive attributes endowed to individual saints it has been suggested that it was the clergy of the most venerated sanctuary of a saint, located where he/she had been martyred or where his/her relics were kept, who had been instrumental in the creation and promotion of the standard iconographic type of that particular saint.¹⁶⁵ In the case of the attribution of the imperial *loros-costume* to the archangels and of the eparchic costume to Pilate in Middle Byzantine contexts, one expects that those responsible must have had, in addition to their theological education, a knowledge of the symbolism of imperial insignia and imperial ceremonial. Persons with such qualifications could have been found within the patriarchal and the imperial circles of the capital, but their identity remains elusive.

The adoption of imperial and official costume, and of imperial imagery in general, might have been cultivated by the state which was keen to propagate its image as the reflection of the Heavenly Kingdom on Earth and to perpetuate the concept of its own hier-

archical structure as mirroring that of the Universe. The Byzantine world-view must have instigated and, at the same time justified, the use of imperial and official insignia in religious iconography. That this use met the approval of the imperial government, which was otherwise fiercely defensive of its own prerogatives, is equally plausible. However, I do not think that one should seek temporal political motives behind every representation of imperial and official insignia in religious contexts.

The initial introduction of fashionable or fashionably represented artefact-types into religious contexts might have been determined by the preferences of a class of influential patrons. In the case of contemporary military equipment used in the portrayal of military saints the initiative may have originated with the members of the military aristocracy who regarded the military saints as their comrades-in-arms. One, however, should be cautious in advancing this hypothesis. The ubiquitous presence of military saints in works of art commissioned by donors spanning the social spectrum in the Middle and in the Late Byzantine periods indicates that these saints' popularity as effective guardians against spiritual and natural enemies was widespread. Consequently the promotion of their cult cannot be preferentially associated with any particular social group.¹⁶⁶

Nor does the introduction of anecdotal details of a 'popular' character into religious contexts always imply low social status of the donors of the work of art in which these elements appear.¹⁶⁷ The presence of the peddler carrying an amphora or a jar on his back in the Birth of St. Nicholas at his church at Platsa in the Mani (Pl. 237) might indeed be a reflection of the life of the local community whose members—priests and simple laymen—had collectively sponsored that part of the decoration of the church.¹⁶⁸ On the other hand, the portrayal of the shepherds and the sheepfold at Kurbinovo (Pl. 214) appears to be unrelated to the rank of the unknown patron

¹⁶⁶ On the problem of considering the social rank of patrons as a factor determining iconographic developments see R. Cormack, 'Aristocratic Patronage of the Arts in 11th- and 12th-Century Byzantium,' in *Byzantine Aristocracy*, pp. 158-172.

¹⁶⁷ The following thoughts on the potential contribution of individual patrons to the introduction of 'popular' elements in religious iconography have been triggered by observations of modern historians and philologists investigating the infiltration of popular elements (subject-matter, language) into Byzantine literature observed from the twelfth century onward.

¹⁶⁸ See Mouriki, *The Frescoes of St. Nicholas at Platsa*, pp. 17-18, 45.

¹⁶⁵ Mouriki, *The Mosaics of Nea Moni*, pp. 147, 211-212.

generally thought to have belonged to the upper levels of Byzantine society. Thus, the occurrence of popular elements in religious contexts could be taken to denote a change in the mentality and tastes of the educated upper classes, lay and ecclesiastic patrons of art included. Alternatively, it may reflect a more general cultural trend towards popularisation.¹⁶⁹ There is also the possibility that on certain occasions popular elements might have been introduced to cater for the needs of a foreign Hellenised patron, who either did not understand the subtleties of Byzantine artistic language¹⁷⁰ or did not feel as bound by the constraints of tradition as his Byzantine counterparts did. Seen in this light, popular elements in the decoration of St. Nicholas Orphanos (1310–1320) (Pls. 189, 236) make the identification of the donor with king Milutin of Serbia appear plausible.

The personality of individual donors, their education, interests, tastes, and their motives in commissioning a work of art must have been a determining factor in the occurrence of *realia*—whether widely represented or unique—in their foundations. This point may be illustrated by a brief discussion of the cases of Eumathios Philokales, of the Lemniotes family, of Theodore Metochites, and of king Milutin of Serbia. Philokales, Metochites, and Milutin are well-known figures, while the dedicatory inscriptions and the donors' portraits at Ss. Anargyroi, Kastoria, provide interesting insights in the personality and aspirations of the members of the Lemniotes family.

The *doux* of Cyprus Eumathios Philokales was the founder of the north church of the Koutsovendes Monastery in Cyprus. Despite his being a successful general, military saints do not figure prominently in the decoration of his foundation; those who do appear were represented in the *chlamys-costume* of the martyrs, not in armour. Given that Philokales' foundation was a monastic church constructed, according to the dedicatory inscription, for the expiation of past sins it is not surprising to find that portraits of saintly monks and ascetics predominate. Military saints were portrayed as members of the Heavenly Court—and consequently as mediators—not as warriors.

PLATES 134–244

¹⁶⁹ Kazhdan and Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture*, pp. 83–99; Magdalino, *Manuel I Komnenos*, pp. 395–396; Velmans, *La peinture byzantine*, p. 50.

¹⁷⁰ The suggestion that non-Byzantine literary patrons in twelfth-century Constantinople might have in some way influenced the introduction of popular elements in the literature of the period was put forward by Prof. M. Jeffreys in a paper presented at the Byzantine Studies Seminar, University of Oxford, in Michaelmas 1997.



134, Ellasson, Panagia Olympiotissa (second quarter of fourteenth century). St. Theodore Stratelates, (photo Thanases Euthymopoulos)



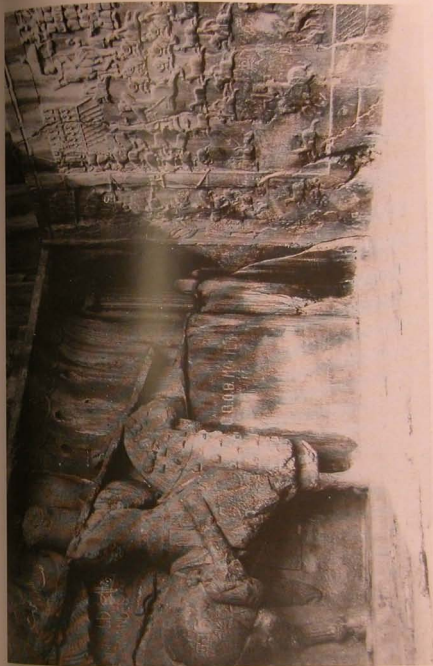
135. Ohrid, Peribleptos (1294/5). St. Merkourios. (photo Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)



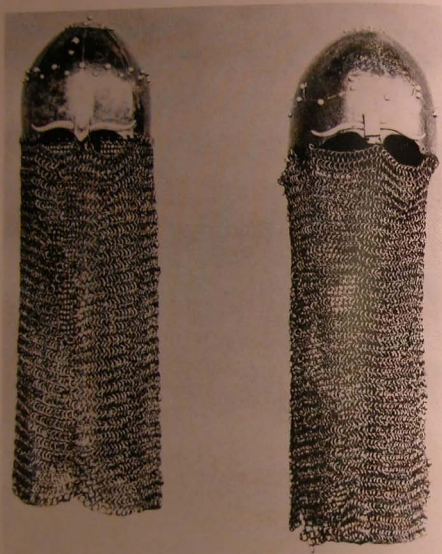
136. Kastoria, Panagia Mavriotissa, exterior of south wall of narthex (1259-1264).
St. Demetrios (left) and St. George (right). (photo Ivan Djordjević)



137. Constantinople, Chora Monastery, funerary chapel (1315-1321). St. Theodore Tiro.
(photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)



138. Taq-i-Bostan, rock-cut carving (c. 620). Khusr II. (photo The Middle East Centre, St. Antony's College, Oxford)



139. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Museum. Pair of Turkish helmets (thirteenth-fourteenth century). [after Stöcklein H., 'Die Waffenschätze im Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi zu Istanbul - Ein vorläufiger Bericht,' *Ars Islamica* I (1934), pp. 200-218, fig. 3]



140. Mistra, Peribleptos (third quarter of the fourteenth century). Way to Calvary and Ascent to the Cross. [after Χατζηδόνατος Μ., *Μυστράς. Η μεσαιωνική πολιτεία και το κέντρο*. Οθήρες (Athens, 1989), fig. 52]



141. Thessalonike, Holy Apostles (1329-1334). Martyrdom of St. Demetrios, detail. [after Ξεγγρόπουλος 'Α., "Η τοιχογραφία του μαρτυρίου του 'Αγίου Δημητρίου εις τούς 'Αγίους 'Αποστόλους Θεσσαλονίκης," ΔΧΑΕ 8 (1975-1976), pp. 1-18, pl. 3]



142. Verroia, church of the Anastasis (1315). Way to Calvary. (photo Dušan Tasić)



143. Chios, Nea Mone (1049-1055), Prayer in the garden and Betrayal, (photo 3^e Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities)

ἡ ἀποστολή τῶν μαρτύρων
καὶ τῶν μαρτύρων

τὸν σαρακομήτην τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ
καὶ τὸν σαρακομήτην τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ
καὶ τὸν σαρακομήτην τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ



ἡ ἀποστολή τῶν μαρτύρων
καὶ τῶν μαρτύρων

144. Vat. gr. 747, f. 247v (third quarter of eleventh century?), The Israelites slay the Ephraimites, (© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)



145. Bayeux Tapestry (after 1066), detail. Warriors of the army of William the Conqueror, (with the special permission of the City of Bayeux)



146. Kastoria, Sts. Anargyroi (c. 1180). St. Christophoros. [after Πελεκανίδης Στ., *Καστορία Ι. Βυζαντινά τοιχογραφία. Πίνακες* (Thessalonike, 1953), pl. 23a]



147. Constantinople, Chora Monastery (1315-1321), funerary chapel. St. Prokopios. (photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)



148. Thessalonike, St. Nicholas Orphanos (1310-1320). St. Artemios. (photo Ivan Djordjević)



147. Constantinople, Chora Monastery (1315-1321), funerary chapel. St. Prokopios. (photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)



148. Thessalonike, St. Nicholas Orphanos (1310-1320). St. Artemios. (photo Ivan Djordjević)



149. Thessalonike, St. Nicholas Orphanos (1310-1320). St. Demetrios.
(photo Ivan Djordjević)



150. Verroia, church of the Anastasis (1315). St.
Demetrios. (photo Dušan Tasić)



151. Corinth. Iron tip of blade and grip(?) of a sword (found together; probably eleventh century). (photo American School of Classical Studies, Corinth Excavations)



152. Mount Athos, Protaton (c. 1290 or c. 1300). St. George. (photo Ivan Djordjević)



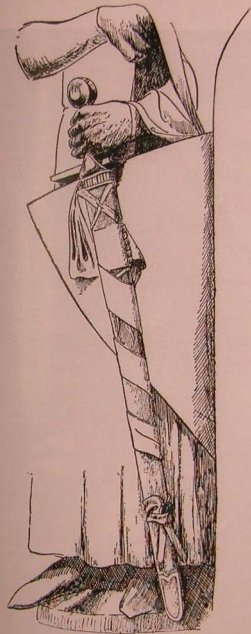
153. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. The ceremonial sword of Frederick II Hohenstaufen (before 1220); disk pommel of the fourteenth century. (photo Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)



154. Thessalonike, Holy Apostles (1329-1334), naos. St. Demetrios, detail. (photo Ivan Djordjević)



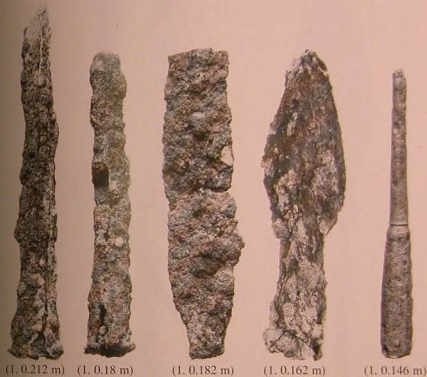
155. Constantinople, Chora Monastery (1315-1321). St. Demetrios. (photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)



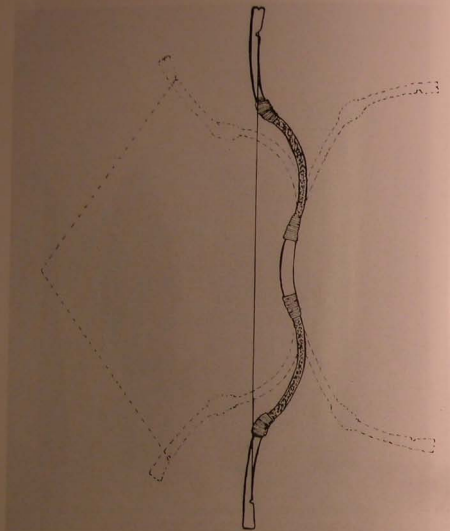
156. Naumburg. The sword of count Ekkehard (1260). [after Oakeshott E., *The Archaeology of Weapons. Arms and Armour from Prehistory to the Age of Chivalry* (London, 1960), fig. 121]



157. Göreme, Elmalı kilise (mid-eleventh century). Berneval. (photo Catherine Jolivet-Lévy)



158. Corinth. Spearhead types from Byzantine contexts (not to scale). (photo American School of Classical Studies, Corinth Excavations)



159. Reconstruction of an Avar reflex bow. [after Riez P., 'The Weapons of Steppe Nomads,' *Balkanoslavica* 10 (1983), pp. 1-15, fig. 1]



160. Corinth. Leaf-shaped iron arrowheads from Byzantine contexts. (photo by I. Ioannidou and L. Bartziotou, American School of Classical Studies, Corinth Excavations)



161. Thessalonike, Holy Apostles (1329-1334), Military saint. (photo Miodrag Marković)



162. Constantinople, Chora Monastery (1315-1321), Herod ordering the Massacre of the Innocents. (photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)



163. Constantinople, Chora Monastery (1315-1321). Massacre of the Innocents. (photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)



164. Paphos, The Holy Metropolis of Paphos, double-sided icon (late twelfth century), reverse. St. James the Persian. (photo The Holy Metropolis of Paphos, with the kind permission of the Metropolitan of Paphos)



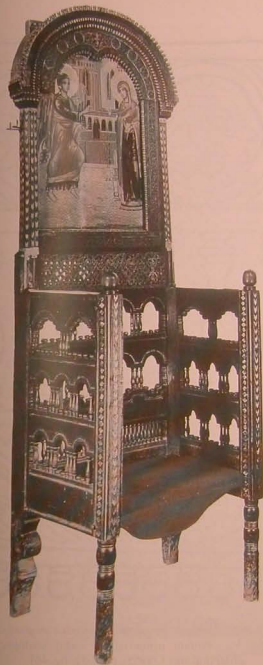
165. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Cabinet des médailles. Cameo of red jasper with the archangel Michael surnamed 'the guardian' (h. 0.048 m) (tenth-eleventh century). (photo Bibliothèque nationale de France)



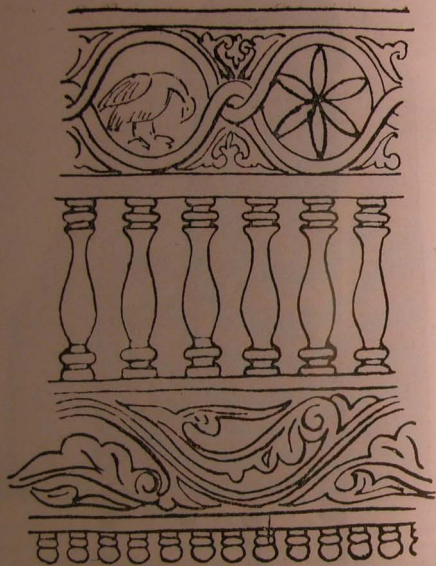
166. Corinth. Bronze stand for a small vessel or glass lamp, consisting of two detachable sections (Byzantine). (photo by I. Ioannidou and L. Bartziotou, American School of Classical Studies, Corinth Excavations)



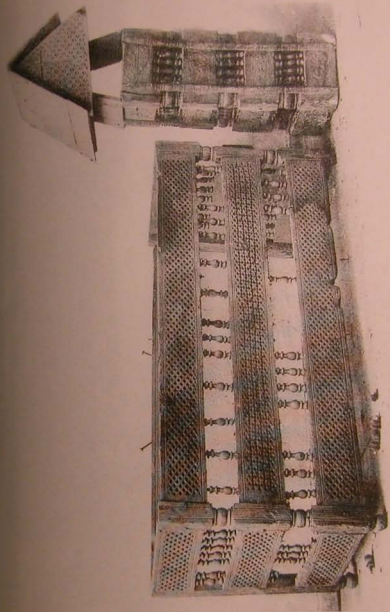
167. Melegob, church of St. Theodore. Marble slabs believed to have belonged to an episcopal throne (tenth century). [after Rott H., *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler aus Pisidien, Pamphylien, Kappadokien und Lykien* (Leipzig, 1908), fig. 105]



168. Bulgaria, Rila Monastery. Episcopal throne (fourteenth century). (photo Rossen Kolev)



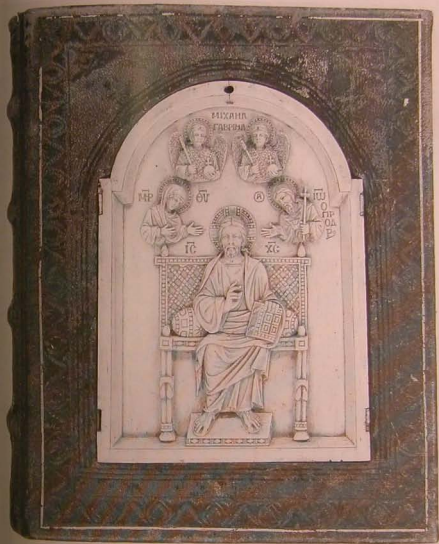
169. Kastoria, church of St. Stephanos. Fragment of a wooden *templon* - screen (fourteenth century). [after Han V., 'Profani namještaj na našoj srednjovjekovnoj fresci,' *ZbMPrImet* 1 (1955), pp. 7-52, fig. 40]



170. Kastoria, church of St. Stephanos. Ecclesiastical furniture (second half of fourteenth century). [after Soteriou G.A., 'La sculpture sur bois dans l'art byzantin,' *Mélanges Charles Diehl* (Paris, 1930), II, pp. 171-180, pl. XIV.2]



171. Çavuşin, Hagia kilise (beginning of tenth century), apse of the bema. Theophany, detail: the enthroned Christ and the symbols of the four evangelists. (photo Catherine Jolivet-Lévy)



172. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, ms. *theol. lat. quart. 3*, cover. Central panel of a now-dismantled tenth-century ivory triptych with a Deesis, in secondary use. (photo Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz)



175. Patmos, Monastery of St. John, chapel of St. Leontios, east wall (c. 1200). Enthroned Virgin and Child flanked by archangels, detail. [after Μουρική Ντ., 'Οι τοιχογραφίες του παρεκκλησιαίου της Μονής του Θεολόγου στην Πάτμο,' ΔΧΑΕ 14 (1987-1988), pp. 205-263, fig. 3]



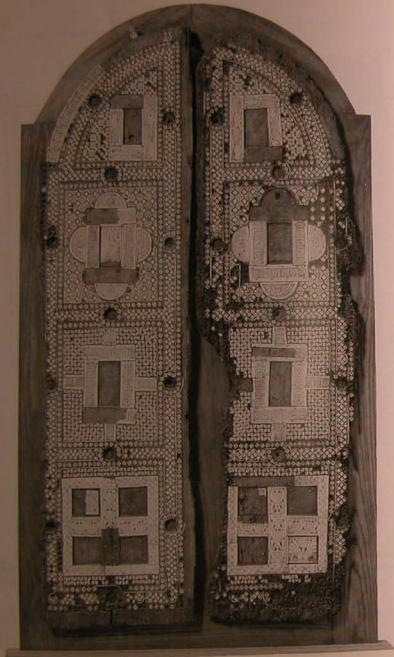
176. Kurbínovo, St. George (1191), apse of the bema. Enthroned Virgin and Child flanked by the archangels Michael and Gabriel. (photo Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)



177. Athens 93, f. 52v (last quarter of twelfth century). St. Mark. (with the permission of the National Library of Greece / photo Manoles Manole)



178. Burney 19, f. 1v (twelfth century). St. Matthew. (by permission of the British Library)



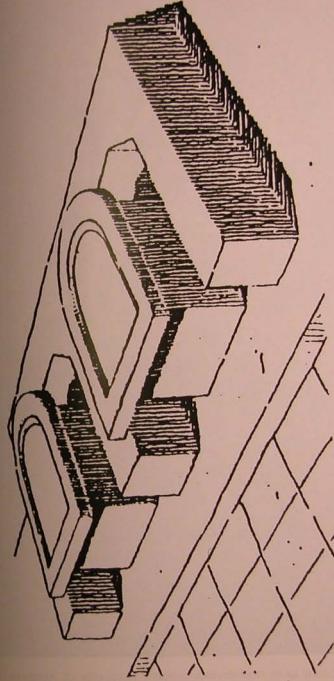
179. Mount Athos, Protaton, Wooden bema doors inlaid with ivory and bone(?) (h.: 1.35 m; w.: 0.75 m) (second half of tenth century). [after *Treasures of Mount Athos*, ed. A. Karakatsanis (Thessalonike, 1997), no. 9.15]



180. Chios, Nea Mone, refectory. Stationary table, detail of the marble inlay decoration of the top (probably eleventh century). (photo 3^a Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities)



181. Pamos, Monastery of St. John, refectory. Stationary table, detail of the niches at the sides (twelfth-thirteenth century). (photo Cyril Mango)



182. Mount Athos. Stationary tables of monastic refectories (Byzantine). [after 'Ορίανδρος 'Α., *Μοναστηριακή Ἀρχιτεκτονική* (Athens, 1958), fig. 65]



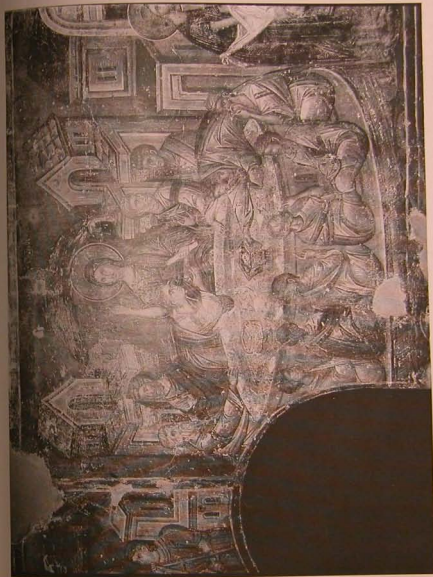
183. Göreme, Çarıklı kilise (mid-eleventh century). Hospitality of Abraham. (photo Catherine Jolivet-Lévy)



184. Mount Athos, Protaton (c. 1290 or c. 1300). Last Supper.



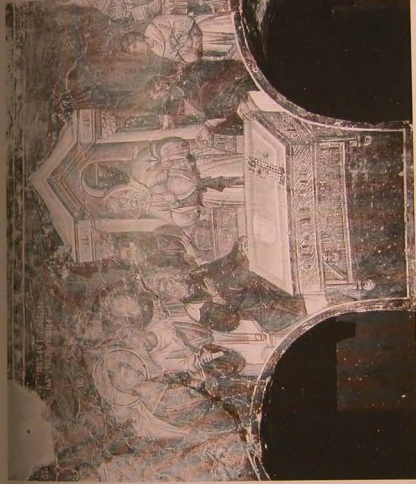
185. Mount Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, exonarthex of the *katholikon* (1312). Last Supper.
(photo Ivan Djordjević)



186. Thessalonike, St. Nicholas Orphanos (1310-1320). Last Supper. (photo Ivan Djordjević)



187. Göreme, Karamlik kilise (mid-eleventh century). Last Supper. (photo Catherine Jolivet-Lévy)



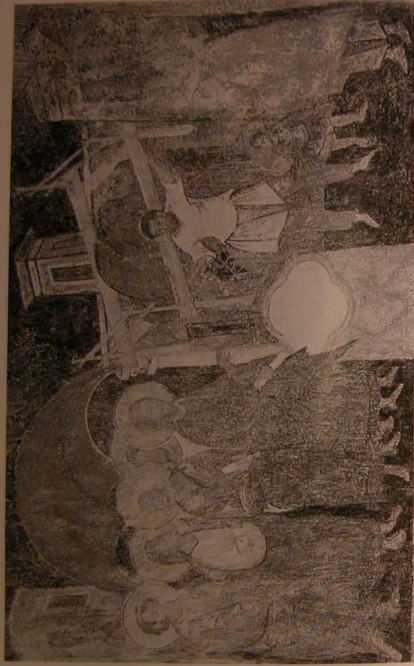
188. Thessalonike, St. Nicholas Orphanos (1310-1320). Christ before the High Priests. (photo Ivan Djordjević)



189. Thessalonike. St. Nicholas Orphanos (1310-1320). Wedding at Cyren (photo 9th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities)



190. Asinou, Panagia Phorbiotissa (1105/6). Dormition, detail (photo Cyprus Museum, with the kind permission of the Metropolitan of Morphou)



191. Mistra, Metropolis (1272-1288). The healing of the paralytic of Bethesda. [after Χατζηδόνης Μ., Μυστράς, Η μεσαιωνική παράδοση και το κέντρο. *Θθήνη* (Athens, 1989), fig. 24]



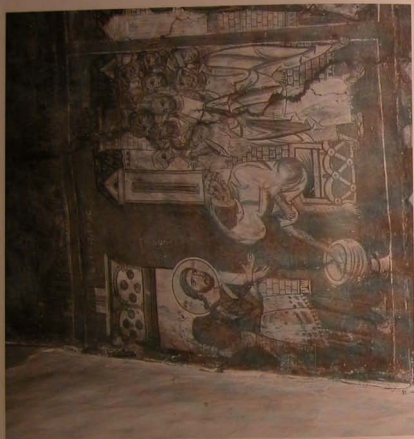
192. Verroia, church of the Anastasis (1315). Dormition. (photo Dušan Tasić)



193. Sens. Musées, Treasury of the Cathedral. Silk fragment with a griffin from the reliquary of St. Siviard, TC B8 (diam. of medallion: 0.66 m) (eleventh-twelfth century). (photo by J.P. Elle, Musées de Sens.)



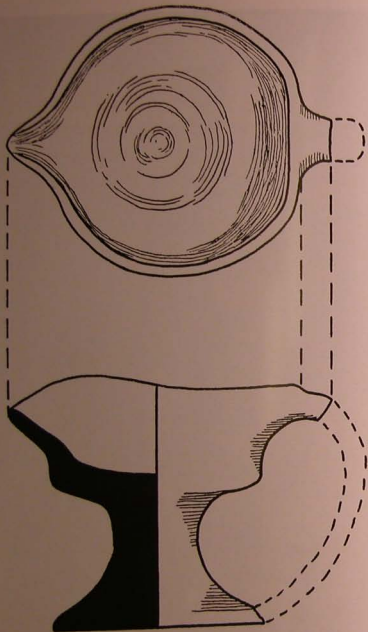
194. Par. gr. 134, f. 184v (thirteenth century). Women spinning and weaving. (photo Bibliothèque nationale de France)



195. Kastoria, Panagia Mavriotissa, naos (early twelfth or early thirteenth century).
Washing of the Feet. (photo Ivan Djordjevic)



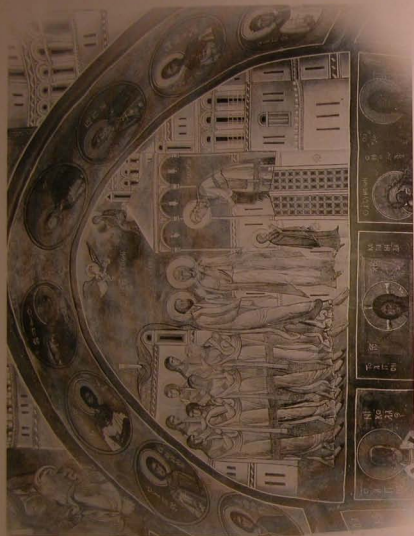
196. Kastoria, Sts. Anargyroi (c. 1180). St. Panteleimon. [after Πελεκανίδης Στ., *Καστοριά I. Βυζαντινὰι τοιχογραφίαι. Πίνακες* (Thessalonike, 1953), pl. 26b]



197. Constantinople, Great Palace excavation. Clay lamp (h.: 0.065 m) (twelfth or early thirteenth century). [after *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors. Second Report*, ed. D. Talbot-Rice (Edinburgh, 1958), fig. 27A]



198. Venice, Treasury of San Marco. Glass hanging lamp with a silver mount (h.: 0.08 m; diam.: 0.27 m) (eleventh-twelfth century). (photo Procuratoria di San Marco, Venice)



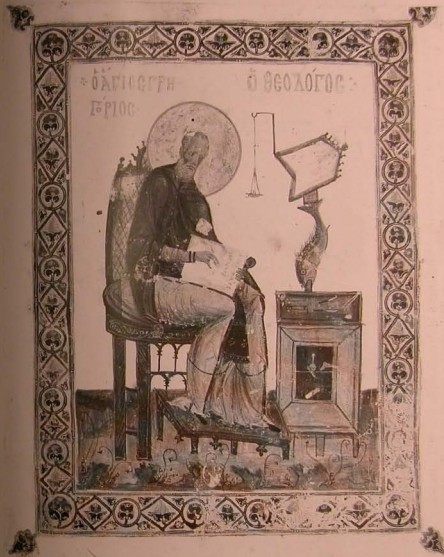
199. Lagoudera, Panagia Arakiotissa (1192), Presentation of the Virgin to the Temple. (photo Cyprus Museum, with the kind permission of the Metropolitan of Morphou)



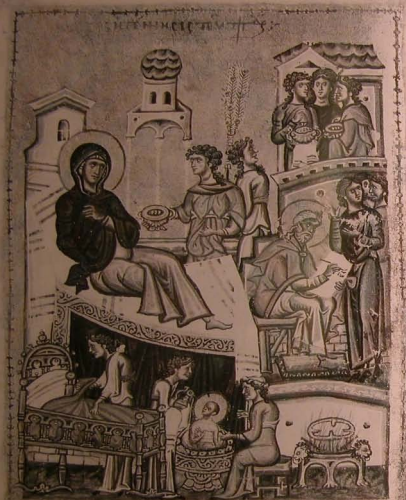
200. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. Tinned copper 'polycandelon' (diam.: 0.21 m) (tenth-eleventh century). (photo courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford)



201. Corinth. Bronze polycandelon (diam.: 0.193 m) (Byzantine). (photo American School of Classical Studies, Corinth Excavations)



202. Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. *Canon gr.* 103, f. 2v (c. 1100). St. Gregory of Nazianzos. (photo The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford)



203. *Vat. urb. gr. 2, f. 167v* (1122-1142). Birth of St. John the Baptist. (© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)



204. Mount Athos, Protaton (c. 1290 or c. 1300). Birth of the Virgin. [after Constantinos E. The Wall-paintings of the Panagia Olympiotissa at Elasson in Northern Thessaly, 2 vols. (Athens, 1992), pl. 251a]



205. Thessalonike, St. Nicholas Orphanos (1310-1320). Adoration of the Magi, detail.
(photo Ivan Djordjević)



206. Göreme, Kılıçlar kilisesi (tenth century). Pentecost, (photo by Judith O'Neill, courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)

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207. Greece, Panakton Excavations (110B). Horse. *Platychelys* (fourteenth century). (photo Sharon E.J. Gerstel)



208. Greece, Akraiphno. Two-pronged spade-fork (Byzantine). [after Κολάρακο Χ., 'Νομίσ, Βασιλείας, Αρσενίου, νεός, Αγίου Γεωργίου', ΑΔ 43 (1988), Β/1, p. 102, pl. 718]



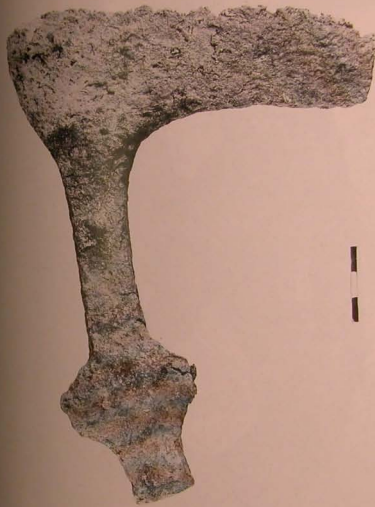
209. Thessalonike, St. Nicholas Orphanos (1310-1320), Descent from the Cross. (photo Ivan Djordjević)



210. Braničevo, settlement outside the fort (twelfth-early thirteenth century). Iron shoe for a wooden spade. (photo courtesy of the Archaeological Institute, Belgrade)



211. A V-shaped iron spade-shoe from Meden Kladenets and a two-pronged drag-hoe from Pernik (mediaeval), [after Changova I., 'Srednovekovni orūdīia na truda v Bŭlgariia,' *IzvAI* XXV (1962), pp. 19-55, fig. 6.2]



212. Brančevo, settlement outside the fort (twelfth-early thirteenth century). Iron axe-head. (photo courtesy of the Archaeological Institute, Belgrade)



213. Corinth. Iron flint-striker (l.: 0.082 m) (seventh century). (photo American School of Classical Studies, Corinth Excavations)



214. Kurbino, St. George (1191). Nativity, detail: Annunciation to the shepherds. (photo Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)



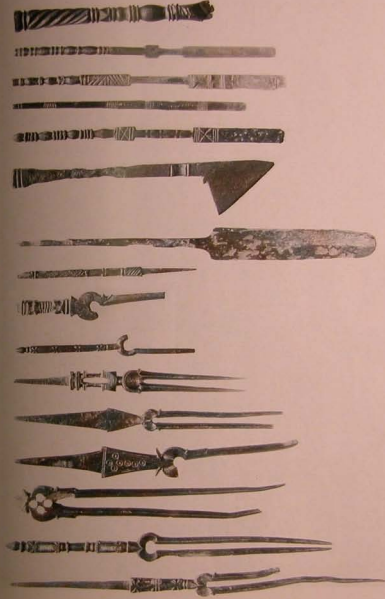
215. Corinth. Iron pincers (probably not later than the eleventh century). (photo American School of Classical Studies, Corinth Excavations)



216. Soğanlı, St. Barbara (1006 or 1021). Annunciation. (photo Catherine Jolivet-Lévy)



217. Peć, Patriarchate, church of the Virgin (c. 1330). Birth of the Virgin, detail. (photo Alfred Rocklage)



218. Corinth, Bronze surgical instruments(?) (Middle Byzantine contexts): bifurcated probes (ranging in length from 0.073 to 0.145 m), a single probe (l.: 0.071 m), a spatula (l.: 0.141 m), a knife with a triangular blade (l.: 0.102 m), and other instruments of unknown use (ranging in length from 0.09 to 0.107 m) (photo American School of Classical Studies, Corinth Excavations)



219. Kurbino, St. George (1191), St. Panteleimon. (photo Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)



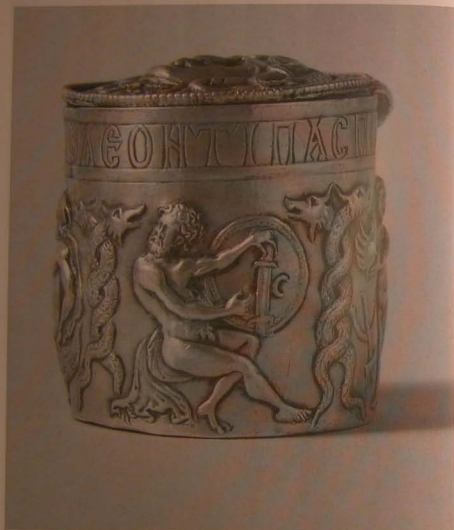
220. Corinth. Bone styli (ranging in length from 0.086 to 0.152 m) (Middle and Late Byzantine contexts). (photo American School of Classical Studies, Corinth Excavations)



219. Kurbinovo, St. George (1191), St. Panteleimon. (photo Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)



220. Corinth. Bone styli (ranging in length from 0.086 to 0.152 m) (Middle and Late Byzantine contexts). (photo American School of Classical Studies, Corinth Excavations)



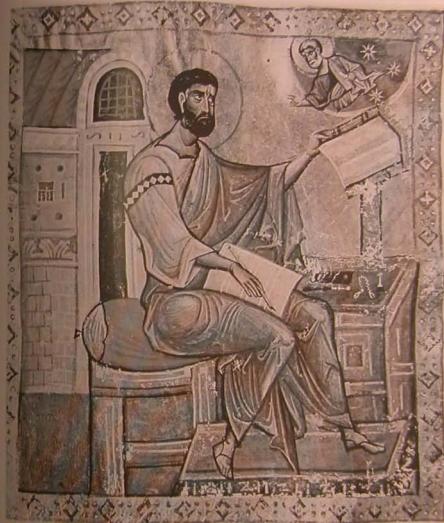
221. Padua, Cathedral Treasury. The silver-gilt inkwell of the calligrapher Leo (late ninth-early tenth century). (copyright Scala / Art Resource, NY)



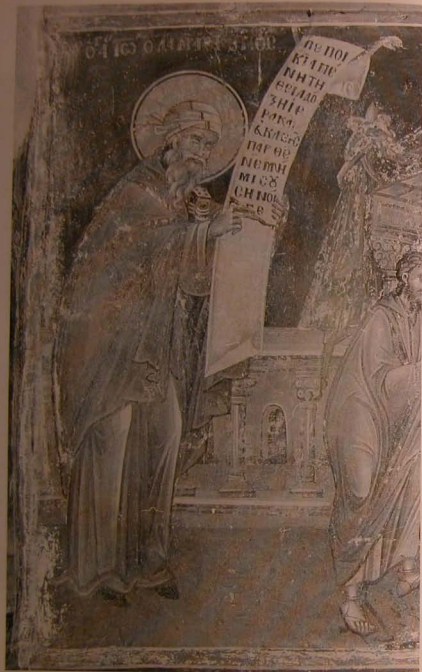
222. Göreme, Çarıklı kilise (mid-eleventh century). St. Mark. (photo by Ann Wharton Epstein, courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.)



223. Mount Athos, Protaton (c. 1290 or c. 1300). St. Luke, [after Mowatzi: Κατάλυτον Στοιχειοθεσίαν. Η τέχνη της κατασκευής. Μετάφραση του Παναγιώτη από το Πρωτότυπο του Αγίου Όρους (Nicosia, 1986), fig. 49]



224. Koutloumousiou 61, f. 112v (thirteenth century). St. Mark. (with the permission of the Holy Monastery of Koutloumousiou, Mount Athos)



225. Verroia, church of the Anastasis (1315). Dormition, detail: St. John of Damascus. (photo Dušan Tasić)



226. Verroia, church of the Anastasis (1315). Christ before the High Priests and Pilate. (photo Dušan Tasić)



227. Mount Athos, Protaton (c. 1290 or c. 1300). St. Matthew. [after Μοναχού Καλλίνικου Σταυροβουινιώτη, *Η τεχνική της αγιογραφίας. Με παράρτημα τοιχογραφιών του Πανσέληνου από το Πρωτάτο του Αγίου Όρους* (Nicosia, 1996), fig. 47]



228. Nerezi, St. Panteleimon (1164). Lamentation. (photo Ivan Djordjevic)



229. Kastoria, Panagia Mavriotissa, narthex (early twelfth or early thirteenth century). Last Judgment, detail: Sinners tortured in Hell (from left to right: the slanderer, the usurer, and the falsifier of weights). (photo Ivan Djordjević)



230. Thessalonike, St. Nicholas Orphanos (1310-1320). Cycle of St. Gerasimos: The two Arab camel-drivers leading the donkey away. (photo Sharon E.J. Gerstel)



231. Kurbinovo, St. George (1191). Entry into Jerusalem, detail: Children. (photo Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)



232. Lagoudera, Panagia Arakiotissa (1192). Nativity, detail: The bath of the Child. (photo Cyprus Museum, with the kind permission of the Metropolitan of Morphou)



233. *Nerezi, St. Panteleimon (1164). Birth of the Virgin, detail: Visiting women.* (photo Alfred Rocklage)

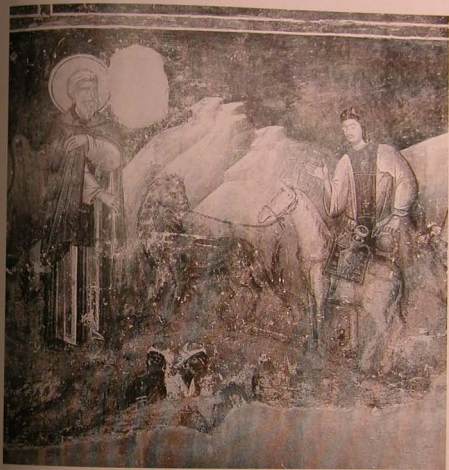


234. *Corinth. Fine-style sgraffito plate with spiral decoration (late eleventh-early twelfth century).* (photo by I. Ioannidou and L. Bartziotou, American School of Classical Studies, Corinth Excavations)



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235. Paphos. Glass bottle with gilt decoration (late twelfth century). (photo Cyprus Museum)



236. Thessalonike, St. Nicholas Orphanos (1310-1320). Cycle of St. Gerasimos: The saint, the tame lion leading the donkey, and a young monk. (photo Ivan Djordjević)



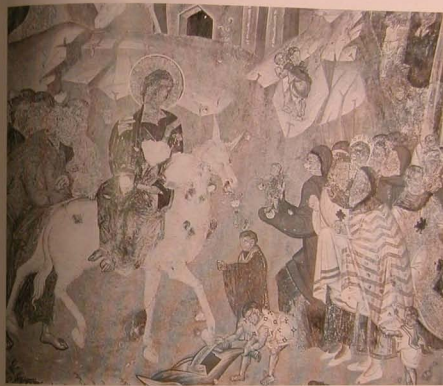
237. Platsa, St. Nicholas (1343-1349). Cycle of St. Nicholas, Birth of St. Nicholas, detail: Peddler and female attendant. [after Mouriki D., *The Frescoes of St. Nicholas at Platsa in the Mani* (Athens, 1975), pl. 41]



238. Thessalonike, St. Nicholas Orphanos (1310-1320). Cycle of the *Akathistos Hymn*, Strophe IX (Adoration of the Magi, detail) and Strophe X (Arrival of the Magi to Babylon). (photo Ivan Djordjevic)



239. Ohrid, Peribleptos (1294/5). Christ and the Samaritan woman. (photo Sharon E.J. Gerstel)



240. Mistra, Pantanassa (c. 1430). Entry into Jerusalem, detail. [after Χατζηδάκης Μ., Μυστράς. Η μεσαιωνική πολιτεία και το κάστρο. Οδηγός (Athens, 1989) fig. 67]



239. Ohrid, Peribleptos (1294/5). Christ and the Samaritan woman. (photo Sharon E.J. Gerstel)



240. Mistra, Pantanassa (c. 1430). Entry into Jerusalem, detail. [after Χατζηδάκης Μ., Μυστράς. Η μεσαιωνική πολιτεία και το κάστρο. Οδηγός (Athens, 1989) fig. 67]



242. Mistra, Metropolis (1272s/288). Cycle of St. Demetrios; St. Demetrios in prison, (after Χατζηδόνη, Μ., *Μυστράς, Η μυσταγωγία του αγίου*, Οόμης (Athens, 1989) fig. 17)



243. Lagoudera, Panagia Arakiotissa (1192). Fresco icon of the Virgin Arakiotissa. (photo Cyprus Museum, with the kind permission of the Metropolitan of Morphou)



244. Studenica, church of Sts. Jochim and Anna (1314). Birth of the Virgin. (photo Alfred Rocklage)

By contrast, Theodore Lemniotes, whose family commissioned the second layer of the painted decoration of the church of the Sts. Anargyroi at Kastoria in the late twelfth century, had no apparent connections to the imperial military establishment.¹⁷¹ Yet, the decoration of the nave of Sts. Anargyroi is dominated by figures of military saints in armour, among whom St. Demetrios, in contemporary ceremonial military costume, holds primacy of place (Pl. 123). Kastoria was an important strategic and economic centre in the region at the time of the Komnenoi. This circumstance provides the historical context against which the overtly Constantinopolitan echoes in this provincial foundation may be understood.¹⁷² The contemporary ceremonial armour of St. Demetrios may be the result of the keenness of the donors to align themselves with Constantinopolitan practices. That the wife of the donor, Anna Radene, was earnest in emulating the fashion of the capital becomes obvious in her portrait in the church: her costume and hairstyle are comparable to those of the ladies in the court of Constantinople at the time (Pls. 83, 84). She must have been the more influential of the pair since she was portrayed slightly larger in scale than her husband and son and was given the place of honour, alone on the right of the Virgin.¹⁷³

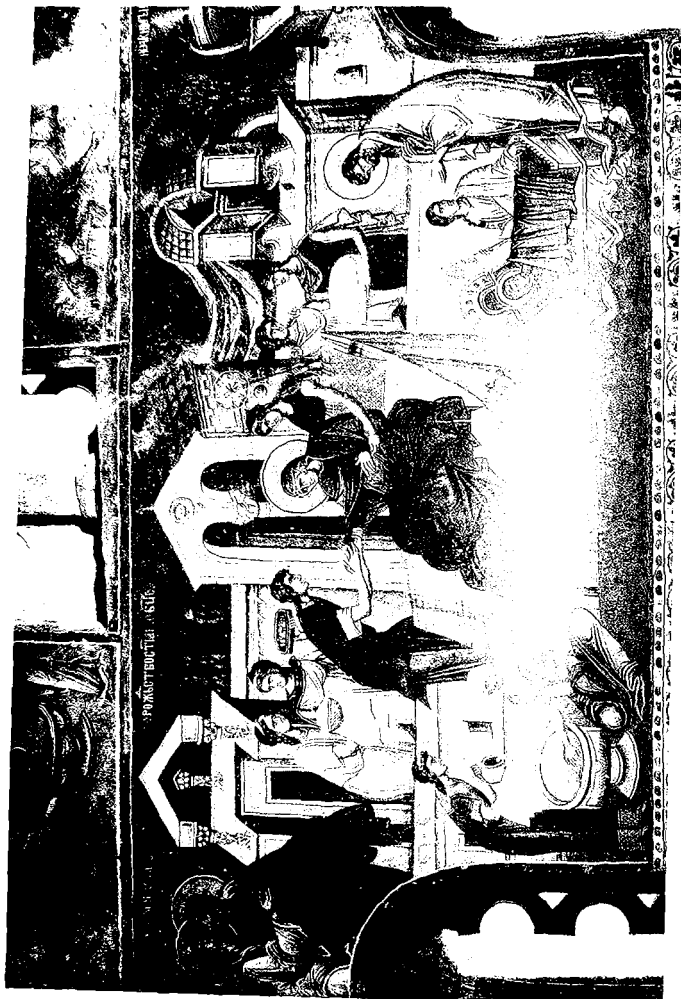
At the time of the renovation of the Chora Monastery (1315–1321), Theodore Metochites was prime-minister and head of the treasury of the state. He was considered the richest man in the empire after the emperor. Apparently, he augmented his wealth by dispensing dignities for a fee and, perhaps, by profiteering from the collection of taxes. He undertook the restoration of the Chora at a time of relative political stability and prosperity for the diminished empire. The government's fiscal policies had been rewarded by an increase in the state revenue. However, the benefits of these policies proved to be short-lived, while the discontent they provoked proved disastrous for both the emperor and his prime-minister.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷¹ Pelekanides and Chatzidakis, *Kastoria*, pp. 39, 43.

¹⁷² Ε. Δρακοπούλου, *Η πόλη της Κοστορίας τη βυζαντινή και μεταβυζαντινή εποχή (12ος–16ος αι.), Ιστορία-Τέχνη-Επιγραφές* (Athens, 1997), pp. 27–56.

¹⁷³ On the aristocratic family of the Radenoi see *ibid.*, pp. 33–34. For another twelve-century portrait in which the wife was given the place of honour vis-à-vis her husband because of her influential family see Ch. Pennas, 'Some Aristocratic Founders; The Foundation of Panaghia Krena on Chios,' in *Les femmes et le monachisme byzantin*, ed. J. Perreault (Athens, 1991), pp. 61–66.

¹⁷⁴ Sevcenko, 'Theodore Metochites,' pp. 24–37; Nelson, 'Taxation with Representation,' pp. 63–67.



244. Studenica, church of Sts. Joachim and Anna (1314). Birth of the Virgin. (photo Alfred Rocklage)

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At the time of the renovation of the Chora Monastery (1315–1321), Theodore Metochites was prime-minister and head of the treasury of the state. He was considered the richest man in the empire after the emperor. Apparently, he augmented his wealth by dispensing dignities for a fee and, perhaps, by profiteering from the collection of taxes. He undertook the restoration of the Chora at a time of relative political stability and prosperity for the diminished empire. The government's fiscal policies had been rewarded by an increase in the state revenue. However, the benefits of these policies proved to be short-lived, while the discontent they provoked proved disastrous for both the emperor and his prime-minister.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷¹ Pelekanides and Chatzidakis, *Kastoria*, pp. 39, 43.

¹⁷² Ε. Δρακοπούλου, *Η πόλη της Καστοριάς τη βυζαντινή και μεταβυζαντινή εποχή (12ος–16ος αι.). Ιστορία-Τέχνη-Επιγραφές* (Athens, 1997), pp. 27–56.

¹⁷³ On the aristocratic family of the Radenoi see *ibid.*, pp. 33–34. For another twelve-century portrait in which the wife was given the place of honour vis-à-vis her husband because of her influential family see Ch. Pennas, 'Some Aristocratic Founders: The Foundation of Panaghia Krena on Chios,' in *Les femmes et le monachisme byzantin*, ed. J. Perreault (Athens, 1991), pp. 61–66.

¹⁷⁴ Sevcenko, 'Theodore Metochites,' pp. 24–37; Nelson, 'Taxation with Representation,' pp. 63–67.

Metochites undertook the work of the restoration following a suggestion of the emperor himself. Metochites' motivation in responding to this suggestion was manifold: the hope of soliciting divine protection from evil in this world and securing the salvation of his soul in the next; the desire to create a secure refuge for himself, once he retired from public life; the wish to appease his guilty conscience and those accusing him of rapacity by showing himself a generous patron of the Church and monks, who were ardent critics of heavy taxation and its exploitation by the responsible officials; and, not least, his desire to achieve everlasting fame as the patron of an outstanding work of art.¹⁷⁵ No expense was spared and the best masters in the capital were employed for the decoration of the church.

Metochites' intellectual interests lay in the study of philosophy and rhetoric and in the contemplation of human nature and history. He had also developed a deep interest in astronomy. However, his approach to this discipline was a theoretical one. He did not proceed to experimental exploration in the field. The direct observation of the sensible world and its scientific investigation did not form part of his intellectual pursuits. Metochites' humanism was antiquarian in nature. His written style, intentionally precious and convoluted, was laden with excerpts from ancient authors.¹⁷⁶ In comparable manner the mosaics and frescoes of his foundation were sprinkled with 'quotations' borrowed from antique art.

Metochites was also much involved in the public life of his times. This involvement left him tainted to the degree that he felt the need to justify his actions, not only in his writings but also in the mosaics of his own church. Nelson has argued that the programme of the exonarthex, with the Nativity cycle in the north part and the cycle of the Massacre of the Innocents in the south part, could be read as having a subtle political message which alludes to the salutatory effects of good government and the disastrous effects of bad government.¹⁷⁷ The scene of the Enrolment for Taxation is placed prominently next to and preceding the Nativity. It is given an unprecedented elaborate treatment (Pl. 93). According to Nelson, by highlighting the Holy Family's willing submission to the census, the act of taxation is 'sacralised' and ideologically validated as a requisite of good

government and stability.¹⁷⁸ It is in this scene that we encounter an iconographically significant representation of a contemporary-looking artefact: the prominent triangular head-dress of Kyrenius. This in association with other accoutrements of power, such as the rod or scroll, the throne, the footstool, and the raised sword, identify Kyrenius as an official of the state and a figure of legitimate authority. In the light of Nelson's interpretation, the head-dress may have been introduced to highlight the connection of the biblical official to his Byzantine counterparts, if not to Metochites himself, who was portrayed wearing an equally impressive though different head-dress in the donor's panel above the main entrance to the nave (Pl. 69).

To conclude, Theodore Metochites' intellectual pursuits did not favour the general introduction into his foundation of representations of contemporary artefacts inspired by the direct observation of the sensible world. His antiquarian interests may have impeded the introduction of some types which had become fashionable, for example bows and quivers, though they did not stop the infiltration of such elements completely (Pl. 102). In the one case of a deliberate turn to imperial ceremonial and administration for inspiration, this was done for the purpose of characterization and, possibly, of subtle political or even personal propaganda.

A discussion of king Milutin of Serbia as a patron of religious art becomes relevant because of his possible association with the church of St. Nicholas Orphanos in Thessalonike (1310–1320). The peculiar interest in daily life and the courtly atmosphere of some of the paintings in this monument can be related, in my opinion, to western artistic influences. That such influences should occur in Thessalonike at that time is not surprising when one considers the presence of Italian merchants in the city and the fact that between 1303 and 1317 the Byzantine empress Eirene, who was a western princess, also resided there.¹⁷⁹ The presence of the Italian merchants or of the empress and her court in Thessalonike, of course, is not enough to explain the occurrence of western influences in the church of St. Nicholas. It may, however, point to alternative paths through which such influences could have arrived in the city. Eirene herself was

¹⁷⁵ Ševčenko, 'Theodore Metochites,' pp. 32–33, pp. 50–51.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 37–51.

¹⁷⁷ Nelson, 'Taxation with Representation'.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 56–63.

¹⁷⁹ F. Thiriet, 'Les Vénitiens à Thessalonique dans la première moitié du XIV^e siècle,' *Byzantion* 22 (1952), pp. 323–332; Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, pp. 299–330.

not the founder of the church of St. Nicholas; there is no evidence that she was involved in the foundation of churches during her well-documented stay in Thessalonike.¹⁸⁰ On the other hand, it is known that Eirene's son-in-law, king Milutin, definitely was.

Milutin was responsible for the foundation of a number of churches in Thessalonike, including one dedicated to St. Nicholas.¹⁸¹ What is more, the masters Michael Astrapas and Eutykhios whom he employed for the decoration of some of his foundations in Serbian Macedonia came from Thessalonike. Milutin was in close contact with the empress Eirene throughout her stay in that city. She lavished gifts upon him and he negotiated with her the possibility that one of her sons would succeed him on the throne of Serbia.¹⁸² Although Milutin was an extremely powerful, able, and ambitious man, his authority was not uncontested and the legitimacy of his rule was put into question. His close relations with Eirene, his abandonment of his initial expansionist policy against Byzantium, and the intensification of the Byzantinization of the Serbian court and culture provoked the discontent and often violent reaction of the powerful Serbian aristocracy. In the face of opposition, Milutin strove to strengthen his position by winning over the support of the Serbian Church and by exploiting his association with the Byzantine emperor. His use of art for validating his rule, for mollifying his opponents, and for flattering supporters was masterly.¹⁸³ He was not a man inhibited by tradition in his choice of the architectural or pictorial idiom in each of his foundations: he would follow tradition if it served his own ends, but he would also encourage the creation of new forms or the imitation of non-Serbian ones if this was deemed desirable.¹⁸⁴

Milutin was certainly not adverse to the representation of *realia* in the mural decoration of his religious foundations. The Birth of the Virgin in the church of Sts. Joachim and Anna at Studenica (1314) (Pl. 244) and, especially, the Wedding at Cana at St. Nikita, Čučer (1308–1320) (Pl. 241) serve to illustrate this point. The wedding feast has received an elaborately detailed treatment and is imbued with

¹⁸⁰ Rautman, 'Aspects of Monastic Patronage,' p. 64.

¹⁸¹ Kissas, 'Srpski srednjovekovni spomenici u Solunu'.

¹⁸² See above, note 179.

¹⁸³ Walter, 'Iconographical Sources'; S. Čurčić, *Gračanica. King Milutin's Church and Its Place in Late Byzantine Architecture* (University Park and London, 1979), esp. pp. 5–11, 138–143; S. Ćirković, V. Korać, G. Babić, *Studenica Monastery* (Belgrade, 1986), pp. 90–91, 113.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. Čurčić, *Gračanica*, *passim*.

an entirely secular, courtly atmosphere, not unlike that which appears in some of the scenes at St. Nicholas Orphanos in Thessalonike. A man like Milutin could have been the donor of the painted decoration of St. Nicholas Orphanos. Certainly, Milutin, whose mother was a Catholic, would not have felt inhibited in the use of western artistic models if he thought that this would flatter his influential mother-in-law. Whether this is what actually happened remains subject to speculation.¹⁸⁵

Having discussed artists and patrons, let us now turn to the recipients of Byzantine religious art to consider their potential role in the occurrence of *realia*.¹⁸⁶ The insistence on the 'true-to-life' quality of images constitutes a *topos* of the rhetorical genre of the *ekphrasis* to which all Byzantine descriptions of pictorial works of art belong. Whatever meaning scholars have been keen to read into this literary cliché of life-likeness,¹⁸⁷ one thing is certain: these rhetorical descriptions do not denote any expectation on the part of the Byzantines for a greater degree of naturalism in religious art. In fact, when some of them came into contact with the illusionistic religious art of the West, they rejected it being unable to recognize the saints whose images they saw.¹⁸⁸

What the Byzantines apparently expected from their religious images, whether of saintly personages or events, was that they con-

¹⁸⁵ Regardless of whether the identification of king Milutin as the founder of St. Nicholas Orphanos is accepted, the potential role of Serbia as an intermediary through which western artistic influences could have arrived in Late Byzantine Thessalonike deserves closer investigation.

¹⁸⁶ In the case of private commissions, like devotional and funerary chapels, manuscripts, and icons, patrons and recipients were identified.

¹⁸⁷ See, selectively, H. Maguire, 'Truth and Convention in Byzantine Descriptions of Works of Art,' *DOP* 28 (1974), pp. 111–140; *idem*, *Image and Imagination: The Byzantine Epigram as Evidence for Viewer Response* (Toronto, 1996); L. James and R. Webb, 'To Understand Ultimate Things and Enter Secret Places': *Ekphrasis and Art in Byzantium*, *Art History* 14 (1991), pp. 1–17.

¹⁸⁸ See the comments of Gregory Melissenos, a member of the Byzantine delegation at the Council of Ferrara (1438), translated by Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire*, p. 254. Note that despite his negative attitude towards western religious art, Melissenos was in favour of the Union, see Πάλλας, 'Αισθητικοί ιδέαι των Βυζαντινών,' pp. 326–327. It should be mentioned that other Byzantine thinkers of the fifteenth century, like the emperor Manuel II Palaiologos, John Eugenikos, and Manuel Chrysoloras, who had travelled in the West and came into contact with western art, expressed their admiration of its accomplishments in the field of the observation and the representation of nature. Yet, they do not seem to be referring to religious works of art, see Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire*, pp. 254–255; Πάλλας, 'Αισθητικοί ιδέαι των Βυζαντινών,' pp. 320–326.

tained a number of 'significant features' which helped the viewer to identify the subject of the images and, consequently, enable him/her to interact with them.¹⁸⁹ Thus one may claim that the introduction into religious contexts of *realia* which served as distinctive attributes employed for characterization were introduced with the needs of the beholders in mind. Popular piety might have influenced the iconographic type of a particular saint in so far as it conditioned the beholders' expectations to see particular attributes associated with particular saints or categories of saints, though this was not strictly speaking required for their identification as, for instance, the surgical instruments of the doctor saints, the assortment of weapons of the military saints, and the mallet of St. Marina.¹⁹⁰ Public belief may have also given rise to particular iconographic types of widely venerated saintly figures. In the Early Byzantine period, for example, popular and not truly Orthodox beliefs led to the representation of archangels in imperial costume. The widespread popularity of military saints as active protectors of the faithful against the power of evil, both physical and spiritual, may have been partly responsible for the promotion of their portrayal as warriors in the Middle and Late Byzantine periods.

The fact that the same categories of stock contemporary artefact-types are encountered in ecclesiastical buildings with different functions, from monastic *katholika* to parish churches to private chapels, implies that the creators of the images expected that such items would have been intelligible to beholders belonging to different stations in life. Beholders would have had, however, different levels of understanding determined by their own powers of observation, personal experience, education, and social status.¹⁹¹ In the eyes of one beholder, for example, the *loros*-costume of the archangels would have seemed in its brilliance as the appropriate attire for beings enjoying the proximity of God. Another, aware of the symbolism of the *loros* in the context of imperial ceremonial, might have appreciated the triumphal overtones of the imperial archangelic image, while a third could have drawn a parallel between the archangels and the emperor on the basis of their sharing the same costume. In general, the faith-

ful would perhaps have felt reassured to see saintly figures dressed in contemporary costume or holding contemporary objects as attributes since this manner of representation guaranteed in a way the saints' proximity and their efficacy as competent protectors against evil. Whether the ordinary beholder would have been able to read hidden political or topical messages behind the representations, unless they were pointed out to him/her, is questionable. Such hidden meanings especially behind representations of artefacts derived from the imperial environment were for the most part directed to a small group of initiates.¹⁹²

Some representations of *realia* were less conspicuous than others. In the case of monumental painting what we mostly looked at in this study were secondary details incorporated into the compositions that adorn the dome, the vaults, and the upper parts of the walls of the churches. As a rule, the Byzantine beholder had to contemplate such compositions from ground level, during the liturgy and under conditions which were not the most favourable for enhanced visibility, such as physical obstacles like hanging lamps, poor lighting, and clouds of incense. From personal experience, I can say that if one stretched one's neck and looked hard enough one might have seen such representations, but I doubt that Byzantine beholders went into the trouble of doing so. In the words of Mathews, the faithful did not enter the church 'to work out puzzles in iconography' but to participate in the worship offered to God.¹⁹³ The Byzantine beholders were, apparently, not disturbed by the presence of conventional, fanciful, and contemporary items side-by-side in the same context. I doubt whether the ordinary Byzantine beholder while contemplating a sacred image would have been interested in making distinctions between what was contemporary and what was conventional in the representation of artefacts. Rather, I would imagine, he or she was sensible of their presence only to the degree that their familiar aspect contributed to the collective impression created by the compositions, an impression of actuality and vitality which engaged mind and soul.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁹ Cf. Nelson, 'Taxation with Representation'.

¹⁹⁰ T.F. Mathews, 'The Sequel to Nicaea II in Byzantine Church Decoration,' *The Perkins Journal* 41/3 (1988), p. 19.

¹⁹¹ Cf. T. Gouma-Peterson, 'Originality in Byzantine Religious Paintings (Mosaics and Frescoes),' in *Originality*, p. 141.

¹⁸⁹ Brubaker, 'Byzantine Art in the Ninth Century,' p. 80; Maguire, *Icons of Their Bodies*, p. 16.

¹⁹⁰ Jerphanion, 'Les caractéristiques et les attributs des saints'.

¹⁹¹ Cf. Baxandall, *Painting and Experience*, pp. 31-35, 40.

SYNOPSIS

At the conclusion of the inquiry into the nature of 'realism' in the depiction of dress and paraphernalia in Byzantine religious art of the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries two main features emerge: the complexity of the phenomenon in terms of chronological and geographical definition, motivation, creative sources, and the identity of its instigators, and its independence for the most part from realistic stylistic tendencies in religious art.

The motives behind the introduction of representations of contemporary artefacts into religious art were diverse: iconographic necessity, concession to fashion, response to collective cultural interests and artistic tastes which favoured the depiction of certain types over others, the influence of certain topical concerns on the Byzantines' visualization of sacred history, the demands and interests of individual patrons, the imitation of non-Byzantine artistic models, and, finally, an interest in the depiction of material reality in its own right.

Of the sources to which the artists turned for inspiration, daily life was the least exploited. By contrast, iconographers and artists turned consistently to the imperial environment and to official art for the appropriation of means both for the expression of the concepts of sovereignty, authority, and rank, and for endowing the compositions with the stateliness that was considered appropriate to their sacred content. This practice, which is observable since the beginnings of Christian iconography, appears to have been entirely unrelated to realistic stylistic tendencies or lack of them in art at any given period. The influence of foreign traditions, eastern and western, on Byzantine 'realism' in the depiction of artefacts was marginal.

Representations of contemporary artefacts occur in religious contexts throughout the period considered here. Examined diachronically they provide not only a mirror of changes in Byzantine material culture, but also an index of continuity in the treatment of certain artefact-categories in religious pictorial contexts and of evolution in the treatment of others. The evolution was determined by the changing mentality, cultural interests, and artistic tastes of Byzantine society over time. The twelfth century and the late thirteenth – early fourteenth centuries have emerged as periods of increased interest in the observation of the sensible world and the representation of contemporary artefacts in religious contexts. This interest coincides with the manifestation of a more general turn towards realism in

religious art at the time and probably should be understood as one aspect of this broader development.

Examined geographically the representations of *realia* point to the existence of a common vocabulary of currently represented artefact-types shared by artists working roughly at the same time in different parts of the Byzantine empire. The artists in reproducing such current types were in all probability either following common artistic models or realigning themselves with tendencies which emanated from a common source, which was probably Constantinople. This does not necessarily mean that the capital was the place where all iconographic types and artistic trends were generated. Certain types may have originated in other artistic centres or, in the case of personal attributes of saints, in venerated sanctuaries located in the provinces. It is true that I was not able to identify any such occurrence. Yet, whatever the origin of the common iconographic types it seems that their adoption by metropolitan art was a prerequisite for widespread dissemination in all corners of the empire.

Diversity in the typology of certain artefact-types observed in roughly contemporaneous monuments created in different regions was found to be a reflection of regional diversification in the material culture or a by-product of the availability of non-Byzantine artistic models in a particular area. Upon closer examination the evidence for 'Macedonian realism', both in the Middle and in the Late Byzantine periods, was inconclusive. 'Macedonian realism' was rather an adaptation or an elaboration of a more widespread tendency in this direction observed in art at the time.

It was not possible to define precisely the role played by artists in the process of the introduction of *realia* into religious iconography. In general, the artists' attitude towards the representation of material reality was conditioned by the intellectual climate and artistic tastes of their times. Their treatment of artefacts in individual commissions was determined by the stylistic idiom which they had adopted, by the sources of inspiration to which they had recourse, and by the requirements of the patron who had employed them. The artists' talent and ambition, their understanding of their artistic models, their familiarity with the objects themselves, and a personal interest (or lack of it) in the observation of the sensible world determined how successful and detailed their renderings of artefacts would be.

The degree of the involvement of patrons in the process of the introduction of *realia* into religious iconography was equally difficult

to determine. The role of individual patrons in the depiction of artefacts employed as standard devices of characterization must have been minimal. As to fashionable or fashionably represented artefacts patrons appear to have reserved the right to disapprove the introduction of such types. It is in the occurrence of certain unique representations of *realia* in specific monuments where the will of the patron appears to have been the determining factor for their depiction.

The introduction of contemporary artefacts, whether unique or commonly represented, was ultimately aimed at the public of Byzantine religious art, comprising also patrons and artists. The presence of *realia* was intended to facilitate the beholders' understanding of the content of religious images. *Realia*, along with other stylistic and iconographic means, served to ensure the beholders' spiritual and emotive response to the images. Only through this response could the didactic purpose of Byzantine religious art be accomplished and its function as a channel of communication between the faithful and the spiritual world be fulfilled.

APPENDIX ONE

MONASTERIES AND CHURCHES MENTIONED IN THE TEXT AND THE CAPTIONS OF THE PLATES*

Apollonia, church of Virgin

- Monastic church; the monastery was already in existence in the second half of the twelfth century
- Renovated in the time of Michael VIII Palaiologos, probably in 1281/2
- Portraits of Michael VIII Palaiologos, his wife, Theodora, and their son Andronikos II in the exonarthex
- Bibl.: Buschhausen, *Die Marienkirche von Apollonia*

Arta, Blacherna Monastery, katholikon

- Painted decoration of naos: mid-thirteenth century
- Painted decoration of narthex, which is a later addition: end of thirteenth century
- Bibl.: Achimastou-Potamianou, 'The Byzantine Wall Paintings of Vlacherna'; eadem, 'Ἡ ἐμπνεῖα μὲς τοῦ χοροεπικού'

Arta, Boulgarelli, Panagia Bellas (Kokkine Ekklesia)

- 1295/6, in the time of the *despotes* Nikephoros I of Epiros (1271-1296)
- Donor: the *protostrator* Theodore Tzimiskes, portrayed in the narthex with his wife, his brother, and his sister-in-law
- Bibl.: 'Ορλάνδος, 'Μνημεῖα τοῦ Δεσποτάτου τῆς Ἡρείου'; Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions*, pp. 32, 54-55

Asinou, Panagia Phorbiotissa

- 1105/6
- Donor: the *magistros* Nikephoros
- Twelfth-century frescoes survive in the apse, sanctuary, and west bay of the naos
- Bibl.: Sacopoulou, Asinou; Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus*, pp. 114-140; Winfield, Asinou; idem, 'Hagios Chrysostomos'; Winfield and Hawkins, 'The Church of Our Lady at Asinou'

Avclar, Church of the Cistern

- Beginning or first half of eleventh century
- Note: great similarities with Karabulut kilisesi at Avclar, and with Kılıçlar kuşluk at Göreme. One could attribute these three monuments to the same workshop. Its activity is dated to the beginning or first half of the eleventh century on stylistic grounds (style comparable with that of St. Barbara, Soğanlı, 1006 or 1021)
- Bibl.: Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 80-82

Avclar, Karabulut kilisesi

- First quarter of eleventh century

* The information given here is limited to the very basics: date of the pictorial decoration, the names of the donor(s) and the painter(s), surviving portraits if any, and bibliographical references. The latter are far from being exhaustive and concern mainly the painted decoration of the monuments. The entries are arranged alphabetically according to location (region or city) and name of the monument. There are no cross-references to Appendix 1 in the text.

- Note: attributed to the same workshop responsible for the Church of the Cistern at Avclar and Kılçlar küşluk at Göreme
- Bibl.: Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 77-80
- Avclar, Yusuf köş kilisesi*
 - Part of a monastic complex
 - Thierry: first half towards the mid-eleventh century; Restle, Jolivet-Lévy: thirteenth century
 - Portraits of a kneeling male figure with turban in the Annunciation panel; of a kneeling female figure (a nun?) in the panel of St. Prokopios; and of one Theodore in the panel of St. Demetrios
 - Bibl.: Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 72-75; Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, pp. 151-157; Thierry, 'Yusuf köş kilisesi'
- Ayvalı köy*
 - Thierry: third quarter of eleventh century (Restle: fourteenth century)
 - Portraits of two beardless youths, Eustrates and John
 - Bibl.: Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 151-154; Thierry, 'Ayvalı köy'
- Bachkovo Monastery, ossuary chapel*
 - 1083: monastery founded by the *megas domestikos* of the West Gregory Pakourianos, an Armenian or Georgian in origin
 - Of the original buildings of the monastery only the two-storied ossuary chapel is still standing
 - Painted decoration of the chapel: mid-twelfth century
 - 1344-1363: portraits of the Bulgarian tsar Ivan Alexander, of Gregory Pakourianos and his brother Apasios, and of the monks George and Gabriel, as well as the figures of St. John the Evangelist, and Sts. Constantine and Helena, were added in the narthex of the crypt
 - Bibl.: Bakalova, *Bachkovskata kostnitsa*; Grabar, *Peinture*, pp. 55-85, 281-284
- Belisırma, Bahattin Samanlığ kilisesi*
 - Second half of tenth century
 - Bibl.: Thierry, *Nowelles églises*, pp. 155-173; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 320-323
- Berende, St. Peter*
 - Shortly after the middle of the fourteenth century
 - Bibl.: Bakalova, *Berende*; Grabar, *Peinture*, pp. 248-266
- Boyana, church of Sts. Nicholas and Panteleimon*
 - eleventh-twelfth century: construction and painted decoration of the first church; vestiges of Middle Byzantine frescoes (Greek inscriptions) survive in the bema and the naos
 - 1259: a two-storied church was attached to the older structure; both levels were adorned with paintings, including an extensive cycle of St. Nicholas in the narthex (Bulgarian inscriptions)
 - Donor: the Bulgarian *sebastokrator* Kaloyan, portrayed in the church with his wife, Dessislava, and his sovereigns, the Bulgarian tsar Konstantin Assen Tich and the tsarine Eirene
 - Bibl.: Grabar, *L'église de Boyana*; Bakalova, 'Medieval Painting,' pp. 87-91
- Çavuşin, Güllü dere no. 1*
 - Beginning or first half of tenth century
 - Bibl.: Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 27-29
- Çavuşin, Güllü dere no. 3*
 - Theophany in the apse: Thierry: second half of ninth century; Jolivet-Lévy: end of ninth-beginning of tenth century
 - Bibl.: Thierry, *Haut Moyen Âge*, I, pp. 117-133; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 31-36

- Çavuşin, Hafl kilise*
 - Beginning of tenth century
 - Bibl.: Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 50-53
- Çavuşin, Pigeon House Church (Church of Nikephoros Phokas)*
 - 963-969. Probably founded to commemorate the victorious campaigns of Nikephoros Phokas against the Arabs
 - Portraits of unidentified donors, most probably members of the local aristocracy, kneeling at the feet of an archangel in the niche of the north wall
 - Church famous for the portraits of Nikephoros Phokas and his family in the apse of the *prothesis*, and of John Tzimiskēs and the *magistros* Melias on the north wall
 - Bibl.: Rodley, 'Pigeon House Church'; Thierry, *Haut Moyen Âge*, I, pp. 43-57; eadem, 'Tzimiskēs'; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 15-22
- Çavuşin, St. Symeon*
 - Beginning of tenth century
 - Bibl.: Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 7-12
- Chios, Nea Mone, katholikon*
 - Monastery founded shortly before 1042 by the local hermits Niketas and John
 - Mosaic decoration of the *katholikon* executed after 1049; probably, completed by 1055
 - Constantine IX Monomachos was the most important patron of the monastery
 - Bibl.: Mouriki, *The Mosaics of Nea Moni*; Maguire, 'Nea Moni'
- Chios, Panagia Krena*
 - Church founded in the late twelfth century by the *sebastos* Eustathios Kodratos. He is portrayed on the east wall of the inner narthex offering the model of the church to the enthroned Virgin and Child
 - Apparently, the inner narthex is a slightly later addition, meant to serve as the resting place for the founder and members of his family
 - Twelfth-century frescoes have been preserved in the bema, naos, and inner narthex (unpublished)
 - Funerary portraits of members of the family of the donor have been preserved on the back wall and the reveals of the south arcosolium in the inner narthex; they are dated by inscription to 1197
 - Bibl.: Penna, 'Early Christian and Byzantine Chios,' pp. 73-75; Pennas, 'Some Aristocratic Founders'
- Constantinople, Chora Monastery (Kariye Camii), katholikon and funerary chapel*
 - 1315-1320/1: the Komnenian *katholikon* was restored and decorated with mosaics, and the funerary chapel was constructed and decorated with frescoes
 - Of the mosaics of the naos only the mosaic icons of Christ and the Virgin, and the Dormition survive; the inner narthex was adorned with a Mariological cycle, and the outer narthex with scenes from the Infancy and the Miracles of Christ. The painted decoration of the funerary chapel, dominated by the magnificent representation of the *Anastasis* (Descent into Hell) in the apse, comprises also an extended Last Judgment composition and a typological cycle dedicated to the Virgin (episodes from the Old Testament interpreted in Christian *exegesis* as prefigurations of the Mother of God)
 - Donor: the *logothetes tou genikou* and famous humanist Theodore Metochites, portrayed offering the model of his foundation to Christ in the narthex, above the entrance to the naos
 - A number of later funerary portraits survive on the walls of arcosolia in the chapel and outer narthex
 - Bibl.: Underwood, *Kariye Djami*; Stouderhout, *The Architecture of the Kariye Camii*; Weiss, *Die Mosaiken des Chora-Klosters*; Nelson, 'Taxation with Representation'

Constantinople, church of St. Euphemia at the Hippodrome

- The building was originally a reception hall of the fifth-century palace of Antiochos which was transformed into a church in the sixth century. The church, having suffered during the Latin occupation of the city, was restored and adorned with frescoes after 1261
- The church lay under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan see of Chalcedon. It has been suggested that the high-ranking ecclesiastical official portrayed on the back wall of the arcosolium in the south-east niche should be identified as a late thirteenth-century metropolitan of that city and that he was perhaps responsible for the restoration of the church
- Painted decoration comprises a cycle of St. Euphemia dated on stylistic grounds to 1280-1290; the representation of the Forty Martyrs and of military saints may be slightly later
- Bibl.: Naumann and Belting, *Euphemia-Kirche*

Constantinople, church of Hagia Sophia

- Apparently, the Justinianic building was adorned with figural mosaics only after the end of Iconoclasm, in the ninth century
- The mosaics of the enthroned Virgin and Child in the apse and the two archangels in the bema arch were dedicated in 867
- A series of imperial portraits were set up in different parts of the church at different times, from the late ninth down to the fourteenth centuries
- Bibl.: Mango, *Materials for the Study of St. Sophia*; Cormack and Hawkins, 'The Mosaics of St. Sophia'; Kähler, *Die Hagia Sophia*; Cormack, 'The Emperor at St. Sophia'; *ODB* 2, pp. 892-895 (with more bibliography)

Constantinople, Kilise Camii (original dedication unknown)

- Mosaics representing prophets and Old Testament kings survive in the central and south cupolas of the exonarthex. The exonarthex had been added to the Komnenian church sometime after 1261
- The mosaics are dated to the last decade of the thirteenth century on stylistic grounds
- Bibl.: Grape, 'Kilise Camii'

Constantinople, Kyriotissa Monastery (Kalenderhane Camii), katholikon

- Sometime around the middle of the thirteenth century, while Constantinople was under Latin occupation, the *diakonikon* chapel was decorated with a fresco cycle of St. Francis of Assisi. According to the editors of the cycle, the painter responsible was called in from the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. The portraits of two Orthodox prelates which were incorporated in the iconographic programme of the chapel were executed by a Byzantine artist
- Soon after the recapture of Constantinople in 1261, the chapel of St. Francis was walled off. The *diakonikon* was decorated with frescoes during the Palaiologan period. Of these only fragments survive. Vestiges of frescoes recovered during excavations suggest that the naos also received a new programme of painted decoration during the Palaiologan period

- Bibl.: Striker and Kuban, *Kalenderhane in Istanbul*

Constantinople, Lips Monastery (Fenari Isa Camii)

- Founded in 907 by Constantine Lips (?917), a high Byzantine official at the time of Leo VI. The north church of the monastic complex, dedicated to the Theotokos, dates to this period
- 1282-1303: the tenth-century monastic complex was restored by the empress Theodora, widow of Michael VIII; the south church, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, was constructed at that time to serve as a mausoleum for the members of the Palaiologan family
- c. 1320: fresco of St. Demetrios on the western face of the arch of the westernmost arcosolium of the south arm of the perambulatory

- Bibl.: Macridy, 'The Monastery of Lips'; Mango and Hawkins, 'Additional Finds at Fenari Isa Camii'

Constantinople, Myrelaion Monastery, church (Bodrum Camii)

- 920-922: the two-storied church was added to a pre-existing palatial structure by Romanos I Lekapenos
- in Palaiologan times the substructure of the church was used for burials; the portrait of a female donor/deceased survives on the north wall of the apse of the substructure
- Bibl.: Striker, *The Myrelaion*

Constantinople, Odalar Camii

- Original dedication unknown
- Complicated structural history, involving two major phases: the first church with its crypt was probably built in the ninth or tenth century. Later, during the course of the twelfth century, the second church was built over the first church, which was at that time transformed into a substructure of twenty-four chambers; at least some of these chambers were used for burial purposes
- Painted decoration of the first church: two phases, dating to c. 1000 and to the middle of the eleventh century respectively (only fragments survive). The portrayal of St. Merkourios in military dress belongs to the second phase
- Painted decoration of crypt of first church (poorly preserved): tenth or eleventh century
- Painted decoration of second church (only fragments survive, including standing figures of saints and scenes from a Mariological cycle): 1150-1175
- Painted decoration of the substructure of the second church (vestiges of funerary portraits): twelfth century or later
- Bibl.: Westphalen, *Die Odalar Camii in Istanbul*

Constantinople, Panmakaristos Monastery (Fethiye Camii), katholikon and funerary chapel

- Last decade of the thirteenth century: the Komnenian monastery was renovated by Michael Glabas Tarchaneiotēs, the well-known general of Andronikos II; the south façade of the *katholikon* was adorned with frescoes (cycle of the Dormition and typological cycle of the Virgin), which were in part obliterated by the construction of the funerary chapel a few years later
- First decade of the fourteenth century: the funerary chapel was constructed by the wife of Tarchaneiotēs Maria, to house the tomb of her husband; it was decorated with mosaics of which only part is preserved (Christ, the Virgin, and St. John the Baptist in the bema; Christ and prophets in the dome; the Baptism; saintly bishops and monks)
- Bibl.: Belting, Mango, Mouriki, *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos*

Constantinople, Peribleptos Monastery (Sulu Manastırı)

- founded by the emperor Romanos III (1028-1034)
- restored by Michael VIII Palaiologos after 1261. Portraits of the emperor and his family once adorned the now-destroyed refectory of the monastery; they are known to us through descriptions of travelers and a series of seventeenth-century drawings
- Note: only part of the substructure of the Byzantine buildings survives today
- Bibl.: Mango, 'The Monastery of St. Mary Peribleptos'

Corfu, church of St. Merkourios and the Prophet Elijah

- 1074 (inscription)
- Donors: Nicholas *Droungarios*, his brother Eugenios, his remaining brothers, and their wives
- According to Vocotopoulos, '*droungarios*' was a family name rather than an official title
- Bibl.: Vocotopoulos, 'Fresques du XI^e siècle à Corfú', pp. 151-172

Čučer, St. Nikita

- Monastic church; the monastery was restored by king Milutin of Serbia
- The construction of the church began before 1308
- Frescoes preserved in the lower zones of the walls may date before 1308 or be as late as 1320
- Painters: Michael and Eutykhios; according to Miljković-Peppek, the two simply supervised the work
- Note: the damaged frescoes on the vaults were restored in 1483/4
- Bibl.: Djuric, *Byzantinische Fresken*, p. 70; Hallensleben, *Malerschule*, Hamann-Mackean and Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien*, p. 31; Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto na zografite Mihailo i Eutihij*; Millet and Frolow, *La peinture du Moyen Âge*, III, pp. X-XI, pls. 31-53

Daphni Monastery, *katholikon*

- The circumstances of the foundation of the monastery are unknown (an imperial foundation?)
- Mosaic decoration of the *katholikon*: late eleventh century
- Bibl.: Millet, *Le monastère de Daphni*; Diez and Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece*; Bouras, 'The Daphni Monastic Complex Reconsidered'

Dečani Monastery, church of the Ascension

- Monastery founded by the Serbian king Stefan Uroš III Dečanski in 1327-1335
- Painted decoration of *katholikon* executed under the tsar Dušan, c. 1350
- Bibl.: Petković and Bošković, *Dečani*

Ellasson, Monastery of Panagia Olympiotissa, *katholikon*

- A *terminus ante quem* for the church is provided by the date carved on its portals. However, the reading of this date remains problematic (1304/5 or 1344/5). Depending on the reading adopted by different scholars, the construction or renovation of the church has been dated to 1295/6-1304/5 or to the second quarter of the fourteenth century respectively
- Painted decoration: towards the end of the thirteenth century or during the second quarter of the fourteenth century
- Bibl.: Constantinides, *The Wall-paintings of Panagia Olympiotissa*, reviewed by Gerstel in *Speculum* 69 (1994), pp. 447-449; Vélénis, 'L'église Panagia Olympiotissa'

Erdemli, Ayn kilise

- funerary church; eleventh century
- portraits of deceased survive in the arcosolium of the north wall
- Bibl.: Thierry, 'Le portrait funéraire byzantin,' p. 591, fig. 4

Erdemli valley, church of the Forty Martyrs

- Second half of eleventh century
- Bibl.: Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, p. 274

Göreme, chapel no. 4a

- First half of tenth century
- Bibl.: Restle, *Byz. Wall-painting*, pp. 106-107; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 87-89

Göreme, chapel no. 4c

- Eleventh century
- Portraits of a male(?) donor standing at the feet of a colossal archangel Michael (north cross-arm); of two praying male(?) figures on either side of a saintly deacon (south cross-arm, above the arcosolium)
- Bibl.: Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 91-92

Göreme, chapel no. 10a

- Eleventh century
- Bibl.: Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 111-112

Göreme, chapel no. 11 (hypothetical dedication to St. Eustathios)

- Beginning or first half of tenth century

- 1148/9 (*terminus ante quem*): decoration of niche carved later in left wall of the apse (inscription)
- Note: decoration attributed to the same workshop as Balık kilise, Soğanlı; Jerphanion sees Armenian influences in both monuments; similarities, also, with Tavşanlı kilise, Sinassos (913-920)
- Bibl.: Jerphanion, *Églises rupestres*, II/2, pp. 390-391, 416; Restle, *Byz. Wall-painting*, pp. 119-120; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 112-116

Göreme, chapel no. 11a

- Second half of eleventh century
- Note: belongs to the Yılanlı group of churches
- Bibl.: Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 116-117

Göreme, chapel no. 18

- Second half of the eleventh century
- Portrait of a small, male figure (monk?) in the panel with the Virgin and Child on the east wall
- Note: belongs to the Yılanlı group of churches
- Bibl.: Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, pp. 177-179; Wharton-Epstein, 'Yılanlı Group'; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 121-122

Göreme, chapel no. 21

- Second half of eleventh century
- Portrait of Anna in the panel of St. Catherine
- Note: belongs to the Yılanlı group of churches
- Bibl.: Jerphanion, *Églises rupestres*, I/2, p. 475; Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, pp. 181-182; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 126-127

Göreme, Çarıklı kilise (chapel no. 22)

- Part of a monastic complex
- Mid-eleventh century (slightly later than Karanlık kilise)
- Portraits of Theognostos, Leo, and Michael flanking an unidentified saint who carries the Holy Cross
- Note: the third of the so-called Column churches
- Bibl.: Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, pp. 162-167; Thierry, 'Gène'; Wharton-Epstein, 'Column Churches'; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 128-131; *eadem*, 'Çarıklı kilise'

Göreme, Elmalı kilise (chapel no. 19)

- Part of a monastic complex
- Mid-eleventh century (slightly later than Karanlık kilise)
- Note: the second of the so-called Column churches
- Bibl.: Wharton-Epstein, 'Column Churches'; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 122-125

Göreme, El Nazar (chapel no. 1)

- Tenth century
- Bibl.: Restle, *Byz. Wall-painting*, pp. 101-103; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 83-85

Göreme, Karanlık kilise (chapel no. 23)

- Part of a monastic complex
- Mid-eleventh century
- Seven portraits of donors or patrons of the church; the names of four survive: John *Entalmatikos* (or, 'év τρυματτοῦ'), Genethleos, the priest Nikephoros, and Bascanos (or Basil)
- Note: the first of the so-called Column churches
- Bibl.: Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, pp. 48-56; Wharton-Epstein, 'Column Churches'; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 132-135

Göreme, Kılıçlar kilisesi (chapel no. 29)

- Cormack, Restle, Thierry, Wharton-Epstein: c. 900; Jolivet-Lévy: second quarter of tenth century; Jerphanion: end of tenth century

- Note: the south side-chapel was decorated in the eleventh century
- Bibl.: Jerphanion, *Églises rupestres*, I/1, pp. 199-242; Restle, *Byz. Wall-painting*, pp. 131-134; Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, pp. 39-44; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 137-141
- Göreme, Kışlar kışlak (chapel no. 33)**
 - Part of a monastic complex
 - First half or towards the middle of the eleventh century
 - Portraits of two donors, Eronkea and Nikandros
 - Note: attributed to the same workshop as Karabulut kilise and the Church of the Cistern, both at Avclar
 - Bibl.: Restle, *Byz. Wall-painting*, pp. 134-135; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 143-146
- Göreme, New Tokalı kilise (chapel no. 7)**
 - *Katholikon* of a monastery dedicated to the Holy Archangels
 - Painted decoration executed in the mid-tenth century
 - Inscriptions mention Constantine and Leo, the son of Constantine, as donors, and one Nikephoros who could be either a third donor or, perhaps, the painter
 - Note: closest stylistic parallels found in mid-tenth-century Constantinopolitan art
 - Bibl.: Wharton-Epstein, *Tokalı kilise*; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 94-95, 96-108
- Göreme, Old Tokalı kilise (chapel no. 7)**
 - First quarter of tenth century
 - Its eastern part was destroyed when the New Tokalı kilise was excavated a few years later
 - Note: decoration attributed to the same workshop as St. John at Güllü dere (913-920), and part of the Holy Apostles at Sinassos
 - Bibl.: Thierry, 'Atelier'; Wharton-Epstein, *Tokalı kilise*; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 94-96
- Göreme, Saklı kilise (chapel no. 2a)**
 - Mid- or third quarter of the eleventh century; the painted decoration of the north and central apses is somewhat later
 - Note: great similarities with Yılanlı kilise, Göreme
 - Bibl.: Restle, *Byz. Wall-painting*, pp. 103-105; Wharton-Epstein, 'Yılanlı Group', pp. 117-119; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 85-87
- Göreme, Yılanlı kilise (chapel no. 28)**
 - Second half of eleventh century
 - Portrait of one Theodore in a panel with Christ
 - Note: the monument after which the Yılanlı group of churches was named
 - Bibl.: Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, p. 173; Wharton-Epstein, 'Yılanlı Group'; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 136-137
- Gračanica, church of the Dormition**
 - painted decoration completed by 1321
 - church restored by king Milutin of Serbia, portrayed in the church with his wife, queen Simonida
 - Note: the iconography and the style present similarities to the later work of Michael Astrapas and Eutychios, to whom the frescoes are sometimes attributed
 - Bibl.: Ćurčić, *Gračanica*; Todić, *Gračanica stikarstvo*
- Hasan Dağı, Ağık ağa kilisesi**
 - Ninth century?
 - Bibl.: Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 327-329
- Hasan Dağı, Direkli kilise**
 - Monastic church, possibly, dedicated to St. George
 - 975-1025 (inscription mentioning Basil II and Constantine VIII)

- Bibl.: Thierry, *Nouvelles églises*, pp. 183-192; Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, pp. 85-95; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 323-327
- Hasan Dağı, Eğri laş kilisesi**
 - The surviving frescoes belong to many different phases dated to the ninth or early tenth(?), tenth, and eleventh centuries
 - Donor's inscription in the area of the sanctuary, mentioning one Christophoros, *spatharokandidatos* and *tourmarches*, dated to the reign of Romanos I Lekapenos and Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (921-944)
 - Portraits: main church, female figure, eleventh century (later than the inscription of Christophoros); north funerary chapel, female figure, eleventh century(?)
 - Bibl.: Thierry, *Nouvelles églises*, pp. 39-67, 217; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 300-302
- Hasan Dağı, Köy ensesi kilisesi**
 - Painted decoration of apse: beginning of tenth century?
 - Bibl.: Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 289-291
- Hasan Dağı, Pirenli seki kilisesi**
 - Tenth century or earlier; Restle: mid- or second half of eleventh century
 - Bibl.: Restle, *Byz. Wall-painting*, pp. 71-72, 171; Thierry, *Nouvelles églises*, pp. 137-153; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 303-305
- Hasan Dağı, Sümbüllü kilise**
 - More likely a chapel than a monastic church
 - Painted decoration: tenth or beginning of eleventh century
 - Bibl.: Restle, *Byz. Wall-painting*, pp. 172-173; Thierry, *Nouvelles églises*, pp. 175-181; Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, p. 120; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 305-307
- Hasan Dağı, Yılanlı kilise**
 - Tenth century or earlier
 - Bibl.: Restle, *Byz. Wall-painting*, pp. 173-174; Thierry, *Nouvelles églises*, pp. 89-114; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 307-310
- Hosios Loukas Monastery, church of the Virgin**
 - Stikas identifies it with the church dedicated to St. Barbara mentioned in the *vita* of hosios Loukas and dates it to 945-955; he considers Krinites Arotas, *stratagos* of the theme of Hellas, as the donor
 - Bouras identifies it with the 'cruciform oratory' that originally housed the saint's tomb and dates it to shortly after 960; she considers the emperor Romanos II (959-963) as a possible patron
 - End of tenth or beginning of eleventh century: representation of Joshua on the western façade of the church. When the *katholikon* was built, this part of the façade was incorporated in the north cross-vault as its eastern wall; the fresco was covered by marble revetment
 - Bibl.: Ευγγερούλος, 'Ἰησοῦς τοῦ Νουβή'; Chatzidakis, *Hosios Loukas*, pp. 11, 13-17 (with more bibliographical references)
- Hosios Loukas Monastery, katholikon**
 - Fourth decade of eleventh century: mosaic decoration of naos, painted decoration of the side-chapels and the crypt
 - The mosaic and the painted decoration of the *katholikon* are considered to be the work of a single workshop
 - The unknown donor(s) probably belonged to the ranks of the local aristocracy
 - Bibl.: Diez and Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece*; Soteriou, 'Peintures murales byzantines du XI^e s.'; Chatzidakis, 'A propos de la date et du fondateur de Saint-Luc'; Chatzidakis-Bacharas, *Les peintures murales de Hosios Loukas*; Mouriki, *The Mosaics of Nea Moni*, pp. 256-259; Oikonomides, 'The First Century of the Monastery of Hosios Loukas'; Chatzidakis, *Hosios Loukas*

Ivanovo, 'The Church'

- Rock-cut monastic church
- Donor: the Bulgarian tsar Ivan Alexander (1331-1371)
- Bibl.: Grabar, 'Les fresques d'Ivanovo'; Velmans, 'Les fresques d'Ivanovo'

Kalemi Monastery, katholiken

- 1417/8
- Donor: the *protovestiarios* Bogdan, portrayed in the church with his wife Milica and his brother Peter
- The *despotes* Stefan Lazarević is also portrayed in the church
- Bibl.: Radojčić, *Kalemi*; Simić-Lazar, *Kalemi*

Kalyria, St. George

- Last Judgment composition: fourth decade of thirteenth century or slightly later, when Attica was under Latin rule
- Bibl.: Mouriki, 'An Unusual Representation of the Last Judgment'

Kastoria, Panagia Mavriotissa

- Monastic church
- Painted decoration of the naos and narthex: early twelfth or early thirteenth century
- Exterior of south wall of narthex: 1259-1264
- Bibl.: Mouriki, 'Stylistic Trends—11th-12th c.', pp. 100-102, 110; Wharton-Epstein, 'Middle Byzantine Churches at Kastoria', pp. 202-206; Παπαμαστοράκης, 'Ένα εικαστικό γινώμιο'; Pelekanides and Chatzidakis, *Kastoria*, pp. 66-83

Kastoria, St. Nicholas Kasnitzes

- 1160-1180; Mouriki dates the church later, to the 1180s
- Donors: the *magistros* Nikephoros Kasnitzes and his wife Anna, portrayed in the narthex
- Bibl.: Malmquist, *Byz. 12th c. Frescoes in Kastoria*; Mouriki, 'Stylistic Trends—11th-12th c.', p. 110; Pelekanides and Chatzidakis, *Kastoria*, pp. 50-65; Panayotidi, 'The Wall-paintings in the Church of the Virgin Kosmosoteira', pp. 467-468

Kastoria, Sts. Anargyroi

- First layer of painted decoration (including the funerary portrait of one Constantine): second half of the tenth or first half of eleventh century
- Second layer: c. 1180. Mouriki is in favour of dating the second layer after Kurbinoovo (1191). The donors were Theodore Lemniotes, his wife, Anna Radene, and their son, John, portrayed in the north aisle
- Third layer comprising the fragmentary portrait of a deceased man or donor and two saints, in the north aisle: thirteenth or fourteenth century
- Note: scholars identify the chief artist responsible for the twelfth-century decoration with the master of Kurbinoovo
- Bibl.: Malmquist, *Byz. 12th c. Frescoes in Kastoria*; Mouriki, 'Stylistic Trends—11th-12th c.', p. 109; Pelekanides and Chatzidakis, *Kastoria*, pp. 22-49; Panayotidi, 'The Wall-paintings in the Church of the Virgin Kosmosoteira', p. 468

Kastoria, Taxiarches of the Metropolis

- First layer of painted decoration: tenth century
- Second layer: 1359/60, when Kastoria was under Serbian rule
- Donor of the fourteenth century decoration: the *hieromonachos* (priest-monk) Daniel
- Note: a series of funerary and donor portraits have survived on the west façade and the exterior of the south wall; they range in date from the fourteenth century down to the period of the Ottoman occupation
- Bibl.: Ορλάνδος, 'Μνημεία της Καστοριάς', pp. 61-106; Pelekanides and Chatzidakis, *Kastoria*, pp. 92-105

Koutsouendes, Monastery of St. John Chrysostom, North church

- c. 1100
- Donor: Eumathios Philokales, *doux* of Cyprus
- Bibl.: Mango, 'The Monastery of St. Chrysostomos'; Mango and Hawkins, 'Report'; Winfield, 'Hagios Chrysostomos'

Kurbinoovo, St. George

- 1191
- According to Hadermann-Misguich, the unknown donor must have been a member of the military or ecclesiastic hierarchy with Constantinopolitan connections
- Bibl.: Grozdanov and Hadermann-Misguich, *Kurbinoovo*; Hadermann-Misguich, *Kurbinoovo*

Lagoudera, Panagia Arakiotissa

- First phase of painted decoration (apse): second half of twelfth century
- Second phase of painted decoration (nave): 1192
- donor of 1192: Leo Authentēs, probably a member of the local gentry
- Note: the paintings of the second phase are sometimes attributed to the painter Theodore Apeudes, responsible for the decoration of the Enkleistra of St. Neophytos at Paphos; this identification has not been adopted by Nikolaides
- Bibl.: Nikolaïdēs, 'L'église de la Panagia Arakiotissa'; Παπαμαστοράκης, 'Η σημασία των προφητών'; Στυλιανού, 'Αι τοιχογραφίες του ναού της Παναγίας του 'Αράκου'; Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus*, pp. 157-185; Winfield, 'Panagia tou Arakos'

Lesnovo Monastery, church of Archangel Michael

- Naos built in 1341; painted by 1346 or 1347
- Narthex added probably in 1347; painted in 1349
- Donor of both phases of construction and decoration: the *sebastokrator* (later, *despotes*) Jovan Oliver, a powerful lord in the service of the Serbian ruler Stefan Dušan; he was also associated with John VI Kantakouzenos
- Bibl.: Okunev, 'Lesnovo'; Millet and Velmans, *La peinture du Moyen Âge*, IV, pp. XIII-XIX, XXXIII; Gabelić, 'Diversity in Fresco Painting'; *eadem*, *Manastir Lesnovo*

Manastir, church of St. Nicholas

- Monastic church
- Painted decoration: 1271 (inscription)
- Donor: the *hieromonachos* (priest-monk) and abbot Akakios, who was called Ioannikios before he took his vows
- Note: the donor's inscription mentions that the church was originally founded in 1095 by the *protostrator* Alexios, an uncle of Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118)
- Bibl.: Koco and Miljković-Pepok, *Manastir*

Markov Manastir, church of St. Demetrios

- 1346/7: church built by the Serbian tsar Stefan Dušan
- 1365-1371: the decoration of the church was continued under king Vukašin
- 1376-1381: decoration completed under king Marko Kraljević, son of Vukašin
- Bibl.: Grozdanov, 'Iz ikonografije Markovog Manastira'; Millet and Velmans, *La peinture du Moyen Âge*, IV, pp. XXV-XXXII, XXXIV

Mateić, church of the Virgin

- Monastic church; monastery already attested c. 1300
- 1356-1360: painted decoration of the church
- Donors: the tsarine Helena, widow of the Serbian tsar Stefan Dušan, and her son Uroš
- Bibl.: Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, pp. 101-103; Millet and Velmans, *La peinture du Moyen Âge*, IV, pp. XIX-XXIII, XXXIII-XXXIV; Walter, 'The Abgar Cycle'

Merenda, church of the Virgin

- Mid-thirteenth century: painted decoration of the vault and the upper registers of the long walls
- Fourteenth century?: military saints on horseback, on the tympanum of the south-western arch
- Note: Attica was under Latin occupation at the time
- Bibl.: Coumbaraki-Pansélinou, *Saint-Pierre*, pp. 121-162

Mileša Monastery, katholikon

- Monastery founded in c. 1220; painted decoration of the *katholikon* probably executed before 1228
- Founder: prince Vladislav, second son of the Serbian king Stefan the First-crowned (1196–c. 1228)
- c. 1236: exonarthex with side-chapels added and provided with painted decoration
- Bibl.: Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, p. 47; Nagorni, 'Bemerkungen zum Stil'; Radojčić, *Mileša*

Mistra, Brontochion Monastery, Apendiko (church of the Hodegetria)

- Construction of the church: c. 1310
- Painted decoration: 1312/3–1322
- Donor: the abbot of the monastery of Brontochion Pachomios (†1322), also responsible for the foundation of the church of Sts. Theodores, which belonged to the same monastery
- Bibl.: Χατζηδάκης, *Μυστράς*, pp. 53–67; Mouriki, 'Stylistic Trends—14th c.', pp. 72–73

Mistra, Brontochion Monastery, church of Sts. Theodores

- 1290–1295
- Donor: the abbot of the monastery of Brontochion Pachomios (†1322), also responsible for the foundation of the Apendiko, which belonged to the same monastery
- Bibl.: Χατζηδάκης, *Μυστράς*, pp. 47, 48–51; Mouriki, 'Stylistic Trends—14th c.', p. 72

Mistra, chapel of St. John

- Fifteenth century
- Donor: the *kyra* (lady) Kale Kabalasea, portrayed twice in lay and monastic costume, with her two children, Laskarina and Hodegetrianos
- Bibl.: Χατζηδάκης, *Μυστράς*, p. 109; Semoglou, 'Contribution à l'étude du portrait funéraire', pp. 7–8

Mistra, Metropolis (church of St. Demetrios)

- First phase of painted decoration (cycles of St. Demetrios and Sts. Kosmas and Damianos, five scenes from the life of the Virgin, and the Miracles of Christ): 1272–1288. The painted decoration of this phase was executed in successive stages sponsored, according to Chatzedakes, by a succession of metropolitans, not all of whom may be securely identified
- Second phase (cycle of the life of Christ in the nave and the composition of the Last Judgment in the narthex): 1291/2–1315. Associated with the activities of the metropolitan Nikephoros Moschopoulos
- Bibl.: Χατζηδάκης, 'Νεώτερα για την ιστορία και την τέχνη της Μητρόπολης'; *idem*, *Μυστράς*, pp. 25–45; Mouriki, 'Stylistic Trends—14th c.', pp. 70–72

Mistra, Pantanassa Monastery, katholikon

- Construction completed by 1428; c. 1430: painted decoration
- Donor: the *protoprotopos* John Frangopoulos
- Note: original painting survives only on the upper floor (the paintings of the lower floor are Post-Byzantine)
- Bibl.: Χατζηδάκης, *Μυστράς*, pp. 95–107; Mouriki, 'The Wall Paintings of the Pantanassa'

Mistra, Peribleptos Monastery, katholikon

- Third quarter of fourteenth century: painted decoration
- Bibl.: Χατζηδάκης, *Μυστράς*, pp. 73–89; Μουρίκη, 'Αι βιβλικαὶ προεικονίσεις'

Monagri, church of the Panagia Amasgou

- Painted decoration belonging to four distinct phases:
 - First phase: early twelfth century (lunette of the apse window and *diakonikon*)
 - Second phase: first quarter of the thirteenth century (cycle of the Great Feasts and hagiographic portraits in the naos; fragmentary state of preservation)

- Third phase: first half of the fourteenth century
- Fourth phase: sixteenth century
- Bibl.: Boyd, 'The Church of the Panagia Amasgou'

Mount Athos, Chilandar Monastery, katholikon

- Painted decoration: 1320–1321
- Donor: king Milutin of Serbia. He is portrayed in the narthex, along with St. Symeon (Stefan Nemanja), St. Sava of Serbia, Andronikos II, Andronikos III, Stefan Dečanski and another figure whose identity is contested (John VI Kantakouzenos or Stefan Dušan)
- The frescoes evidence great stylistic and iconographic similarities with the painted decoration of St. Nicholas Orphanos and St. Catherine, both at Thessalonike. In fact, it has been suggested that the master of Chilandar should be identified with one of the painters responsible for St. Nicholas Orphanos
- Note: The paintings were over-painted at the beginning of the nineteenth century
- Bibl.: Τσιγαρίδας, *Τοιχογραφίες της περιόδου των Παλαιολόγων*, pp. 11–54; CD-ROM *In the Heart of Hilandar*, © 1998, 1999 William Taylor Hostetter, Jr.

Mount Athos, Protaton

- Painted decoration commonly attributed to the beginning of the fourteenth century; recently, Kalomoirakes, followed by others, has argued in favour of a dating c. 1290 and has associated the undertaking of the work with an initiative of patriarch Athanasios I (1289–1293)
- Tradition has attributed the work to the legendary painter Manuel Panselenos
- Note: the church was fully restored in 1955–8
- Bibl.: Xyngopoulos, *Manuel Panselinos*; Todić, 'Protaton et la peinture serbe'; Καλομοιράκης, 'Πρωτότο'; Μοναχού Καλλίνικου, *Η τεχνική της αιογραφίας*, pp. 133–134, figs. 1–112; *Η Παλαιολόγια ζωγραφική στη Θεσσαλονίκη*, pp. 13–14

Mount Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, katholikon

- Byzantine mosaics and frescoes of different periods survive in the nave and the two narthexes of the *katholikon*:
 - Early eleventh–early twelfth century: mosaic of the Annunciation in the nave
 - Early twelfth century: mosaic of the Deesis in the outer narthex
 - Second half of the twelfth century: frescoes in the eastern part of the nave, representing four standing prophets and two martyrs in bust, enclosed in medallions
 - 1310–1320: mosaic of the Annunciation in the outer narthex
 - 1312: frescoes in the nave, the outer narthex, and, possibly, the inner narthex; the iconographic programme includes the cycles of the Great Feasts, the life of the Virgin, and the Passion of Christ, as well as portraits of saints and an unusual depiction of the Ladder of St. John Climacus ('of the Ladder') which incorporates the representation of a feast
- The date of the Palaiologan paintings is given by an inscription of 1819, assumed to reproduce the original dedicatory inscription; their style supports such a dating. According to this same inscription, the donor of the painted decoration was the *hieromonachos* (priest-monk) Arsenios
- The inclusion of the portraits of four prelates of Thessalonike in the iconographic programme of the sanctuary, has led Tsigaridas to suggest that the artists responsible for the Palaiologan frescoes came from that city
- Note: The frescoes of the nave were over-painted in Post-Byzantine times; Post-Byzantine paintings, dating to different periods, exist also in the two narthexes
- Bibl.: Tsigaridas, *Vatopaidi*

Nar, church of Ören

- Eleventh century?
- Bibl.: Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 231–2

Naxos, St. George Diasorites

- First layer of painted decoration in the naos and sanctuary: after the middle of the eleventh century
- Parts of the decoration of the naos and sanctuary were repainted in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries
- The narthex was added to the original building, perhaps soon after the church's construction (eleventh century?)
- Painted decoration of the narthex: two or three phases of the twelfth century or later
- Note: According to Acheimastou-Potamianou the costume of the male figure portrayed in the east blind arch of the southern bay of the narthex reflects eleventh-century fashions. However, as there is no reference to an eleventh-century layer of paintings in the narthex, the date of the portrait remains unclear
- Bibl.: Acheimastou-Potamianou, 'Hagios Georgios Diasorites'

Nerezi, St. Panteleimon

- 1164
- Donor: Alexios Komnenos, son of Theodora porphyrogenete, daughter of Alexios I Komnenos, and Constantine Angelos
- Bibl.: Sinković, *The Church of St. Panteleimon at Nerezi* (with earlier bibliography)

Nicaea, church of the Dormition (destroyed)

- Founded and adorned with mosaics towards the end of the seventh century or the beginning of the eighth by a certain Hyakinthos
- The pre-iconoclastic mosaics in the bema, partly destroyed by the Iconoclasts, were restored soon after 843 by a certain Naukratios
- The mosaics in the narthex belonged to a later phase and were probably executed sometime between 1063 and 1067 at the behest of the *megas hetaireiarches* Nikephoros
- Bibl.: Wulff, *Die Koimesiskirche*; Schmit, *Die Koimesis-Kirche*; Underwood, 'The Evidence of Restorations'; Mango, 'The Date of the Narthex Mosaics'; *idem*, 'Notes d'épigraphie et d'archéologie,' pp. 350-353; Barber, 'The Koimesis Church'

Ohrid, church of the Virgin Bolniča

- First layer of painted decoration: c. 1368
- Note: Ohrid came under Serbian rule in 1334
- Bibl.: Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, p. 108; Grozdanov, *Ohridsko zidno slikarstvo*, p. 204

Ohrid, Peribleptos (St. Clement)

- 1294/5: founded by the *megas hetaireiarches* Progonos Sgouros, a relative of Andronikos II, and his wife
- Painters: Michael Astrapas and Eutykhios
- 1364/5: chapel of St. Gregory the Theologian (when Ohrid was under Serbian control)
 - Donor: Gregory, bishop of Devol
- 1379: arcosolium with funerary portrait of Ostojja Rajaković Ugarčić, son-in-law of the governor of Ohrid Gropa, in the narthex
- Bibl.: Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, pp. 23, 106-107, 135; Grozdanov, *Ohridsko zidno slikarstvo*, pp. 201-206; Hallensleben, *Malerschule*; Miljković-Pepek, *Delata na zografije Mihailo i Eutihij*; Millet and Frolow, *La peinture du Moyen Âge*, III, p. X, pls. 1-18

Ohrid, St. Sophia

- Eleventh century: restored and decorated by Leo, archbishop of Ohrid (1037-1056)
- Part of the eleventh-century decoration survives in the bema, *prothesis*, *diakonikon*, naos (Nativity, Dormition, Presentation of the Virgin), and narthex (saints)
- Mid-twelfth century: chapel above the *diakonikon* decorated with a cycle of the martyrdom of the apostles

- 1346-1350: chapel of St. John the Baptist on the upper floor of the narthex (when Ohrid was under Serbian control)
 - Donor: the *despoles* Jovan Oliver, portrayed with members of his family
 - Painters: Constantine and his son, John, who was a master-singer (signature in Greek)
- 1346-1350: painted decoration of the upper floor of the narthex (including the Repentance of David)
 - Donor: archbishop Nicholas
 - Painter: John Theorianos (signed his name on the blade of the sword of the angel in the Repentance of David)
- 1350-1355: painted decoration of the gallery of the outer narthex
 - Donor: archbishop Gregory I
- Second half of the fourteenth century: portrait of the *sebastos* John Prosenik on the west wall of the narthex
- Bibl.: Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, pp. 10, 14, 97-98, 108; *idem*, *St. Sophia*; Grozdanov, *Ohridsko zidno slikarstvo*, pp. 191-196

Ortahisar, Balkan deresi no. 2

- Mid-tenth to eleventh century
- Bibl.: Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, p. 201

Ortahisar, Cambazlı kilise

- Thierry: end of eleventh century; Restle and others: beginning of thirteenth century
- Bibl.: Restle, *Byz. Wall-painting*, pp. 65-66, 151-152; Thierry, 'Cambazlı kilise'; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 195-198

Ortahisar, Hallaç Manastır kilisesi

- Mid-eleventh century
- Note: painted decoration consists of only one polychrome panel in the apse
- Bibl.: Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, pp. 11-26; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, p. 200

Paphos, Enkleistra of St. Neophytos

- First phase of painted decoration: 1183
- Second phase: after 1197
- The paintings of 1183 were executed by Theodore Apeudes. His work suggests that he might have been called in from an artistic centre outside Cyprus, perhaps by the bishop of Paphos Basil Kinnamos, who was a patron of St. Neophytos and had Constantinopolitan connections
- As evidenced by certain iconographic peculiarities, St. Neophytos was actively involved in devising the iconographic programme of both the first and the second phases of decoration
- Bibl.: Cormack, *Writing in Gold*, pp. 215-251; Mango and Hawkins, 'The Hermitage of St. Neophytos'

Pafnos, Monastery of St. John, chapel of St. Leontios (chapel of the Virgin)

- Original decoration: after 1185, probably c. 1200
- Donor: Arsenios, abbot of the monastery, in honour of his spiritual father Leontios, who had been himself abbot of the monastery and, later, patriarch of Jerusalem (†1185)
- Note: chapel repainted in 1745; it was probably then that it was re-dedicated to the Theotokos, under which dedication it is known today
- Bibl.: 'Ὁρλάνδος, Ἡ ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ καὶ αἱ βυζαντινὰι τοιχογραφίαι τῆς Μονῆς Πάφου', pp. 123-174, 258-268; Μουρίκη, 'Οἱ τοιχογραφίες του παρεκκλησίου τῆς Μονῆς του Θεολόγου'

Pafnos, Monastery of St. John, refectory

- Paintings survive on the western part of the vault and on the western wall
- First phase (tympandum of the north blind arch: Appearance of Christ to the

- disciples by the sea of Tiberias, The miraculous draught of fish): contemporary to the chapel of St. Leontios (after 1185, probably c. 1200)
- Second phase (northern part of western wall: including scenes from the Passion cycle): Orlandos dates it to the early decades of the thirteenth century, while Kolias, to end of the thirteenth century
 - Third phase (southern part of western wall: Crucifixion, Distribution of the garments, Lamentation, Descent into Hell): Orlandos, dates it to the second half of the thirteenth century, while Kolias, to its third quarter
 - Bibl.: 'Ορλάνδος, 'Η ἀρχιτεκτονική καὶ αἱ βυζαντινὰι τοιχογραφίαι τῆς Μονῆς Πάτμου, pp. 175-255, 268-270; Kolias, *Patmos*, pp. 24-26
- Peć, Patriarchate, church of St. Demetrios*
- 1320-1324: construction
 - Donor: archbishop of Serbia Nikodim (1317-1324)
 - c. 1345: painted decoration
 - Donor: most probably, archbishop Joanikije II (1338-1346)
 - Painter: John (signature in Greek)
 - Note: paintings partly restored at the beginning of the seventeenth century
 - Bibl.: Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, pp. 82-83; Petković, *The Patriarchate of Peć*, pp. 17-22
- Peć, Patriarchate, church of the Apostles*
- Construction possibly initiated by St. Sava of Serbia; it was realized by Arsenije I
 - Phases of painted decoration:
 - Mid-thirteenth century: sanctuary and the area beneath the dome
 - c. 1300: west part and the Passion cycle
 - 1350-1354: pilasters, and the arch connecting them, between the western and central bays
 - third quarter of fourteenth century: restoration of the choirs of the church
 - soon after 1354: Dormition of Patriarch Joanikije
 - Bibl.: Ljubinković, *The Church of the Apostles*; Petković, *The Patriarchate of Peć*, pp. 9-16
- Peć, Patriarchate, church of the Virgin*
- c. 1330
 - Founded by archbishop Danilo II
 - According to Petković, the painted decoration was completed under Danilo's successor, Joanikije II
 - Bibl.: Petković, *The Patriarchate of Peć*, pp. 23-27; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, pp. 84, 85
- Perachorio, church of the Holy Apostles*
- 1160-1180
 - Bibl.: Megaw and Hawkins, 'The Church of the Holy Apostles at Perachorio'
- Platsa (in the Mani), St. Nicholas*
- Middle Byzantine church renovated in 1337/8
 - Donor of renovation of 1337/8: Constantine Spanes, *pansebastos* and *tsaousios*, a member of the Slav tribe of the Melings dwelling on Mount Taygetos
 - Two phases of painted decoration:
 - First phase (nave): 1337/8
 - Second phase (south aisle with its apse): 1343/4-1348/9, paid by various local donors, including priests, with their families, and monks
 - Note: some of the scenes of the cycle of St. Nicholas in the south aisle have been repainted
 - Bibl.: Mouriki, *The Frescoes of St. Nicholas at Platsa*
- Prizren, Bogorodica Ljeviška*
- Painted decoration:

- 1220-1230: attributed to the same workshop as the thirteenth-century frescoes at Morača and St. Nicholas, Studenica
 - 1308/9: donor, king Milutin of Serbia, with contributions of bishops Damjan and Sava
 - Bibl.: Djurić, 'Jedna slikarska radionica u Srbiji'; Hallensleben, *Malerschule*; Panić and Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*
- Ravanica Monastery, katholikon*
- Founded in 1376/7 by prince Lazar, perhaps to serve as his mausoleum. He was indeed buried there in 1389
 - Painted decoration: 1376/7-1389
 - Bibl.: Belović, *Ravanica*
- Resava Monastery (Manastirja), katholikon*
- 1407-1418
 - Donor: the *despotes* Stefan Lazarević
 - According to Djurić, the painters were formed in the workshops of Thessalonike
 - Bibl.: Djurić, *Resava*; *idem*, 'Peinture murale de Resava'; Todić, *Manastir Resava*
- Selime, Kale kilisesi*
- Late tenth or early eleventh century
 - Donor-portrait of an aristocratic family, unfortunately unidentified
 - Bibl.: Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, pp. 63-85; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 331-332
- Serres, Monastery of St. John the Baptist, katholikon*
- 1275: foundation of the monastery by Ioannikios, a native of Serres
 - 1330-1332: foundation of the *katholikon* that still stands today
 - Donor: the metropolitan of Zichna(?) Joachim, a nephew of the founder
 - 1345: Serres come under Serbian control; Stefan Dušan becomes a patron of the monastery
 - Byzantine paintings survive in the exonarthex of the *katholikon*:
 - 1300-1333 (donor with Christ, Martyrdom of the Forty Martyrs)
 - 1333-1345 (figure of Christ Antiphonetes; figures of ascetics and hymnographers; isolated narrative scenes)
 - 1345-1355 (cycles of the Miracles of Christ and of St. John the Baptist)
 - Bibl.: Ζηγγρόπουλος, *Αἱ τοιχογραφίαι τοῦ καθολικοῦ τῆς Μονῆς Προδρόμου*
- Sinassos, Hacı İsmail dere no. 1*
- Mid-tenth century
 - Bibl.: Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 191-192
- Sinassos, Holy Apostles (church of the Pentecost)*
- First quarter of tenth century
 - Note: decoration of dome attributed to the same workshop as St. John, Güllü dere (913-920), and Old Tokalı kilise, Göreme
 - Bibl.: Thierry, 'Atelier'; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 180-182
- Sinassos, Tavşanlı kilise*
- 913-920 (or, less probably, 945)
 - According to an inscription, the decoration was executed under bishop Leo, during the reign of Constantine Porphyrogenetos (Constantine VII, sole ruler between 913 and 920, and again in 945). The bishop's name is mentioned before that of the emperor in the inscription
 - Note: stylistic affinities with Ballık kilise, Soğanlı, and Göreme, chapel no. 11
 - Bibl.: Jerphanion, *Églises rupestres*, II/2, p. 389; Restle, *Byz. Wall-painting*, pp. 152-153; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 182-184
- Soğanlı, Ballık kilise (paintings destroyed in 1958)*
- Beginning or first half of tenth century
 - Note: painted decoration attributed to the same workshop as Göreme, chapel no. 11; Jerphanion recognizes Armenian influences in both monuments

- Bibl.: Jerphanion, *Églises rupestres*, II/1, pp. 249-270; II/2, pp. 390, 416; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 255-256
- Soğanlı, Canavar (Djannavar) kilise (Yılanlı kilise)*
 - Paintings ranging from the eleventh century down to the period of Turkish rule
 - c. 1060: portrait of a female donor called Eudokia
 - Bibl.: Jerphanion, *Églises rupestres*, II/1, p. 363; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 271-272
- Soğanlı, Karabaş kilise*
 - Monastic church
 - 1060/1 (inscription)
 - Donors: the *protospatharios* Michael Skepides, the nun Catherine, and the monk Niphon, probably all members of the same family
 - Eight surviving portraits of the donors and their family(?): the *protospatharios* Skepides, the nun Catherine, the monk Niphon, the priest Basil, Eirene, Maria, Eudokia, and an unidentified dignitary
 - Note: the activity of the Skepides family is related to the top layer of decoration; beneath this, an earlier layer is visible, probably datable to the beginning of the tenth century
 - Bibl.: Jerphanion, *Églises rupestres*, II/1, pp. 333-360; Restle, *Byz. Wall-painting*, pp. 162-164; Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, pp. 193-202; Thierry, 'Karabaş kilise'; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 266-270
- Soğanlı, St. Barbara*
 - 1006 or 1021, during the reign of Basil II and Constantine VIII (inscription)
 - Donor: Basil, *domestikos* or either *epi thyron* (an ecclesiastical official of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople), or *epi thematon* (a military official); according to Rodley, the predominance of military saints in the iconographic programme argues in favour of the second reading
 - Bibl.: Jerphanion, *Églises rupestres*, II/1, pp. 307-322; II/2, p. 390; Restle, *Byz. Wall-painting*, pp. 160-161; Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, pp. 203-207; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 258-262
- Staro Nagoričino, Monastery of St. George*
 - Renovated in 1313; painted decoration completed by 1317/8
 - Donor: king Milutin, in commemoration of a victory against the Turks
 - Painters: Michael Astrapas and Eutychios
 - Bibl.: Hallensleben, *Malerschule*; Miljković-Pepelj, *Deloto na zografite Mihailo i Eutihij*; Millet and Frolow, *La peinture du Moyen Âge*, III, p. XI, pls. 71-119
- Studenica Monastery, church of Sts. Joachim and Anna*
 - 1314
 - founded by king Milutin of Serbia, portrayed in the church with his wife, queen Simonida
 - Note: paintings attributed by some art-historians to the workshop of Michael Astrapas and Eutychios
 - Bibl.: Ćirković, Korać, Babić, *Studenica Monastery*, pp. 89-142; Cvetković, 'König Milutin'
- Tagar, St. Theodore*
 - eleventh century
 - Note: according to Jolivet-Lévy, parts may have been repainted at a later date
 - Bibl.: Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 211-215
- Thessalonike, Acheiropoietos*
 - Built in the fifth century and adorned with mosaics of which fragments remain
 - 1224-1230: portraits of the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia (south face of the south colonnade of the nave)
 - Bibl.: Ξυγγόπουλος, 'Αἱ τοιχογραφίαι τῶν Ἁγίων Τεσσαράκοντα'

Thessalonike, chapel of St. Euthymios

- The chapel was attached to the south-east side of the basilica of St. Demetrios
- 1303 (inscription)
- Donors: the *protostrator* Michael Glabas Tarchaneiotos and his wife Maria
- Bibl.: Gouma-Peterson, 'The *Parecclesion* of St. Euthymios'; *eadem*, 'Christ as Ministrant'; *eadem*, 'The Frescoes of the Parekklesion of St. Euthymios'

Thessalonike, Holy Apostles

- Originally, the *katholikon* of a monastic establishment probably dedicated to the Theotokos
- Mosaics survive in the dome and the vaults of the naos, while frescoes adorn the lower zone of the naos, the ambulatory, and the exonarthex. Apparently, the bema did not receive any pictorial decoration.
- According to an inscription on the lintel of the main entrance and monograms in stone and brickwork, the church was founded by the patriarch of Constantinople Niphon I (1310-1314)
- A second inscription identifies Paul, abbot of the monastery and a disciple of Niphon, as the second founder
- Dendrochronological data reveal that the entire church was constructed after 1329. Consequently, the mosaics and the frescoes must have been conceived as a single unified programme and were probably executed in the years between 1329 and c. 1334 (Niphon's death)
- Bibl.: Ξυγγόπουλος, 'Ἡ ψηφιδωτὴ διακόσμησης τοῦ ναοῦ τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων'; *idem*, 'Les fresques de l'église des Saints-Apôtres'; Kissas, 'O vremenenu nastanka fresaka u crkvi Svethi Apostola'; Stephan, *Ein byzantinisches Bildensemble*; Kuniholm and Striker, 'Dendrochronology'; Nelson, 'Tales of Two Cities'

Thessalonike, Latomou Monastery (Hosios David)

- Early Byzantine mosaic in the apse
- Frescoes preserved in the south barrel vault (Nativity, Baptism, Presentation to the Temple, Transfiguration): 1160-1170 (Tsigaridas) or turn of the twelfth century (Mouriki)
- Frescoes preserved on the east wall of the north barrel-vault (the Virgin of the Passion, Christ praying on the Mount of Olives, Entry into Jerusalem): late thirteenth or early fourteenth century
- Bibl.: Mouriki, 'Stylistic Trends—11th-12th c.', pp. 119-123; Τσιγαρίδας, *Οι τοιχογραφίες της μονῆς Λατόμου*

Thessalonike, Panagia ion Chalkeon

- 1028 (inscription)
- Donors: Christophoros, imperial *protospatharios* and *katepano* of the theme of Longobardia, and his family
- Bibl.: Tsitouridou, *The Church of the Panagia Chalkeon*

Thessalonike, Prophetes Elias (original dedication unknown)

- Monastic church
- Frescoes preserved in the narthex (Christ's Infancy, Ministry, and Miracles): c. 1370-1380
- Bibl.: Η Παλαιολόγεια ζωγραφική στη Θεσσαλονίκη, p. 24; Papazotos, 'The Identification of the Church of "Profitis Elias"'

Thessalonike, St. Catherine (original dedication unknown)

- Frescoes survive in the bema, dome, nave (Miracle cycle) and narthex (monastic saints)
- Dated on stylistic grounds to c. 1315
- Bibl.: Mouriki, 'Stylistic Trends—14th c.', pp. 60-61

Thessalonike, St. Nicholas Orphanos

- Originally, a monastic church; date of foundation of monastery unknown
- Painted decoration: 1310-1320 or 1340-1350

- Bibl.: Kissas, 'Srpski srednjovekovni spomenici'; Mavropoulou-Tsioumi, *The Church of St. Nicholas Orphanos*; Mouriki, 'Stylistic Trends—14th c.', p. 61; Τσιτουρίδου, *Ο ζωγραφικός διάκοσμος του Αγίου Νικολάου Ορφανού*; Velmans, 'Les fresques de Saint Nicholas Orphanos'; Συγγούπουλος, *Οι τοιχογραφίες του Αγίου Νικολάου Ορφανού*
- Trebizond, church of St. Sophia*
 - Church founded soon after 1250
 - Donor: Manuel I Komnenos of Trebizond (1238–1263)
 - Phases of painted decoration:
 - c. 1260: naos and narthex
 - c. 1270: western porch
 - late fourteenth or early fifteenth century: tomb-niche
 - 1443: bell-tower
 - Bibl.: *The Church of Haghia Sophia at Trebizond*
- Trikomo, church of the Panagia Theotokos*
 - Early twelfth century
 - Note: Winfield has attributed the painted decoration of this church and of Panagia Phorbiotissa at Asinou to a pupil of the master of St. John Chrysostom at Koutsoventes
 - Bibl.: Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus*, pp. 486–491; Winfield, 'Hagios Chrysostomos'
- Ürgüp, Ak kilise (church no. 3)*
 - Second half of tenth century—beginning of eleventh
 - Bibl.: Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 149–150
- Ürgüp, St. Theodore*
 - ninth–tenth century
 - Bibl.: Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 219–222
- Veljusa Monastery, katholikon*
 - 1080: founded by Manuel, bishop of Strumitza
 - Phases of painted decoration:
 - 1085/93: the bema, the naos, the narthex and the south chapel
 - 1164–1170: the south portico and parts of the exonarthex
 - thirteenth–fourteenth century: parts of the exonarthex reconstructed and repainted
 - Bibl.: Djurić, 'Fresques du monastère de Veljusa'; Miljković-Pepelj, *Veljusa*
- Velmé, St. Nicholas*
 - Probably, originally dedicated to the Theotokos
 - The only surviving part of the original decoration is the representation of the Virgin and Child on the lunette of the south façade, dated to the second half of the thirteenth century
 - Bibl.: Miljković-Pepelj, 'Edna neproučena crkva vo s. Velméj'
- Verriva, church of the Anastasis (Hagios Christos)*
 - 1315 (inscription)
 - Donors: Xenos Psalidas and his wife, Euphrosyne, who saw the work completed following his death
 - Painter: Kallierges, who in the dedicatory inscription identified himself as 'the best painter of all Thessaly'
 - Funerary portraits, dating to a later period, are preserved on the exterior walls of the church
 - Bibl.: Mouriki, 'Stylistic Trends—14th c.', pp. 66–68; Πελεκανίδης, *Καλλιέργειες Ζεμεν Monastery, katholikon*
 - Dedicated to St. John the Theologian
 - Main layer of painted decoration not prior to the first quarter of the fourteenth century
 - Bibl.: Grabar, *Peinture*, pp. 186–223; Mavrodinova, *Zemenskata tsirkva*

APPENDIX TWO

PORTRAITS OF BYZANTINE EMPERORS AND THEIR FAMILIES (NINTH TO FIFTEENTH CENTURIES)*

BYZANTINE EMPIRE

1. *Basil I (867–886)*
 - Par. gr. 510, f. Cv (879–883) (poorly preserved)
 - Standing on dais between the prophet Elijah, who offers him a *labarum*, and the archangel Gabriel, who crowns him
 - Purple tunic; crossed *loros*; crown, circlet surmounted by cross, *prependoulia*; red shoes trimmed with pearls
 - Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 96–97, fig. 62 (b/w); Maguire, 'A Murderer'; Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning*, pp. 158–162, fig. 5
2. *Eudokia Ingerina (†882/3), wife of Basil I, and her sons, Leo and Alexander*
 - Par. gr. 510, f. Br (879–883) (poorly preserved)
 - Standing on dais
 - Empress: purple tunic; crossed *loros*; crown, poorly preserved; red shoes trimmed with pearls; right hand, sceptre with trilobate top; left hand, orb
 - Leo, Alexander: purple tunic; crossed *loros*; crown, circlet surmounted by cross, *prependoulia*; red shoes trimmed with pearls; right hand, *akakia*; left hand, orb
 - Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 97–98, fig. 63 (b/w); Lowden, *Early Christian and Byz. Art*, fig. 110 (colour); Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning*, pp. 162–163, fig. 2
3. *?Basil I (867–886) and Eudokia Ingerina (†882/3)*
 - Panel on the lid of the ivory casket with scenes from the life of David in the Palazzo di Venezia, Rome
 - Standing, with hands raised and heads bowing towards Christ, who crowns them
 - Emperor: long, long-sleeved tunic; crossed *loros*; crown, a circlet, no *prependoulia* visible
 - Empress: long, long-sleeved tunic, bejewelled band around hem; crossed *loros*; crown, circlet, *prependoulia*(?)
 - Note: identification of imperial couple disputed; alternative proposed: Leo VI (886–912) and his third wife, Eudokia Baiane
 - Bibl.: Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, II, no. 123; Maguire, 'The Art of Comparing,' pp. 89–93; Cutler and Oikonomides, 'An Imperial Byzantine Casket,' pp. 77–87; Kalavrezou, 'A New Type of Icon,' pp. 392–396
4. *Leo VI (886–912)*
 - Enamel medallion on a votive crown, Treasury of San Marco, Venice (dated early in the reign)
 - Bust

* Effigies of rulers on coins and seals have not been listed as they are far too numerous and have been treated in detail in specialized publications that can be easily consulted. Basic works of reference for Middle and Late Byzantine monetary material are *DOC* II–V. For imperial effigies on seals the basic work of reference is Zacos, *Seals*, I/1, nos. 1–128 bis (pp. 3–127).

- Dark-coloured tunic; crossed *loras*; crown, circlet surmounted by cross, *prependoulia*
- Bibl.: Wessel, *Enamels*, pp. 57-58, fig. 12a (b/w); Cutler and Spieser, *Byzance médiévale*, fig. 144 (colour); Lowden, *Early Christian and Byz. Art*, fig. 127 (colour)
- 5. *Leo VI (886-912)* (Pl. 34)
 - Ivory, so-called 'sceptre of Leo VI', Museum für Spätantike und Byzantinische Kunst, Berlin
 - Emperor, in bust, crowned by the Virgin, while the archangel Gabriel attends
 - Long-sleeved tunic; crossed *loras*; crown, circlet surmounted by trilobate ornament, *prependoulia*; right hand, sceptre (top broken); left hand, orb surmounted by cross
 - Bibl.: Corrigan, 'The Ivory Scepter of Leo VI'; Arnulf, 'Eine Perle'; Cutler and Spieser, *Byzance médiévale*, fig. 97 (colour); *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 138 (pp. 201-202)
- 6. *Unidentified late ninth- or early tenth-century emperor*
 - Mosaic panel, narthex, Hagia Sophia, Constantinople
 - Emperor in *proskynesis*, at the feet of Christ enthroned
 - Dark-coloured tunic; white *chlamys*, diaper pattern, golden *tablia*, fastened at the right shoulder; crown, circlet surmounted by cross, no *prependoulia*; hands empty
 - Bibl.: Mango, *Materials*, pp. 24-25, fig. 8 (b/w); Oikonomides, 'Leo VI'; Gavrilović, 'The Humiliation of Leo VI'; Cormack, 'The Emperor at St. Sophia', pp. 245-251; Cutler and Spieser, *Byzance médiévale*, figs. 107-108 (colour); Lowden, *Early Christian and Byz. Art*, pp. 189-190, fig. 105 (colour)
- 7. *Alexander (912-913)*
 - Mosaic panel, north gallery, Hagia Sophia, Constantinople
 - Standing
 - Hem of an undergarment visible; purple tunic; crossed *loras*; crown, circlet surmounted by cross, pair of *prependoulia* on either side; red shoes trimmed with pearls; right hand, *akakia*; left hand, orb
 - Bibl.: Underwood and Hawkins, 'Alexander', esp. pp. 195-198, figs. 1 (colour), 4-10 (b/w); Mango, *Materials*, pp. 46-47, fig. 50 (b/w); Oikonomides, 'The Significance of Some Imperial Monumental Portraits', p. 24
- 8. *Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (913-959)*
 - Ivory plaque fragment, State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow
 - Standing, bowing to the right, crowned by Christ
 - Hem of an undergarment visible; long tunic; crossed *loras*; crown, circlet surmounted by trilobate ornament, *prependoulia*; hands empty
 - Bibl.: *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 140 (pp. 203-204); *To Βυζάντιο ως Οικουμενή*, no. 15 (pp. 84-85) (colour)
- 9. *Romanos II (crowned co-emperor 945) and Eudokia (†949)* (Pl. 14)
 - Ivory panel ('Romanos ivory'), Cabinet des médailles, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris
 - Imperial couple, standing on dais, crowned by Christ
 - Romanos: hem of an undergarment visible; long tunic; simplified *loras*; crown, circlet surmounted by cross, *prependoulia*; shoes trimmed with pearls; hands empty
 - Eudokia: long tunic, ample sleeves, girt; *chlamys*, patterned with medallions, *tablia*, fastened at the right shoulder; crown, circlet surmounted by asterisk, *prependoulia*; shoes trimmed with pearls; hands empty
 - Note: identification of imperial couple disputed; alternatives proposed: Romanos IV Diogenes (1068-1071) and Eudokia Makrembolitissa
 - Bibl.: Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, II, no. 34; Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, 'Eudokia Makrembolitissa', *Byzance*, no. 148; Cutler, 'Romanos Ivory'; Lowden, *Early Christian and Byz. Art*, pp. 217, 220, fig. 126

- 10. *Nikephoros II Phokas (963-969) and Theophano* (Pl. 17)
 - Apse of *prothesis*, Pigeon House Church, Çavuşin (963-969) (poorly preserved)
 - Emperor standing in front of throne, flanked by empress and other members of the imperial family
 - Nikephoros: orange-brown tunic; simplified *loras*, train shown draped over both forearms (misunderstood); crown surmounted by three crosses; left hand, small cross
 - Theophano: orange-brown dress; simplified *loras*, no indication of train; crown, *prependoulia*(?)
 - Bibl.: Rodley, 'Pigeon House Church', esp. pp. 309-310; Thierry, 'Tzimisikès', drawing on p. 478; Cutler and Spieser, *Byzance médiévale*, fig. 77 (colour)
- 11. *Basil II (976-1025)* (Pls. 31a, 110)
 - *Marc. gr. Z.17* ('Psalter of Basil II'), f. IIIr (early eleventh century)
 - Standing on upholstered footstool; at his feet, prostrated enemies; above, Christ, in bust, holds crown; the archangel Michael offers the emperor a spear; the archangel Gabriel crowns him; right and left, busts of military saints
 - Knee-length purple tunic; golden lamellar cuirass, detached arm-guards; blue mantle, fastened at the front with round fibula; crown, circlet, *prependoulia*; blue stockings or trousers; high red boots, trimmed with pearls; right hand, spear; left hand, sheathed sword
 - Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 20-26, fig. 6 (b/w); Cutler and Spieser, *Byzance médiévale*, fig. 254 (colour); Oikonomides, 'The Significance of Some Imperial Monumental Portraits', p. 24
- 12. *Constantine IX Monomachos (1042-1055) and Zoe (†1050)* (Pls. 18, 31b, 32a)
 - Mosaic panel, south gallery, Hagia Sophia, Constantinople (lower part destroyed)
 - Standing on either side of Christ enthroned
 - Constantine: purple tunic, richly patterned; simplified *loras*; crown, circlet surmounted by cross, *prependoulia*; holds scaled purse with both hands
 - Zoe: purple dress, richly patterned; simplified *loras*, apparently with a very broad train; crown, triangular projections along upper rim, no *prependoulia*, bejewelled flap(?) at the back; holds scroll with both hands
 - Note: originally the panel portrayed the first husband of Zoe, Romanos III (1028-1034). At a later date the faces of all three figures were redone and the inscription accompanying the portrait of the emperor was modified accordingly. It is not clear why the faces of Zoe and Christ were replaced
 - Bibl.: Mango, *Materials*, pp. 27-28, fig. 14 (b/w); Kalavrezou, 'Irregular Marriages'; Cormack, 'The Emperor at St. Sophia', pp. 240-242; Cutler and Spieser, *Byzance médiévale*, figs. 260-261 (colour); Lowden, *Early Christian and Byz. Art*, pp. 249-251, fig. 145 (colour); Oikonomides, 'Constantine IX', *idem*, 'The Significance of Some Imperial Monumental Portraits', pp. 24-25
- 13. *Constantine IX Monomachos (1042-1055), Zoe (†1050), and Theodora (†1056)*
 - *Sinait. gr. 364*, f. 3r (1042)
 - Standing; above, Christ in a mandorla with a crown at His feet, flanked by two flying angels holding crowns
 - Constantine (centre): purple tunic, patterned; simplified *loras*; crown, circlet, *prependoulia*(?); red shoes trimmed with pearls; right hand, sceptre; left hand, *akakia*
 - Zoe (left): red dress, patterned; simplified *loras*, broad train brought to the front from the level of right ankle, secured with a belt and then draped over left forearm; crown, triangular projections along upper rim, no *prependoulia* visible; red shoes; left hand, sceptre with trilobate top
 - Theodora (right): same as Zoe, though, dress, blue
 - Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 99-102, fig. 66 (b/w); *Sinai*, fig. 8 on p. 331 (colour); Cutler and Spieser, *Byzance médiévale*, fig. 263 (colour); *To Βυζάντιο ως Οικουμενή*, no. 16 (pp. 86-87) (colour)

14. *Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–1055), Zoe (†1050), and Theodora (†1056)* (Pl. 29)
 – Gold enamel plaques, part of a crown, National Museum, Budapest (1042–1050)
 – Standing on upholstered footstools
 – Constantine: blue tunic, patterned with inverted hearts; simplified *loros*; crown, circlet surmounted by trilobate ornament, *prependoulia*; right hand, *labarum*; left hand, white, scroll-like object
 – Zoe: blue dress patterned with inverted hearts (what looks like a wide sleeve is actually the termination of the *loros* draped over the forearm); simplified *loros*, broad train, shield-like, adorned with two-armed cross, end draped over left forearm; crown, triangular projections along upper rim, *prependoulia*; red shoes; right hand, sceptre
 – Theodora: mirror image of Zoe
 – Bibl.: Wessel, *Enamels*, pp. 96–104, figs. 32. a–c (b/w); *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 145 (pp. 210–212) (colour); Kiss, 'The Monomachos Crown'; *To Βυζάντιο ως Οικουμενή*, no. 14 (pp. 78–83) (colour)
15. *Constantine X Doukas (1059–1067), Eudokia Makrembolitissa, and their sons Michael and Constantius(?)*
 – *Par. gr.* 922, f. 6r (poorly preserved)
 – Standing on footstool (Eudokia) and upholstered footstools (the rest), on either side of the Virgin, who crowns the imperial couple; angels crown the junior emperors
 – Constantine: crossed *loros*
 – Eudokia: simplified *loros*, broad train, shield-like
 – Details of the dress of the junior emperors not distinguishable
 – Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 102–106, fig. 68 (b/w)
16. *Constantine X Doukas (1059–1067) and Eudokia Makrembolitissa*
 – Silver gilt reliquary of St. Demetrios, State Historical and Cultural Museum, Moscow
 – Standing, crowned by Christ in bust
 – Constantine: long tunic; simplified *loros*; crown, circlet surmounted by cross, *prependoulia*; right hand, *labarum*; left hand, orb
 – Eudokia: same vestments as the emperor; no *labarum*, only orb in left hand
 – Bibl.: *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 36 (pp. 77–78)
17. *Constantine X Doukas (1059–1067), Eudokia Makrembolitissa, and Michael or Constantius*
 – *Barb. gr.* 372, f. 5r (alterations, probably, during the Palaiologan period)
 – Standing on upholstered footstools; three angels crown them; above, Christ enthroned holds an open crown
 – Constantine (left): blue tunic; crossed *loros*; hemispherical crown, *prependoulia* (originally, the crown was an open circlet, similar to that held by Christ); red shoes; right hand, *labarum*; left hand, *akakia*
 – Junior emperor (centre): same as Constantine (crown altered in the same way); left hand, codex
 – Eudokia (right): red dress, sleeves exceedingly wide at the wrists; simplified *loros*, broad train, shield-like, adorned with two-armed cross; crown, originally with projections along upper rim (repainted)
 – Note: identification of imperial family disputed; alternatives proposed: Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118), Eirene Doukaina, and John
 – Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 26–36, figs. 7–8 (b/w); Anderson, 'Barberini Psalter'; Cutler and Spieser, *Byzance médiévale*, fig. 278 (colour)
18. *Michael VII Doukas (1071–1078) and Constantine, his son* (Pl. 30)
 – Gold enamel plaques, Holy Crown of Hungary, Hungarian Parliament, Budapest (1074–1077)
 – Busts

- Michael: blue tunic, patterned with inverted hearts; crossed *loros*; crown, circlet surmounted by trilobate ornament, *prependoulia*; right hand, *labarum*; left hand, sheathed sword
 – Constantine: blue tunic, patterned with inverted hearts, collar with three vertical elements projecting down the chest and shoulders; no *loros*; crown, circlet surmounted by trilobate ornament, *prependoulia*; right hand, *labarum*; left hand, white scroll-like object
 – Bibl.: Wessel, *Enamels*, pp. 111–115, figs. 37. d–e (b/w); Kovács and Lovag, *The Hungarian Crown*, pp. 18–57, 75–81; Cutler and Spieser, *Byzance médiévale*, fig. 267 (colour); *Glory of Byzantium*, on p. 187 (colour)
19. *Michael VII Doukas (1071–1078) and Maria of Alania*
 – Enamel plaque on the Khakhuli triptych, Georgian State Art Museum, Tbilisi
 – Standing on upholstered footstools, crowned by Christ in bust
 – Michael: blue(?) tunic patterned with inverted hearts; simplified *loros*; crown, circlet surmounted by trilobate ornament, *prependoulia*; red shoes; right hand, *labarum*; left hand, white scroll-like object
 – Maria: blue(?) dress patterned with inverted hearts, sleeves exceedingly wide at the wrists; simplified *loros*, broad train, shield-like; crown, projections along upper rim, no *prependoulia*, red flap(?) at the back; left hand, cross-topped sceptre
 – Bibl.: Wessel, *Enamels*, pp. 115–116, 119, fig. 38 (b/w); Zias *et al.*, *Byzance*, on p. 56 (colour)
20. *Michael VII Doukas (1071–1078) and Maria of Alania* (Pls. 2, 19, 31c, 32b)
 – *Coislin* 79, f. 1(2bis)v
 – Standing, crowned by Christ in bust
 – Michael: dark blue tunic, richly patterned; crossed *loros*; crown, circlet, *prependoulia*; right hand, *labarum*; left hand, *akakia*
 – Maria: dark blue dress, richly patterned, sleeves exceedingly wide at the wrists; simplified *loros*, broad train brought to the front from the level of right ankle, tucked in belt; elaborate crown (projections along upper rim and *prependoulia* not visible); right hand, sceptre
 – Note: originally made for Michael VII, *Coislin* 79 was offered to his successor Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1078–1081) following Michael's abdication. The dedication miniatures were maintained with minor alterations to the facial features of the emperor and the necessary renaming of the imperial portraits on ff. 1(2bis)v, 2r, 2v. The portrait of Maria of Alania, who became the wife of Nikephoros III, remained unaltered
 – Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 108–110, figs. 70, 73, 74 (b/w); Dumitrescu, 'Coislin 79'; *Glory of Byzantium*, on p. 182 (colour)
21. *Michael VII Doukas (1071–1078)* (Pls. 1, 11)
 – *Coislin* 79, f. 2r
 – Enthroned, feet resting on upholstered footstool, flanked by four officials of the court; behind the throne, personifications of Truth and Justice
 – Blue tunic, richly patterned, girt; dark blue *chlamys* patterned with inverted hearts, borders trimmed with pearls, golden *tablion*, fastened towards the right; crown, circlet, *prependoulia* (effaced); red shoes trimmed with pearls; left hand, *akakia*
 – Note: see note to no. 20
 – Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 110–111, figs. 71, 75 (b/w); Cutler and Spieser, *Byzance médiévale*, fig. 268 (colour); *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 143 (pp. 207–209) (colour)
22. *Michael VII Doukas (1071–1078)* (Pl. 6)
 – *Coislin* 79, f. 2v
 – Standing on upholstered footstool, flanked by St. John Chrysostom and the archangel Michael; to the right of upholstered footstool, minuscule kneeling figure of donor

- Gold-embroidered hem of undergarment visible; purple tunic, richly patterned, vertical slit at the lower front of skirt, collar adorned with a cross, girt; no mantle; crown, circlet, *prependoulia*; hands raised to receive codex offered by St. John Chrysostom
- Note: see note to no. 20
- Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 111-112, figs. 72, 76 (b/w); *Byzance*, no. 271 (pp. 360-361) (colour)
- 23. *Nikephoros III Botaniates (1078-1081)*
- *Coislin* 79, f. 1(2bis)r
- To the right, enthroned, feet resting on footstool, listening to monk Sabas reading
- Blue tunic, patterned with inverted hearts; purple *chlamys*, patterned with spades, borders trimmed with pearls and gems, golden *tablion*, fastened at the right shoulder; crown, circlet surmounted by trilobate ornament, *prependoulia*; red shoes
- Note: this portrait was added to the other three dedicatory miniatures when *Coislin* 79 was offered to Nikephoros III (see note to no. 20)
- Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 107-108, fig. 69 (b/w); *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 143 (pp. 207-209) and on p. 82 (colour)
- 24. *Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118)* (Pl. 12)
- *Vat. gr.* 666, f. 2r (*terminus post quem* 1109-1111)
- Standing on upholstered footstool, turned towards left, facing chorus of Church Fathers represented on f. 1v; Christ in bust blesses him
- Dark blue tunic, patterned with double fleurs-de-lis and spades; purple *chlamys* similarly patterned, *tablion* not visible; crown, open circlet, traces of *prependoulia*; red shoes trimmed with pearls
- Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 123-125, figs. 79, 81, 84 (b/w); Cutler and Spieser, *Byzance médiévale*, fig. 280 (colour)
- 25. *Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118)* (Pl. 13)
- *Vat. gr.* 666, f. 2v (*terminus post quem* 1109-1111)
- Standing, turned towards right, offering codex to enthroned Christ
- Purple tunic patterned with crude double fleurs-de-lis; simplified *loros*; crown, circlet, *prependoulia*; red shoes trimmed with pearls
- Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 125-126, figs. 80, 82, 85 (b/w); *IEE* Θ', on p. 23 (colour)
- 26. *Eirene Doukaina, wife of Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118)*
- Gold enamel plaque, Pala d'Oro, Venice (c. 1105?)
- Standing on upholstered footstool
- Hem of undergarment visible; blue dress patterned with spades, sleeves exceedingly wide at the wrists; simplified *loros*, broad train, shield-like, adorned with two-armed cross; crown, three triangular projections along upper rim, no *prependoulia*, flap down the back; red shoes; right hand, sceptre
- Bibl.: Wessel, *Enamels*, pp. 131-153, fig. 46b (b/w); Lowden, *Early Christian and Byz. Art*, pp. 340-1, 343, fig. 206 (colour)
- 27. *John II Komnenos (1118-1143)*, *Eirene* (†1134), and *Alexios* (crowned co-emperor in 1122) (Pls. 20, 31d, 32c)
- Mosaic panel, south gallery, Hagia Sophia, Constantinople (1122-1134)
- Imperial couple flanking the Virgin and Child, standing; Alexios, standing, portrayed on a pilaster at an angle to the panel of his parents (lower part of all three destroyed)
- John: purple tunic richly patterned; simplified *loros*; hemispherical crown surmounted by cross, *prependoulia*; holds sealed purse with both hands
- Eirene: red dress richly patterned, sleeves exceedingly wide at the wrists; simplified *loros*, broad train tucked in belt; crown, projections along upper

- rim, no *prependoulia*, flap(?) at the back; earrings; holds sealed document with both hands
- Alexios: vestments similar to that of John II; right hand, staff set with jewels and pearls
- Bibl.: Mango, *Materials*, pp. 28-29, figs. 17, 18 (b/w); Cutler and Spieser, *Byzance médiévale*, figs. 287-288 (colour); Lowden, *Early Christian and Byz. Art*, pp. 351-353, fig. 212 (colour); Oikonomides, "The Significance of Some Imperial Monumental Portraits," pp. 24-25
- 28. *John II Komnenos (1118-1143)* and his eldest son *Alexios* (†1142) (Pl. 21)
- *Vat. urb. gr.* 2, f. 19v (1122-1142)
- Standing on upholstered footstools, crowned by Christ enthroned; throne of Christ flanked by personifications of Charity and Justice
- John, Alexios: purple tunic, patterned with double fleurs-de-lis; simplified *loros*; hemispherical crown, *prependoulia*; red shoes trimmed with pearls; right hand, *labarum*; left hand, *akakia*
- Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 79-83, figs. 46, 48, 50 (b/w); *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 144 (pp. 209-210) (colour); Lowden, *Early Christian and Byz. Art*, pp. 361-363, fig. 221 (colour); *To Βυζάντιο ως Οικουμενή*, no. 17 (pp. 88-89) (colour)
- 29. *Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180)* and *Maria of Antioch* (Pls. 4, 22, 31c, 32d)
- *Vat. gr.* 1176, f. 11r (1166)
- Standing on upholstered footstools
- Manuel: purple tunic (pattern effaced); simplified *loros*; hemispherical crown, *prependoulia*; red pointed shoes; right hand, *labarum*; left hand, *akakia*
- Maria: red dress, richly patterned, sleeves exceedingly wide at the wrists; simplified *loros*, broad train, shield-like, adorned with a cross, tucked in the belt; crown, projections along upper rim, flap(?) at the back, no *prependoulia*; earrings; red shoes; left hand, sceptre
- Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 208-210, figs. 155-157 (b/w); *IEE* Θ', on p. 31 (colour)
- 30. *John III Doukas Vatatzes (1222-1254)*
- Wall-painting, narthex, Mileševa (c. 1220-1228)
- Simplified *loros-costume*
- Note: identification disputed; alternative proposed: Ivan Assen II of Bulgaria (1218-1241)
- Bibl.: Millet and Frolov, *La peinture du Moyen Âge*, I, pl. 83.1 (b/w)
- 31. *Theodore II Laskares (1254-1258)*
- *Monacensis gr.* 442, f. 7v (1310-1354)
- Standing on upholstered footstool
- Dark purple tunic; simplified *loros*; hemispherical crown surmounted by a jewel, pair of *prependoulia* on either side; red shoes; right hand, cross-topped sceptre; left hand, *akakia*
- Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 167-168, fig. 108 (b/w); *IEE* Θ', on p. 91 (colour)
- 32. *Michael VIII Palaiologos* and *Alexios I Komnenos*
- Wall-painting, exterior south wall of narthex, Panagia Mavriotissa, Kastoria
- Standing on upholstered footstools (left figure, more than half-destroyed; right figure, upper part of head destroyed)
- Left figure (Alexios I?): purple tunic; *loros* (train preserved, draped over left forearm); left hand, white scroll-like object (a chrysobull?)
- Right figure (Michael VIII?): mirror image of left figure; purple tunic; crossed *loros*, train draped over right forearm; crown destroyed; right hand, *akakia*; left hand, sceptre (top destroyed)
- Bibl.: Pelekanides and Chatzidakis, *Kastoria*, fig. 20 on p. 83 (colour); Παπαμαστοράκης, "Ενα εικαστικό εγκώμιο," pp. 233-235, fig. 12 (b/w)

33. *Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259–1282)*
 – Embroidered on the ‘Pallio of San Lorenzo’, Palazzo Bianco, Genoa (c. 1261)¹
 – Standing, being led into the church of Genoa by St. Laurentius; behind them, an angel (the archangel Michael?), who places his hand on the right shoulder of the emperor
 – Long, long-sleeved tunic; simplified *loros*, adorned with crosses, train, draped over left forearm; hemispherical crown, no *prependoulia* visible
 – Bibl.: Johnstone, ‘The Byzantine “Pallio” in the Palazzo Bianco’; Schreiner, ‘Zwei Denkmäler aus der frühen Paläologenzeit’; Parma Armani, ‘Nuove indagini’; Falcone, ‘Il “pallio” bizantino di San Lorenzo’; Calderoni Masetti, ‘Considerazioni finali’; Paribeni, ‘Il pallio di San Lorenzo’; Cutler and Nesbitt, *L’arte bizantina*, 2, pp. 318–319 (colour)
34. *Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259–1282), Theodora, and Andronikos II*
 – Wall-painting, exonarthex, church of the Virgin, Apollonia (1272–1282)
 – Standing, slightly turned towards the Virgin to the right; in front of the Virgin, a kneeling figure, and to the right, a figure of an archimandrite (poorly preserved; lower part destroyed)
 – Theodora (left): brown dress, sleeves exceedingly wide at the wrists(?); simplified *loros*; tall crown, *prependoulia*(?)
 – Andronikos (centre): dark brown tunic; simplified *loros*; closed crown, *prependoulia*
 – Michael (right): dark brown tunic; simplified *loros*; closed crown, *prependoulia*; right hand, sceptre
 – Bibl.: Buschhausen, *Marienkirche*, pp. 164–167, fig. 19 (drawing), pl. XXII (b/w)
35. *Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259–1282)*
 – Wall-painting, altar area, rock-cut chapel of St. Erasmus, near Ohrid (1275–1280)
 – Standing
 – Crossed *loros*; hemispherical crown, three *prependoulia* on either side; right hand, cross; left hand, empty
 – Bibl.: Miljković-Pepel, ‘Michel VIII’
36. *Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259–1282)*
 – *Monacensis* gr. 442, f. 174r (1310–1354)
 – Standing on upholstered footstool
 – Dark purple tunic; simplified *loros*; hemispherical crown surmounted by a jewel, *prependoulia*; red shoes; right hand, cross-topped sceptre; left hand, white, scroll-like object
 – Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 167–169, fig. 109 (b/w); *IEE* Θ’, on p. 119 (colour)
37. *Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259–1282), Theodora, and Constantine*
 – Seventeenth-century engravings (1601) of now-lost mosaic portraits, refectory of the Peribleptos Monastery, Constantinople. The original portraits were probably executed c. 1270
 – Imperial couple standing on upholstered footstools; Constantine standing, no footstool. The position of the three portraits in relation to each other is not clear
 – Emperor: undergarment, right cuff visible; tunic, slit in the middle of the hem at the front(?); simplified *loros*; hemispherical crown, pair of *prependoulia* on either side; plain shoes; right hand, cross-topped sceptre; left hand, *akakia*

¹ I would like to thank Cecily Hilsdale for providing me with the relevant bibliographical references.

- Empress: dress, sleeves exceedingly wide at the wrists; simplified *loros*, narrow train, brought to the front round the abdomen, termination hidden under left sleeve; tall crown, resting on veil coming down the shoulders, pair of curving rows of pearls(?) framing the face; shoes, studded with pearls(?); right hand, sceptre
 – Constantine: long-sleeved undergarment, right sleeve visible; sleeveless, long outer garment (caftan?); mantle, patterned with medallions enclosing double-headed eagles alternating with cruciform motifs, fastened at the right shoulder; diadem; shoes studded with pearls(?); right hand, sceptre
 – Note: There exist other seventeenth-century reproductions of these imperial portraits, which differ from one another in minor details. Constantine appears standing on an upholstered footstool similar to that of his parents only in the engraving reproduced by Du Cange (1680)
 – Bibl.: Grabar, ‘Portraits oubliés’, pp. 191–192, pls. 22a–b, 23a; Mango, ‘The Monastery of St. Mary Peribleptos’; Osborne, ‘New Evidence for a Lost Portrait’; Jacobini, ‘L’epitalmio di Andronico II’, p. 366, note 49, figs. 21, 22; Stichel, ‘“Vergessene Portraits” spätbyzantinischer Kaiser’, pp. 75–84
38. *Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282–1328)* (Pls. 23, 31f)
 – Chrysobull of 1301, Byzantine Museum, Athens
 – Standing on upholstered footstool, presenting the rolled chrysobull to Christ standing
 – Dark blue tunic; simplified *loros*; hemispherical crown surmounted by a jewel, pair of *prependoulia* on either side; right hand, cross-topped sceptre; left hand, the chrysobull
 – Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 184–185, fig. 134 (b/w); *To Βυζάντιο ως Οικουμένη*, no. 53 (pp. 144–146) (colour)
39. *Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282–1328)*
 – Chrysobull of 1307, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York
 – Standing on upholstered footstool, presenting the rolled chrysobull to the Virgin and Child standing (poorly preserved)
 – Dark-coloured tunic; simplified *loros*; hemispherical crown; right hand, *akakia*; left hand, the chrysobull
 – Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, p. 185, fig. 135 (b/w)
40. *Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282–1328)*
 – *Monacensis* gr. 442, f. 175v (1310–1354)
 – Standing on upholstered footstool
 – Dark purple tunic; simplified *loros*; hemispherical crown surmounted by a jewel, *prependoulia*; red shoes; right hand, cross-topped sceptre; left hand, white, scroll-like object
 – Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 167–169, fig. 110 (b/w); *IEE* Θ’, on p. 139 (colour)
41. *Andronikos III Palaiologos (1328–1341)* (Pl. 31g)
 – Stuttgart, *cod. hist.* 2°601, f. 2
 – Standing on upholstered footstool
 – Dark blue tunic; simplified *loros*; hemispherical crown surmounted by a jewel, *prependoulia* of unusual design; red shoes; right hand, cross-topped sceptre; left hand, *akakia*
 – Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 237–240, fig. 180 (b/w); *IEE* Θ’, on p. 155 (colour)
42. *Anna of Savoy, wife of Andronikos III Palaiologos (1328–1341)* (Pls. 5, 28, 32e)
 – Stuttgart, *cod. hist.* 2°601, f. 4
 – Standing on upholstered footstool
 – Patterned purple dress, sleeves exceedingly wide at the wrists; simplified *loros*, narrow train, brought to the front round the abdomen and draped over left

- forearm; tall crown, triangular projections along upper rim, resting on purple veil coming down the shoulders, *prependoulia* of unusual design; red shoes; right hand, sceptre
- Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 237-240, fig. 181 (b/w); *IEE* Θ' , on p. 151 (colour)
43. *John VI Kantakouzenos (1347-1354)*
- *Par. gr.* 1242, f. 123v (completed in 1375)
 - Portrayed twice, as emperor, standing on a upholstered footstool, and as monk; above, symbolic representation of the Holy Trinity
 - Dark, almost black tunic; simplified *loros*; hemispherical crown surmounted by a jewel, *prependoulia*; red shoes with pearls and gems on the instep; right hand, cross-topped sceptre; left hand, *akakia*
 - Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 135-136, figs. 87-89 (b/w); *Byzance*, no. 355 (p. 461) (colour)
44. *John VI Kantakouzenos (1347-1354)* (Pls. 24, 31h)
- *Par. gr.* 1242, f. 5v (completed in 1375)
 - Presiding over the Church Council of 1351; at the centre of the assembly, enthroned, with feet resting on upholstered footstool
 - Vestments and accompanying insignia as in no. 43
 - Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, p. 132, fig. 86 (b/w); *Byzance*, on p. 419 (colour)
45. *John V Palaiologos (1341-1354; 1355-1376; 1379-1391)*
- Nineteenth-century drawing of a mosaic portrait, north side of eastern arch, Hagia Sophia, Constantinople. At the time of the execution of the drawing the top of the emperor's crown and halo, the top of his sceptre, and the lower part of his body, from just above the knees downwards, had been destroyed
 - Mosaic executed shortly after 1355
 - Standing
 - Tunic; simplified *loros*; hemispherical(?) crown, *prependoulia*; right hand, cross-topped(?) sceptre; left hand, *akakia* (red) with kerchief (white)
 - Bibl.: Mango, *Materials*, pp. 66-71, 74-76, pl. 97
46. *Manuel II Palaiologos (1391-1425), Helena, his wife, John VIII, his son, and John VII Palaiologos, Eirene, his wife, and Andronikos V, his son*
- Ivory pyxis, Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Washington, D.C. (1403/4)
 - Emperors and junior emperors wear the same vestments: simplified *loros*; closed crown; right hand, cross-topped sceptre; left hand, *akakia*
 - Helena: dress, sleeves exceedingly wide at the wrists(?); simplified *loros*, narrow train, draped over left forearm; crown; right hand, sceptre
 - Eirene: vestments similar to that of Helena; not clear whether she holds sceptre
 - Bibl.: Oikonomides, 'John VII Palaeologus'
47. *Manuel II Palaiologos (1391-1425), Helena, and their sons, John VIII, Theodore, and Andronikos*
- Louvre, *ms Ivoires* 100, f. 2r (1403-1405)
 - Standing on upholstered footstools; above, Virgin and Child, in bust, blessing the imperial family (parts have flaked off)
 - Manuel II and John VIII: black tunic; simplified *loros*; hemispherical crown, *prependoulia*(?); right hand, cross-topped sceptre; left hand, *akakia*
 - Helena: red dress, richly patterned, sleeves exceedingly wide at the wrists; simplified *loros*, narrow train draped over left forearm; tall crown, projections along the upper rim, resting on a veil(?); right hand, sceptre
 - Theodore: red long tunic, richly patterned; red mantle, patterned with medallions enclosing double-headed eagles, *tablion* barely distinguishable, fastened slightly towards the right; diadem with a central jewel; right hand, staff

- Andronikos: dress same as Theodore, except for the mantle, which is patterned with medallions enclosing fleurs-de-lis
 - Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 139-144, figs. 93, 94 (b/w); *Byzance*, no. 356 (pp. 463-4) colour; Lowden, *Early Christian and Byz. Art*, fig. 266 (colour)
48. *Manuel II Palaiologos (1391-1425)* (Pls. 3, 31i)
- *Par. suppl. gr.* 309, f. VI (1407)
 - Standing on upholstered footstool
 - Dark purple tunic; simplified *loros*; hemispherical crown surmounted by a jewel, *prependoulia*; red shoes; right hand, cross-topped sceptre; left hand, *akakia*
 - Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 233-234, figs. 175-176 (b/w); *IEE* Θ' , on p. 203 (colour); *Byzance*, no. 357 (p. 465) (b/w)
49. *John VIII Palaiologos (when he was still junior emperor) and Anna*
- Embroidered on the 'Great Sakkos' of Photios, Kremlin Museum, Moscow (1416-1418)
 - Standing on upholstered footstools
 - John: red tunic; simplified *loros*; hemispherical crown; right hand, sceptre; left hand, *akakia*
 - Anna: golden dress, sleeves exceedingly wide at the wrists(?); simplified *loros*, narrow train draped over left forearm; crown, projections along the upper rim, big earrings instead of *prependoulia*(?); right hand, sceptre
 - Bibl.: Bank, *Byzantine Art*, pls. 300, 301 (note on p. 327); Piltz, *Trois sakkoi*, pp. 31-32, figs. 46, 52 (b/w); *eadem*, 'A Portrait of a Palaeologan Emperor'
- EMPIRE OF TREBIZOND
50. *Manuel I Komnenos (1238-1263)* (Pl. 7)
- Nineteenth-century drawing of a now destroyed portrait, church of St. Sophia, Trebizond
 - Standing
 - Hem of long undergarment visible; outer garment, large medallion over the breast enclosing image of a mounted saint piercing dragon; mantle patterned with medallions enclosing eagles, fur(?) borders, exceedingly long sleeves provided with opening at the elbows for arms to come through (*granatza*?); diadem, two strings of pearls and a central jewel; dark shoes, cross on the instep (schematised rendering of shoe-laces?); right hand, fan-shaped object (horn of unction?); left hand, sceptre with a fleur-de-lis top
 - Bibl.: Rice, *Hagia Sophia at Trebizond*, pp. 1-2, fig. 79 (b/w); Walter, 'The Significance of Unction', pp. 69-71
51. *Alexios III Komnenos (1349-1390) and Theodora*
- Chrysobull of 1374, Dionysiou Monastery, Mount Athos
 - Standing on a red surface (carpet?), holding the chrysobull between them, while St. John the Baptist in bust blesses them
 - Alexios: black tunic; simplified *loros*; hemispherical crown surmounted by a cross, pair of *prependoulia* on either side (pearls arranged vertically in cruciform groups of four); red shoes; right hand, cross-topped sceptre; left hand, one end of the chrysobull
 - Theodora: bejewelled tall neck of an undergarment visible; red dress, patterned with rows of double-headed eagles, sleeves exceedingly wide at the wrists, oblique opening at the front terminating under left armpit, girt; crown, pointed projections along upper rim; large crescent-shaped earrings, attached to the crown by strands of pearls (arranged in cruciform groups of four); right hand, one end of the chrysobull; left hand, orb

- Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 185-187, figs. 136-138 (b/w); *Treasures of Mount Athos*, no. 13.19 (pp. 446-447) (colour reproductions on pp. 445, 446)
- 52. *Alexios III Komnenos (1349-1390)*
 - Double-sided icon, Dionysiou Monastery, Mount Athos (c. 1375)
 - Standing, presenting the model of a church to St. John the Baptist; Christ, above, blesses the offer (Alexios III was the founder of Dionysiou Monastery and the Baptist its patron saint)
 - Black tunic patterned in light blue; simplified *loros*; hemispherical crown surmounted by a cross, pair of *prependoulia* on either side (pearls arranged vertically in cruciform groups of four); shoes not visible; right hand, cross-topped sceptre; left hand, model of the church
 - Bibl.: *Treasures of Mount Athos*, no. 2.29 (pp. 91-94) and on the front cover (colour)
- 53. *Alexios III Komnenos (1349-1390)*
 - Venice, Greek Institute, *cod. gr. 5 (The Alexander Romance)*, fol. 1r (second half of fourteenth century)
 - Standing on upholstered footstool
 - Purple tunic; crossed *loros*; striped white sash around the torso; hemispherical crown surmounted by a single jewel, *prependoulia*?; red shoes; right hand, empty; left hand, orb, with inscribed cross
 - Bibl.: Τραχυλιά, Κάδιξ 5, pp. 18-19, fig. on page 51 (colour); *To Βυζάντιο ως Οικουμένη*, no. 8 (pp. 48-51) (colour)

PRINCIPALITY OF EPIROS

- 54. *St. Theodora (fl. 1270), wife of Michael II Komnenos Doukas, and Nikephoros, her son*
 - Relief portraits on the sarcophagus of St. Theodora, in the church dedicated to her, Arta
 - Standing, blessed by the Hand of God
 - Theodora: dress, sleeves exceedingly wide at the wrists; simplified *loros*, narrow train brought to the front round the abdomen, not draped over either forearm; crown, projections along upper rim, no *prependoulia*, flap(?) at the back; right hand, sceptre topped by a cross with two arms
 - Nikephoros: long tunic; simplified *loros*; hemispherical crown, no *prependoulia*; right hand, sceptre topped by a cross with two arms
 - Bibl.: Grabar, *Sculptures II*, no. 152 (pp. 144-145), pl. CXXI, a-b

APPENDIX THREE

PORTRAITS OF BYZANTINE OFFICIALS, ARISTOCRATS,
AND COMMONERS (TENTH TO FIFTEENTH CENTURIES)

BYZANTINE EMPIRE

1. *The patrikios, praitpositos, and sakellarios Leo* (Pl. 59)
 - *Val. reg. gr. 1 (Leo Bible)*, f. 2v (940s)
 - Offering the codex to the Virgin; above right, bust of Christ in a segment of Heaven
 - Long white tunic, long tight sleeves, golden bands around hem and cuffs; red *chlamys*, golden border, no *tablia*, fastened at the front with two clasps; no head-dress; black boots
 - Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 9-10, fig. 1 (b/w); Cutler and Spieser, *Byzance médiévale*, fig. 155 (colour); *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 42 [pp. 88-90, fig. on p. 89 (colour)]; Lowden, *Early Christian and Byz. Art*, fig. 111 (colour)
2. *The protospatharios Constantine*
 - *Val. reg. gr. 1 (Leo Bible)*, f. 3r (940s)
 - With abbot Makar, in *proskynesis* at the feet of St. Nicholas
 - Red *chlamys*, golden border, no *tablia*, fastened at the front with two clasps; no head-dress; black boots; sheathed sword partly visible under the *chlamys*
 - Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 10-12, figs. 2, 4 (b/w); Lowden, *Early Christian and Byz. Art*, fig. 112 (colour); *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 42 (pp. 88-90)
3. *The kaisar Bardas Phokas and the kouropalates Leo Phokas* (Pl. 17)
 - Apse of *prothesis*, Pigeon House Church, Çavuşin (963-969)
 - Part of a dynastic portrait, also including the emperor Nikephoros II Phokas, the empress Theophano, and one unidentified figure (see Appendix 2, no. 10)
 - Both wear similar costume: long reddish-brown tunic, long tight sleeves; simplified *loros*, comparable to that of the emperor, though without a train; no head-dress
 - Leo: left hand, small cross
 - Bibl.: Rodley, 'Pigeon House Church,' esp. pp. 309-310; Thierry, 'Tzimiskès,' drawing on p. 478
4. *Melias and John Tzimiskès (before his rise to the throne)* (Pls. 111, 113)
 - North wall, towards the *prothesis*, Pigeon House Church, Çavuşin (963-969)
 - On horseback, at the head of a file of standing saints in military dress
 - Both wear similar costume: tunic reaching below the knees, long tight sleeves; scale armour with elbow-length sleeves and skirt of the same scale construction; mantle; scarf round the neck; boots; right hand, spear
 - Note: following the rise to the throne of John Tzimiskès in 969, his portrait was altered with the addition of a circlet with *prependoulia*; the inscriptions accompanying both his and Melias's portraits were modified (that was when the title 'magistros' was attributed to Melias)
 - Bibl.: Thierry, 'Tzimiskès,' Cutler and Spieser, *Byzance médiévale*, fig. 77 (colour); Oikonomides, 'The Significance of Some Imperial Monumental Portraits,' pp. 25-26

5. *Family portrait*
 - Below the west lunette, Kale kilisesi, Selime (late tenth or early eleventh century)
 - On either side of the Virgin(?); probably, a couple with their three daughters and three sons; poorly preserved; no inscriptions survive
 - Father (left): long tunic patterned with large medallions; hands folded at the front
 - Sons (left): red tunics patterned with medallions
 - Mother (right): full-length green mantle, fastened at the front
 - Daughters (right): mantles
 - Bibl.: Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, pp. 71-73, fig. 14, pl. 62 (b/w)
6. *Constantine* (Pl. 26)
 - Nardhex, Sts. Anargyroi, Kastoria (first layer of painted decoration: second half of tenth or first half of eleventh century)
 - Dark greyish green tunic reaching down to mid-calves, opening at the front of skirt, long tight sleeves, girt; rope belt; long white undergarment, hem, ends of sleeves, and tall neck showing under outer tunic; white leggings or trousers; black shoes; no head-dress; hands empty
 - Bibl.: Pelekanides and Chatzidakis, *Kastoria*, fig. 6 on p. 29 (colour)
7. *John Entalmatikos* (or 'év ταγματικῷ') and *Genethleos* (Pl. 77a)
 - Nardhex, Karanlık kilise (Göreme, chapel no. 23) (mid-eleventh century)
 - In *proskynesis*, at the feet of Christ in the Benediction of the Apostles
 - John (left): long tunic richly patterned, long sleeves, girt; scarf round the neck; voluminous hat with tassel; black shoes
 - Genethleos (right) (partly destroyed): long tunic richly patterned; long sleeves; head-dress?
 - Bibl.: Restle, *Byz. Wall-painting*, pl. 242 (b/w); Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, pp. 53-55, fig. 10a (drawing)
8. *Basianos or Basil*
 - Central apse, Karanlık kilise (Göreme, chapel no. 23) (mid-eleventh century)
 - In *proskynesis*, to the right of Christ in the Deesis; to the left, the priest Nikephoros
 - Long tunic, long sleeves, arm-band with pseudo-kufic characters; head destroyed; black shoes
 - Bibl.: Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, p. 133, pl. 83.1 (b/w); Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, p. 54, fig. 10b (drawing)
9. *Two unidentified figures (children?)*
 - Central bay, south wall, Karanlık kilise (Göreme, chapel no. 23) (mid-eleventh century)
 - Standing, on either side of the archangel Michael who wears military dress
 - Both wear similar costume: brownish purple tunic richly patterned, brown hem band (or, perhaps, hem of an undergarment), long sleeves; black shoes; hand closer to the archangel, candle(?)
 - Bibl.: Rodley, *Monasteries*, p. 55, fig. 10c (drawing)
10. *Theognostos, Leo, and Michael* (Pl. 78)
 - West bay, Çarıklı kilise (Göreme, chapel no. 22) (mid-eleventh century)
 - Flanking a saint who carries the Holy Cross
 - Theognostos (left): long reddish brown tunic, opening at the front of skirt, long tight sleeves, girt; long white undergarment, hem showing under outer tunic; white band around neck could be a scarf or the collar of the undergarment; turban
 - Leo (right): long blue tunic, V-shaped golden collar, long tight sleeves, girt; no head-dress
 - Michael (right) (only the head and shoulders survive): dark brown tunic; white(?) scarf at the neck; no head-dress
- Bibl.: Restle, *Byz. Wall-painting*, pl. 217 (b/w); Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, pp. 166-167; Jolivet-Lévy, 'Çarıklı kilise'
11. *The protospatharios Michael Skepides* (Pl. 77c)
 - East arch, south wall, Karabaş kilise, Soğanlı (1060/1)
 - Long outer tunic patterned with medallions enclosing birds and animals, opening at the front of skirt, V-shaped neck-opening, long sleeves, arm-bands with pseudo-kufic characters, ungirt; striped undergarment, lower part and tall neck showing under outer tunic; turban; sheathed sword in folded left arm
 - Bibl.: Thierry, 'Art monumental,' p. 93, fig. 28 (b/w); Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, p. 198, fig. 38f (drawing)
12. *Unidentified male figure* (Pl. 77d)
 - East face of west niche, north wall, Karabaş kilise, Soğanlı (1060/1)
 - Long grey-blue outer tunic patterned with vegetal motifs, opening at the front of skirt, long sleeves, ungirt; red undergarment, lower part showing under outer tunic; turban, top adorned with pseudo-kufic characters; right hand, spear; left hand, sheathed sword
 - Bibl.: Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, p. 200, fig. 38c (drawing)
13. *Eudokia*
 - Central niche, north wall, Karabaş kilise, Soğanlı (1060/1)
 - In *proskynesis*, to the left of the archangel Michael; to the right, Niphon the monk
 - Mantle(?) with a border band; voluminous, fabric head-dress
 - Bibl.: Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, p. 200, fig. 38d (drawing)
14. *Eudokia* (Pl. 86c)
 - Naos, Canavar kilise (Yılanlı kilise), Soğanlı (date of portrait: c. 1060)
 - Standing next to St. Catherine
 - Mantle patterned with medallions, fastened at the front with a circular brooch; voluminous, turban-like head-dress, adorned with pseudo-kufic characters
 - Bibl.: Jerphanion, *Églises rupestres*, II/1, p. 363, pl. 207 (b/w); Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, p. 271
15. *The patrikios and topoteretes Theodore Gabras*
 - *Petrop. gr.* 291, f. IIv (1067)
 - Standing, being blessed by Christ
 - Greenish blue tunic, opening down the front of skirt, long ample sleeves, square panels at the upper arms, girt; brown(?) undergarment visible under hem of outer tunic; no head-dress; brown shoes
 - Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 59-60, fig. 27 (b/w); Cutler and Spieser, *Byzance médiévale*, fig. 258 (colour)
16. *Eirene, wife of Theodore Gabras* (see no. 15) (Pls. 81, 86d)
 - *Petrop. gr.* 291, f. IIr (1067)
 - Led by the Virgin towards Christ on the facing folio (f. IIv)
 - Brown(?) dress, tall neck, sleeves wide at the wrists, girt; green mantle, golden border, reaching to just below the knees, fastened at the front; voluminous hat, slightly flaring sides, almost flat top, diagonal decorative band
 - Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 59-60, fig. 28 (b/w); Cutler and Spieser, *Byzance médiévale*, fig. 259 (colour)
17. *Four anonymous officials* (Pls. 11, 77e-f)
 - *Coislin* 79, f. 2r (c. 1071-1081)
 - Flanking the enthroned emperor (see Appendix 2, no. 21)
 - The *proedros* and *epi tou kanikleiou* (first from left): long blue tunic, opening down the front of skirt; grey undergarment showing through the opening; red *chlamys* reaching to just below the knees, patterned with spades, golden border, pair of golden *tablia*, fastened at the front with two circular clasps;

- white hat with rounded top (upper half has flaked off); black boots; hands covered by mantle
- The *protoproedros* and *provestiarios* (second from left): long white tunic patterned with four large medallions enclosing quadrupeds in red and gold, tall neck, long sleeves, ungirt; no mantle; white hat with rounded top (upper half has flaked off); black boots; hands crossed at the breast
 - The *proedros* and *megas primikerios* (first from right): long blue tunic, diaper pattern, opening down the front of skirt; blue and white striped undergarment showing through the opening and under the hem of outer tunic; red *chlamys* reaching to just below the knees, patterned with double fleurs-de-lis, golden border, pair of golden *tablia*, fastened at the front with two circular clasps; red hat with tassel at the side; black boots; hands covered by mantle
 - The *proedros* and *dekanos* (second from right): long blue tunic, diaper pattern, opening down the front of skirt; greyish blue undergarment showing through the opening and under the hem of outer tunic; red *chlamys* reaching to just below the knees, patterned with hearts, golden border, pair of golden *tablia*, fastened at the front with two circular clasps; red hat with tassel at the side; black boots; hands covered by mantle
 - Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 110–111, fig. 71 (b/w); Dumitrescu, 'Coislin 79'; Cutler and Spieser, *Byzance médiévale*, fig. 268 (colour); *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 143 [pp. 207–209, fig. on p. 208 (colour)]
18. *Eustrates and John*
- Bema, Ayvalı köy (third quarter of eleventh century)
 - Standing, with hands crossed at the breast, next to St. Stephen and St. Romanos respectively
 - Both wear similar costume: long yellow tunic, opening all the way down the front of skirt; red jacket reaching to just below the waist, buttoned at the front, long tight sleeves, three rows of white dots at the upper arms (arm-bands?); single earring; no head-dress
 - Bibl.: Thierry, 'Ayvalı köy,' p. 8; Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pp. 153–154, pl. 95 (b/w)
19. *The proedros John*
- Princeton, Speer Library, *cod. acc. no.* 11.21.1900, f. I^r (date of portrait: second half of eleventh century)
 - Standing, slightly turning towards a large cross, at the top of which the half-length figure of Christ
 - Long blue tunic, hem-band with three upward projections, long tight sleeves, girt; purple *chlamys* reaching to just below the knees, patterned with spades and circles, no *tablia* visible, fastened at the front; white(?) hat with rounded top; left hand, open inscribed scroll
 - Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 74–76, fig. 42 (b/w)
20. *Unidentified young male figure* (Pl. 60)
- Dionysiou 61, f. Iv (second half of eleventh century)
 - Standing, receiving codex from St. Gregory of Nazianzos
 - Long, dark blue tunic, tall neck, hem-band with three upward projections, ample sleeves tightened at the cuffs, gold-embroidered cuffs, arm-bands, and collar, girt; full-length red *chlamys* patterned with double fleurs-de-lis and spades, golden border, no *tablia*, fastened at the right shoulder; no head-dress; black boots
 - Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 118–121, fig. 77 (b/w); *Treasures of Mount Athos*, no. 5.3 [pp. 200–201; fig. on p. 200 (colour)]
21. *Unidentified female figure*
- Naos, Eğri taş kilisesi (date of portrait: end of eleventh century)
 - Standing next to a female saint

- Long tunic, opening all the way down the front of skirt secured with cords or clasps, lapels of V-shaped collar coming through the neck-opening of the blouse or jacket; dark-coloured blouse or jacket reaching to just below the waist, long tight sleeves, rectangular panels at the upper arms; no head-dress
 - Bibl.: Thierry, *Nouvelles églises*, p. 44, fig. 9 (drawing); Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byz. de Cappadoce*, pl. 165 (b/w)
22. *Unidentified couple*
- Tympanum of arcsoilium, north wall of naos, Ayı kilisesi, Erdemli (eleventh century)
 - Standing, on either side of a central Deesis composition; the head and the right part of the male figure and the head of the female figure are destroyed
 - Male figure (left): long outer tunic patterned with medallions, long sleeve, arm-band with pseudo-kufic characters
 - Female figure (right): long dress, long ample sleeves, ungirt; mantle fastened at the front
 - Bibl.: Thierry, 'Le portrait funéraire byzantin,' p. 591, fig. 4
23. *The kaiser Nikephoros Melissenos*
- Effigy on seal (1081–1104)
 - In bust
 - Tunic, high collar; *chlamys* richly patterned; crown (not clear whether open or closed) surmounted by a cross; right hand, cross
 - Bibl.: Zacos, *Seals*, I/3, no. 2698 (p. 1482, pl. 180)
24. *The despotes Nikephoros Melissenos*
- Effigy on seal (1081–1104)
 - In bust
 - Tunic; *chlamys* richly patterned; crown, open circlet; right hand, cross
 - Note: according to the editors, the title 'despotes' is, most probably, employed here as the equivalent of 'kaiser' (see no. 23)
 - Bibl.: Zacos, *Seals*, I/3, no. 2699.a–e (pp. 1482–1485, pl. 180)
25. *The sebastokrator Isaak Komnenos (c. 1091/2–after 1152), son of the emperor Alexios I Komnenos*
- Inner narthex, Chora Monastery, Constantinople (date of portrait: 1315–1320/1)
 - Standing at the feet of the Virgin in the monumental Deesis mosaic panel, which also includes a portrait of the nun Melane; largely destroyed
 - Dark purple *chlamys* patterned with lozenges enclosing fleurs-de-lis in gold, golden border, one *tablion* visible, lining of fur(?), fastened at the front with two rectangular clasps; closed crown, dark purple bowl, gem-studded gold head-band and central arched projection, surmounted by a cross
 - Bibl.: Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, pp. 11–13, 46, pls. 36 (b/w), 37a (colour)
26. *The protospatharios Basil and a female figure, perhaps his wife* (pl. 86c)
- Koulloumoussiou 60, f. Iv (terminus ante quem 1169)
 - Basil standing, offering codex to Christ; female figure in *proskynesis*
 - Basil: purple tunic; red *chlamys*, golden borders, pair of golden *tablia*, fastened at the right shoulder
 - Female figure: long pink dress patterned with medallions in red, long narrow sleeves; purple mantle, golden border, fastened at the front; white hat with straight sides and flat top
 - Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 83–84, fig. 52 (b/w); Pelekanides *et al.*, *Treasures*, II, fig. 295 (colour)
27. *Theodore Lemnites, his wife, Anna Radene, and his son, John* (Pls. 66, 84, 86h)
- North aisle, Sts. Anargyroi, Kastoria (second layer of painted decoration: c. 1180)
 - Standing on either side of the Virgin and Child, their hands raised in supplication

- Theodore (right; details of his costume not clear): mantle, a later addition; no head-dress
 - John (right of Theodore): green caftan, reaching down to mid-calves, patterned with spades and vegetal motifs in gold, gold-embroidered border around V-shaped neck-opening and down both sides of the vertical opening at the front, elbow-length sleeves terminating in gold-embroidered bands, square panels at the upper arms; long, red undergarment, tall neck, long tight sleeves with gold-embroidered cuffs; brown belt with metal attachments; no head-dress
 - Anna (left): long red dress, tall neck, sleeves exceedingly wide at the wrists, terminating in what looks like white cuffs, but could be the ends of the equally wide sleeves of an undergarment; heavy brown mantle, gold-embroidered border, lined with light brown fabric patterned with great medallions, fastened at the front with brooch; crescent-shaped earrings; rings on all fingers of both hands; hat with strongly out-flaring sides and curved top, adorned with two bands forming an X
 - Note: the hat of Theodore and the effigy of the church that appears in his hands are the results of later repainting
 - Bibl.: Pelekanides and Chatzidakis, *Kastoria*, figs. 22 on p. 42, 23 on p. 43 (colour)
28. *The magistros Nikephoros Kasnitizes and his wife Anna* (Pls. 62, 63, 86g)
- East wall, narthex, above the entrance to the naos, St. Nicholas Kasnitizes, *Kastoria* (1160-1180)
 - Standing on either side of the lunette with the bust of St. Nicholas
 - Nikephoros (left): long blue tunic, opening down the front of skirt, long tight sleeves, gold-embroidered panels at the upper arms, girt; brown undergarment showing under the hem and through the opening of the outer tunic; brown cap(?); light brown boots; holds effigy of church with both hands
 - Anna (right): long red dress, white band around hem, white sleeves exceedingly wide at the wrists, square panels at upper arms (whether the sleeves belong to the dress or an undergarment is not clear); full-length greyish blue mantle patterned with schematized vegetal motifs in red, lying on both shoulders, not clear whether fastened at the front or not; fabric head-dress, embroidered kerchief wound around the head, one fringed end coming down the left shoulder
 - Bibl.: Pelekanides and Chatzidakis, *Kastoria*, figs. 19 (colour), 21 (b/w) on p. 65
29. *The sebastos Eustathios Kodratos*
- South side, east wall, inner narthex, church of Panagia Krena, Chios (late twelfth century)
 - Offering a model of the church to the enthroned Virgin and Child
 - Long-sleeved, long inner garment; short-sleeved outer garment, opening down the front(?), decorative panel at the upper arm
 - Note: I have seen neither the fresco nor a colour reproduction of it. Pennas, who has published a study of the portraits preserved in this church, does not describe the costume
 - Bibl.: Pennas, 'Some Aristocratic Founders', p. 61, fig. 16
30. *Family funerary portrait*
- Back wall and reveals of south arcosolium, inner narthex, church of Panagia Krena, Chios (1197)
 - Back wall of arcosolium, standing on either side of the Virgin and Child, hands raised in supplication:
 - Pagomene (left): long, brown-ochre dress, tall neck(?); purple mantle, patterned with rows of large medallions, fastened at the front; kerchief head-dress

- Child (left of Pagomene): ochre tunic, tall neck(?); purple mantle, patterned with medallions, fastened at the front
 - Male figure (right; only head and shoulders preserved): brown-ochre tunic with lapels(?); mantle, fastened at the front; turban
- Reveals of the arcosolium:
- Female figure (east; poorly preserved): brown-ochre tunic; purple mantle patterned with medallions
 - Kodratos (west): white collar of an undergarment; light blue, long-sleeved inner tunic; light brown-red outer garment, reaches to just below the waist, three-quarter sleeves(?); no head-dress
- Note: The description of the costumes is based on the description by Pennas. I have seen neither the frescoes nor colour reproductions of them
- Bibl.: Pennas, 'Some Aristocratic Founders', pp. 62-63, figs. 18-20
31. *Unidentified male figure* (Pl. 61)
- *Laura A* 103, f. 3v (twelfth century)
 - In *proskynesis* at the feet of the Virgin; Christ appears in bust above
 - Long mauve tunic, long sleeves, gold-embroidered bands around the hem and cuffs; purple *chlamys* patterned with small squares, golden border, no *tablia*, fastened at the front; white hat with rounded top
 - Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 78-79, fig. 45 (b/w)
32. *Unidentified male donor or deceased*
- Eastern blind arch, south bay, narthex, church of St. George Diasorites, Naxos (twelfth century?)
 - To the left, turned in supplication towards an unidentified saint in the centre of the composition
 - Inner garment, high striped collar visible; outer garment, V-shaped collar with lapels
 - Note: The description of the costume is based on the description by Acheimastou-Potamianou. I have seen neither the fresco nor a photograph of it
 - Bibl.: Acheimastou-Potamianou, 'Hagios Georgios Diasorites,' p. 74
33. *Unidentified male figure*
- In relief, on a marble pillar of unknown provenance, now in the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (twelfth to fourteenth century)
 - Outer garment, V-shaped collar with broad lapels that cover the shoulders, opening down the front of skirt, exceedingly long sleeves, the right hanging down the side, while the left, is folded across the waist; long undergarment showing through the opening and from under the hem of the outer garment; tall hat with rounded top
 - Bibl.: Frati, *Sculpture*, no. 295 (p. 148, pl. 92); Καλαμαρά, 'Ενδύματα της Βυζαντινής κοινωνίας'; Yalçın, 'Materiali di età paleologa', pp. 363-364, fig. 19
34. *Alexios V Doukas Mourtzouphlos (emperor: 1204)*
- *Vind. hist. gr.* 53, f. 291v (date of portrait: first half of fourteenth century?)
 - Standing, facing; not in regalia, though he is identified as the emperor Alexios V by an inscription
 - Long light purple garment patterned with large medallions enclosing a griffin surrounded by a frieze of running quadrupeds in white, tall neck, long ample sleeves, golden hem, cuffs, and arm-bands, golden vertical band from the left shoulder down to the hem (opening?), two square golden panels at the thighs, two rectangular golden panels at the breast enclosing a standing figure armed with spear and a sword(?), ungirt; diadem, single central arched projection
 - Note: Spatharakis doubts that this was indeed a portrait of Alexios Mourtzouphlos. Before his rise to the throne, Alexios bore the title of *protovestiarhos*.

- Yet, the costume of the figure in the miniature is not that of the *protoves-tarianos* as we know of it from descriptions in the written sources. In all probability, this is the portrait of an unknown dignitary in second use with the original identifying inscription modified
- Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 155-158, fig. 99 (b/w); *IEE* Θ', on p. 40 (colour)
35. *Niketas Choniates* (c. 1155-c. 1215/6)
- *Vind. hist. gr.* 53, f. 1v (date of portrait: first half of fourteenth century?)
 - Seated, writing
 - Long light purple tunic, ample sleeves, red arm-bands, golden cuffs, girt; black pointed shoes; peculiar white head-dress (possibly a later addition)
 - Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 153-155, fig. 98 (b/w); *IEE* Θ', on p. 387 (colour)
36. *John*
- *Ivorn* 5, f. 457r (mid-thirteenth century?)
 - Holding codex, led by the Virgin towards Christ enthroned and St. John Chrysostom represented on the facing f. 456v
 - Long tunic, long tight sleeves, arm-bands, girt
 - Bibl.: Belting, *Illuminierte Buch*, p. 35, figs. 23, 24; Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 84-87, fig. 54
37. *Constantine, son of Michael VIII Palaiologos*
- Seventeenth-century engraving (1601) of now-lost mosaic portrait, refectory of the Peribleptos Monastery, Constantinople. The original portrait was probably executed c. 1270
 - Long-sleeved undergarment, right sleeve visible; sleeveless, long outer garment (caftan?); mantle, patterned with medallions enclosing double-headed eagles alternating with cruciform motifs, fastened at the right shoulder; diadem; shoes, studded with pearls(?); right hand, sceptre
 - Note: see note to Appendix 2, no. 37
 - Bibl.: Grabar, 'Portraits oubliés', pp. 191-192, pls. 22a-b, 23a; Mango, 'The Monastery of St. Mary Peribleptos'; Osborne, 'New Evidence for a Lost Portrait'; Iacobini, 'L'epitalamio di Andronico II', p. 366, note 49, figs. 21, 22; Stichel, "'Vergessene Portraits" spätbyzantinischer Kaiser', pp. 75-84
38. *The despotes Constantine Doukas Komnenos Palaiologos (1277-c. 1329), son of Andronikos II Palaiologos*
- Effigy on seal
 - Standing, facing
 - Tunic patterned with lozenges; *chlanys* patterned with lozenges, decorative border, no *tablia*, fastened at the front with circular brooch; diadem with central projection; right hand, staff with jeweled top
 - Bibl.: Zacos, *Seals*, I/3, no. 2758.a-b (pp. 1584-1586, pl. 190)
39. *Constantine Akropolites and his wife Maria* (Pl. 76)
- Silver-gilt revetment of an icon of the Virgin Hodegetria, Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow (date of revetment: end of thirteenth - beginning of fourteenth century)
 - Standing, slightly turning towards the centre, hands raised in supplication
 - Constantine (left): caftan richly patterned, buttoned down the front, long tight sleeves, girt; handkerchief tucked in belt to his right; triangular purse suspended from the belt to his left; hat with rounded top, adorned with figure of an emperor
 - Maria (right): long dress gathered at the thighs, richly patterned, tall neck, sleeves exceedingly wide at the wrists; head-dress, crown, triangular projections along upper rim; earrings
 - Bibl.: Bank, *Iskusstvo Vizantii*, 3, no. 1010 (p. 159); Velmans, 'Portrait', pp. 133-134, pl. LXI, figs. 35-56

40. *Unidentified male figure* (Pl. 70)
- North aisle, Sis. Anargyroi, Kastoria (thirteenth-fourteenth century)
 - Turning towards the right, bowing, accompanied by two saintly figures partly destroyed
 - Red caftan, buttoned down the front, gold-embroidered borders, elbow-length sleeves, girt; broad, black belt with propeller-shaped attachments, end hanging down the left; black undergarment, long tight sleeves with buttons from wrist to elbow; no head-dress
 - Bibl.: Pelekanides and Chatzidakis, *Kastoria*, fig. 20 on p. 40 (colour)
41. *The logothetes tou genikou Theodore Metochites* (Pls. 69, 77)
- Inner narthex, above the entrance to the naos, Chora Monastery, Constantinople (1315-1320/1)
 - Kneeling at the feet of Christ enthroned
 - Green caftan patterned with spades and trilobate leaves in gold, opening all the way down the front, golden borders at the collar, down the edges of the front opening, cuffs, and hem, long ample sleeves, girt, voluminous, tall head-dress, rigid(?) frame covered with white fabric patterned with three vertical golden stripes, flaring curved sides, top much broader in diameter than the base; holds effigy of church with both hands
 - Bibl.: Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, p. 42, pls. 26 (colour), 28 (b/w)
42. *?Anna Synadene* (†1326)
- South blind arch, west façade, church of the Anastasis, Verroia
 - Standing, facing, hands crossed at the breast, presented to Christ by the Virgin; poorly preserved
 - Long garment, long sleeves exceedingly wide at the wrists(?), ungirt; fabric head-dress, kerchief that covers the head and flows down the shoulders (over a wimple?)
 - Bibl.: observation *in situ*
43. *The sebastokrator Constantine Palaiologos and his wife Eirene* (Pls. 74, 86)
- Bodleian Library, *MS Lincoln College gr. 35* (*Lincoln Typikon*), f. 1v (1327-1342)
 - Standing, slightly turning towards the centre, hands raised in supplication; above, bust of Virgin and Child
 - Constantine (left): red caftan richly patterned in gold, long tight sleeves, girt; purple mantle reaching down to mid-calves, patterned with medallions enclosing double-headed eagles in gold, traces of a golden *tablion*, fastened at the right shoulder; golden diadem, single central projection(?)
 - Eirene (right): long, red dress gathered at the thighs, tall neck, sleeves exceedingly wide at the wrists, square panels at the upper arms; ends of equally wide sleeves of a white undergarment visible under the sleeves of the dress; head-dress, gold crown set with gems and pearls, triangular projections along upper rim, earrings attached to lower rim of crown by strands of pearls and jewels; crown rests directly on the hair
 - Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 192-193, fig. 143 (b/w); *IEE* Θ', to the right on p. 219 (colour)
44. *The megas stratopedarches John Synadenos and his wife Theodora* (Pls. 771, 86)
- Bodleian Library, *MS Lincoln College gr. 35* (*Lincoln Typikon*), f. 2r (1327-1342)
 - Standing, slightly turning towards the centre, hands raised in supplication; above, bust of Virgin and Child
 - John (left): red caftan richly patterned in gold, buttoned down the front, long tight sleeves, girt; belt with metal attachments, free end hanging down the left; handkerchief tucked in the belt to his right; cylindrical, flat-topped hat, gold and dark brown, adorned with image of an enthroned emperor
 - Theodora (right): as Eirene in no. 43
 - Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 193-195, fig. 144 (b/w)

45. *The protostrator Theodore Synadenos and his wife Eudokia* (Pls. 771, 86j)
 - Bodleian Library, *MS Lincoln College gr. 35 (Lincoln Typikon)*, f. 8r (1327-1342)
 - Standing, slightly turning towards the centre, hands raised in supplication;
 above, bust of Virgin and Child
 - Theodore (left): red caftan richly patterned in gold, buttoned down the front,
 long tight sleeves, girt; belt with metal attachments, free end hanging down
 the left; handkerchief tucked in the belt to his right; cylindrical, flat-topped
 hat, gold and red, adorned with image of an enthroned emperor
 - Eudokia (right): as Eirene in no. 43
 - Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, p. 195, fig. 146 (b/w); *City of Mystras*, figs. 159-160
 (colour)
46. *The megas konestablos John Synadenos and his wife Eirene* (Pls. 771, 86j)
 - Bodleian Library, *MS Lincoln College gr. 35 (Lincoln Typikon)*, f. 8r (1327-1342)
 - Standing, slightly turning towards the centre, hands raised in supplication;
 above, bust of Christ
 - John (left): green caftan richly patterned in gold, buttoned down the front,
 long tight sleeves, girt; belt with metal attachments, free end hanging down
 the left; handkerchief tucked in the belt to his right; cylindrical, flat-topped
 hat, gold and red, adorned with image of an enthroned emperor
 - Eirene (right): as Eirene in no. 43
 - Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 195-196, fig. 147 (b/w)
47. *The megas primikerios Manuel Asanes and his wife Anna* (Pls. 771, 86j)
 - Bodleian Library, *MS Lincoln College gr. 35 (Lincoln Typikon)*, f. 5r (1327-1342)
 - Standing, slightly turning towards the centre, hands raised in supplication;
 above, bust of Christ Emmanuel
 - Manuel (left): as Theodore in no. 45
 - Anna (right): as Eirene in no. 43
 - Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 196-197, fig. 148 (b/w)
48. *The protosebastos Constantine Raoul Palaiologos and his wife Euphrosyne* (Pls. 67, 771,
 86j)
 - Bodleian Library, *MS Lincoln College gr. 35 (Lincoln Typikon)*, f. 6r (1327-1342)
 - Standing, slightly turning towards the centre, hands raised in supplication;
 above, bust of Christ Emmanuel
 - Constantine (left): as John in no. 46
 - Euphrosyne (right): as Eirene in no. 43
 - Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, p. 197, fig. 149 (b/w); *IEE O'*, to the left on p. 219
 (colour)
49. *Michael Philanthropenos and his wife Anna* (Pl. 86j)
 - Bodleian Library, *MS Lincoln College gr. 35 (Lincoln Typikon)*, f. 4r (1327-1342)
 - Standing, slightly turning towards the centre, hands raised in supplication;
 above, bust of Christ Emmanuel
 - Michael (left): orange caftan richly patterned in gold, buttoned down the
 front, elbow-length sleeves, girt; belt with metal attachments, free end hang-
 ing down the left; handkerchief tucked in the belt to his right; white under-
 garment with diaper pattern in gold, long tight sleeves, row of four buttons
 at the cuffs; no head-dress
 - Anna (right): as Eirene in no. 43
 - Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 197-198, fig. 150 (b/w); *City of Mystras*, fig.
 169 (colour)
50. *Michael Palaiologos and his wife Eirene* (Pl. 86j)
 - Bodleian Library, *MS Lincoln College gr. 35 (Lincoln Typikon)*, f. 9v (1327-1342)
 - Standing, slightly turning towards the centre, hands raised in supplication;
 above bust of Christ Emmanuel
 - Michael (left): red caftan richly patterned in gold, buttoned down the front,

- girt; belt with metal attachments, free end hanging down the left; handker-
 chief(?) tucked in the belt to his right; no head-dress
- Eirene (right): as Eirene in no. 43
 - Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, p. 198, fig. 151 (b/w)
51. *The megas doux Alexios Apokaukos* (Pls. 68, 77k)
 - *Par. gr.* 2144, f. 11r (after 1331)
 - Seated on a throne, next to a lectern on which lies an open book; youthful
 attendant standing behind the throne
 - Blue caftan patterned with medallions enclosing pairs of winged quadrupeds,
 rampant, back-to-back, in white, buttoned down the front, golden borders,
 long tight sleeves, girt; narrow belt with metal attachments, free end hang-
 ing down the left; hat, red and gold, adorned with image of an enthroned
 emperor; black boots
 - Bibl.: Velmans, 'Portrait,' pl. LV, figs. 43-44 (b/w); Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp.
 148-151, figs. 96, 97 (b/w); *IEE O'*, on p. 157 (colour); Munitiz, 'Dedicating
 a Volume'; Αντωνόπουλος, 'Γρυνών Γρίφοι'
52. *John Asan, nephew of the empress Eirene, wife of John VI Kantakouzenos*
 - Funerary icon, monastery of the Mega Spelaion (1351-1354); restored in
 1833-1838; destroyed in a fire in 1934
 - To the left, standing, hands raised in supplication towards the enthroned
 Virgin and Child
 - Caftan buttoned down the front, overall floral decoration; purple mantle pat-
 terned with vegetal motifs and alternating medallions enclosing double-headed
 eagles and pairs of griffins, pair of *tablia*, fastened at the front; no head-dress
 - Note: Judging by a detailed, pre-restoration description of the icon (1765),
 the decoration of the mantle with the medallions enclosing double-headed
 eagles and pairs of griffins formed part of the original composition; so did
 the floral decoration of the caftan, which, according to the description, was
 of purple colour, though of a different shade than the mantle
 - Bibl.: Σωτηρίου, 'Η εικόνα του Παλαιολόγου'; Belting, *Illuminierte Buch*, p. 79,
 figs. 46, 47 (b/w); Papamastorakis, 'Ioannes "Redolent of Perfume"'
53. *Unidentified couple (f1355)*
 - West blind arch, south façade, church of the Anastasis, Verroia
 - With Christ and two other male figures (saints?); poorly preserved
 - Male figure: caftan, girt; belt, propeller-shaped attachments
 - Female figure: dress, sleeves exceedingly wide at the wrists
 - Bibl.: observation *in situ*
54. *The megas primikerios John*
 - On the frame of an icon of Christ Pantokrator, The Hermitage, Saint Peters-
 burg (1360-1370)
 - Kneeling, turning towards Christ, hands raised in supplication
 - Dark green caftan patterned with foliate grid of oblong frames enclosing double-
 headed eagles in gold, long tight sleeves, girt; narrow belt with metal at-
 tachments; handkerchief tucked in the belt to his right; hat, red and gold, adorned
 with image of an enthroned emperor
 - Bibl.: Velmans, 'Portrait,' p. 133, pl. LX, fig. 54 (b/w); Bank, *Byzantine Art*,
 pl. 284 (note on pp. 323-324) (colour)
55. *The skouterios Kaniotes and his wife*
 - West arcosolium, south stoa, Aphendiko, Mistra (after 1366)
 - Flanking the Virgin and Child
 - Kaniotes (left): red caftan richly patterned in yellow, buttoned down the front,
 long tight sleeves, girt; belt with metal attachments; handkerchief tucked in
 the belt to his right; purse suspended from the belt to his left; hat with
 rounded top, yellow and red, adorned with the image of an emperor; ring
 on the little finger of each hand

- Female figure (right): red outer garment, buttoned down the front, long tight sleeves, yellow decorative border-bands down the opening at the front, at the sides, and around the cuffs, ungirt; white fabric head-dress; bracelets(?)
- Bibl.: Millet, *Monuments byz. de Mistra*, pl. 102.2 (drawing); Etzeoglou, 'Quelques remarques,' p. 516; Χατζηδάκης, *Μυστράς*, p. 67; *City of Mystras*, figs. 162-163 (colour)
- 56. *Unidentified couple*
 - North wall, south stoa, Aphendiko, Mistra (second half of fourteenth century); upper part of figure to the right and head of female figure to the left destroyed
 - Standing, holding hands
 - Female figure (left): red dress, tight-fitting at the bust, low square neckline, long tight sleeves
 - Male(?) figure (right): green garment, long, tight sleeves
 - Note: The figure to the right is commonly identified as a man. However, the full and flowing lines of the preserved lower part of this figure's garment seem to me to suggest that the half-destroyed figure on the right could be a woman
 - Bibl.: Etzeoglou, 'Quelques remarques,' pp. 516-517; *City of Mystras*, fig. 161 (colour)
- 57. *Anonymous officials* (Pls. 24, 77m)
 - Par. gr. 1242, f. 5v (completed in 1375)
 - Standing behind the enthroned John VI Kantakouzenos (see Appendix 2, no. 44); only head and shoulders visible
 - Blue garments; white hats with pointed top and wide brim, adorned with golden bands
 - The one to the left of the emperor holds the imperial sword, hilt upwards
 - Note: the figure holding the sword could be the *megas domestikos*, the *protostator*, the *parakoimomenos tes sphendonos*, or the *parakoimomenos tou koitonos* (pseudo-Kod., pp. 168, 175, 191)
 - Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, fig. 86 (b/w); *Byzance*, on p. 419 (colour)
- 58. *Unidentified couple*
 - West wall, naos, Peribleptos, Mistra (second half of the fourteenth century)
 - Standing, offering effigy of the church to the Virgin; poorly preserved
 - Male figure (left): blue caftan, opening down the front of skirt, long tight sleeves, girt; instead of a belt, a kerchief (triangular or square folded diagonally) tied in a knot at the front; no head-dress
 - Female figure (right): ample, purple garment; white fabric head-dress, embroidered kerchief, fringed edges, covers the head and flows down the shoulders (over a wimple?)
 - Bibl.: Millet, *Monuments byz. de Mistra*, pl. 111.4 (drawing); Etzeoglou, 'Quelques remarques,' p. 517; *City of Mystras*, fig. 164 (colour)
- 59. *Unidentified female figure*
 - North apse-wall, substructure of church, Myrelaion Monastery (Bodrum Camii), Constantinople (fourteenth century)
 - Kneeling at the feet of standing Virgin and Child, hands raised in supplication
 - Ample crimson robe, sleeves exceedingly wide at the wrists, ends of the white sleeves of a chemise visible, ungirt; two-piece fabric head-dress, a wimple under a kerchief that covers the head and flows down the shoulders, both made of white, transparent fabric
 - Bibl.: Striker, 'Bodrum Camii,' p. 213, pl. XLIX (b/w); *idem*, *The Myrelaion*, pp. 30-31, figs. 60-63 (b/w); Παπαϊωστόρας, 'Επιτύμβιες παραστάσεις,' p. 288

- 60. *Family portrait* (Pl. 71)
 - Tomb C, funerary chapel, Chora Monastery, Constantinople (date of portrait: fourteenth century)
 - One male, three female figures, standing facing, hands raised in supplication; first female figure from the right dressed as a nun
 - Female figure (first from left): long dark violet dress fitted at the waist, long tight sleeves; two-piece fabric head-dress, a wimple under a white kerchief that covers the head and flows down the shoulders
 - Male figure (second from left): greyish green caftan patterned with a grid of large lozenges enclosing fleurs-de-lis in greyish blue, opening down the front, long tight sleeves, girt; belt of yellow fabric; heavy green coat lying loosely on both shoulders, collar turned over, exceedingly long sleeves provided with openings at the elbows for the forearms to come through, fur lining; tall dark violet hat, concave sides, top much broader in diameter than the base
 - Female figure (third from left): green dress patterned with flowers in yellow, long tight sleeves, ungirt; dark red mantle patterned with medallions enclosing monograms of the Palaiologan and Asan families, fur lining, lying loosely on both shoulders; crown, repainted, originally circlet, set with gems, surmounted by a fleur-de-lis
 - Bibl.: Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, pp. 272-276, pls. 534, 535 (b/w)
- 61. *Michael Tomikes and his wife* (Pls. 77n, 86k)
 - Tomb D, funerary chapel, Chora Monastery, Constantinople (date of portrait: fourteenth century)
 - Standing, flanking the Virgin and Child, hands raised in supplication
 - Michael (largely destroyed): dark green outer garment (mantle?), turned over fur(?) collar; tall dark purple hat, concave sides, top much broader in diameter than the base
 - Female figure (lower part destroyed): dark purple dress fitted at the waist, long tight sleeves, white pointed cuffs (detachable or the ends of the sleeves of a chemise?); two-piece fabric head-dress, a wimple, forming a loop over the chest, under a white kerchief with fringed edges that covers the head and flows down the shoulders
 - Bibl.: Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, pp. 276-280, pls. 537, 538 (b/w)
- 62. *Family portrait*
 - Tomb E, outer narthex, Chora Monastery, Constantinople (date of portrait: fourteenth century)
 - Female figure(?), flanked by two children; at least three more figures standing behind them; upper part destroyed
 - Child (left): long caftan patterned with vegetal motifs and flowers in red and yellow, opening down the front, girt; fabric belt; handkerchief with fringed edges tucked in the belt to his right
 - Female figure(?) (centre): bright red caftan patterned with medallions (enclosing monograms of the Palaiologan, the Raoul, and the Asan families) and birds in gold, opening down the front
 - Child (right): skirt (of dress?) patterned with a vine motif, hearts, open crowns and small quadrupeds
 - Figure in the back row, left corner: traces of brown and yellow drapery and a brown shoe
 - Figure in the back row, left of central figure: green garment, yellow hem; reddish brown outer garment (mantle?) patterned with circles in yellow, fur(?) lining
 - Figure in the back row, right of central figure: garment, yellow hem; greenish grey outer garment (mantle?) patterned with yellow stripes, yellow vertical border
 - Bibl.: Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, pp. 280-288, pl. 541 (b/w)

63. *Family portrait* (Pl. 72)
 - Tomb F, outer narthex, Chora Monastery, Constantinople (date of portrait: fourteenth century)
 - A man, a child and a woman; upper part destroyed
 - Male figure (left): bright red garment patterned with large leaves in gold, opening(?) down the front; dark blue mantle patterned with interlacing medallions (large medallions: monogram of the Palaiologoi; small medallions: quatrefoil ornament) and double-headed eagles in gold, exceedingly long sleeves, hanging empty at the sides; brown boots
 - Child (centre): purple caftan, diaper pattern in gold, opening down the front; girt; belt of red fabric; white handkerchief with golden edges and fringes tucked in the belt to his left; white shoes with red lines
 - Female figure (right): dark blue dress patterned with vegetal motifs, broad golden band at the hem trimmed with gems; red mantle patterned with medallions in gold (enclosing monograms of the Palaiologoi, the Dermokaites, and the Asan families) and groups of four fleurs-de-lis arranged in the form of a cross in blue, golden vertical border and hem trimmed with gems and pearls; golden shoes
 - Bibl.: Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, pp. 288–292, pls. 546 (b/w), 547 (colour)
64. *Unidentified male figure* (Pl. 77a)
 - South wall, south-east chapel, Sts. Theodores, Mistra (c. 1400)
 - Presented by the two Sts. Theodores to the Virgin enthroned; only his hat survives
 - Conical, gold and red hat with broad brim
 - Bibl.: Millet, *Monuments byz. de Mistra*, pl. 90.4 (drawing); Etzeoglou, 'Quelques remarques,' p. 51; Χατζηδάκης, *Μυστράς*, p. 51; Παπαμαστοράκης, 'Επιτύμβιες παραστάσεις,' p. 293, fig. 7 (reproduction of drawing by Millet)
65. *Unidentified male figure (a despoles?)* (Pl. 77r)
 - North wall, south-east chapel, Sts. Theodores, Mistra (fifteenth century)
 - Standing between an archangel and St. John the Baptist
 - Outer garment richly patterned, long sleeves provided with slits for the arms to come through, empty portion tucked in the belt at the back, girt (*lappas*?) undergarment, long tight sleeves; belt with metal attachments; handkerchief tucked in the belt to his right; yellow conical hat, embroidered
 - Bibl.: Millet, *Monuments byz. de Mistra*, pl. 90.1 (b/w); Etzeoglou, 'Quelques remarques,' pp. 515–516; Χατζηδάκης, *Μυστράς*, p. 51; *City of Mystras*, fig. 165 (colour)
66. *The despoles Theodore and the authentapoulos Andronikos, sons of the emperor Manuel II Palaiologos (1391–1425)*
 - Louvre, *ms Joirens* 100, f. 2r (1403–1405)
 - Standing on upholstered footstools; part of a family imperial portrait (see Appendix 2, no. 47); above, Virgin and Child, in bust; parts have flaked off
 - Theodore: red long tunic, richly patterned; red mantle, patterned with medallions enclosing double-headed eagles, *tablion* barely distinguishable, fastened slightly towards the right; diadem with a central jewel; right hand, staff
 - Andronikos: dress same as Theodore, except for the mantle, which is patterned with medallions enclosing fleurs-de-lis
 - Bibl.: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 139–144, fig. 93 (b/w); *Byzance*, no. 356 (pp. 463–4) (colour); Lowden, *Early Christian and Byz. Art*, fig. 266 (colour)
67. *The despoles Theodore I Palaiologos (†1407)* (Pl. 77p)
 - North wall, north-west chapel, Aphendiko, Mistra
 - Portrayed twice, as a *despoles* and as a monk; poorly preserved
 - Garment, long sleeves, arm-band; tall hat with rounded top, adorned with gems and pearls

- Bibl.: Millet, *Monuments byz. de Mistra*, pl. 96.5 (drawing), reproduced in Ebersolt, *Arts*, fig. 58; Etzeoglou, 'Quelques remarques,' p. 516; Χατζηδάκης, *Μυστράς*, p. 64; Παπαμαστοράκης, 'Επιτύμβιες παραστάσεις,' p. 298, fig. 10
68. *Manuel nothos (before 1411?)*
 - Embroidered on the purple silk *podex*(?) now in the Museo di Palazzo Ducale, Urbino¹
 - To the left, in *proskynesis* at the feet of the archangel Michael, who appears in military dress and holds his sword unsheathed in the attitude of a guardian
 - White undergarment, tall neck visible; long, violet outer garment, long narrow sleeves; purple mantle, diaper pattern enclosing fleurs-de-lis, one *tablion* visible, border-band decorated with vegetal scroll, fastened towards the right shoulder; no head-dress
 - Note: Epigraphic considerations indicate a date in the fourteenth or the fifteenth century for the textile. Scholars identify the portrayed figure with Manuel, illegitimate son of John V Palaiologos (1341–1354; 1355–1376; 1379–1391). In 1411, after being granted the title of 'droungarios' by his half-brother, Manuel II, this Manuel led the Byzantine navy on an important victory against Ottoman forces. That the Manuel portrayed on the textile was illegitimate is suggested by the fact that, while he dwells on his mother's descent, he makes no reference to his father in the dedicatory inscription framing the composition. It has also been noted that the portrayed figure bears no title. This has been taken as an indication, provided that one accepts the proposed identification, that the embroidery was executed before 1411
 - Bibl.: Carile, 'Manuele Nothos Paleologos'; Guillou, 'Inscriptions byzantines d'Italie sur tissu,' pp. 174–176
69. *Manuel Palaiologos (†1423 or 1453)*
 - South wall, north-east chapel, Sts. Theodores, Mistra
 - Kneeling in front of the Virgin and Child, hands raised in supplication
 - Blue caftan with short sleeves with fur(?) borders, buttoned down the front, girt; undergarment, striped white long tight sleeves, buttons from the wrist to mid-forearm; yellow belt; handkerchief tucked in the belt to his right; no head-dress
 - Bibl.: Millet, *Monuments byz. de Mistra*, pl. 91.3 (b/w); Etzeoglou, 'Quelques remarques,' pp. 514–515; Χατζηδάκης, *Μυστράς*, p. 51; Παπαμαστοράκης, 'Επιτύμβιες παραστάσεις,' p. 288, fig. 1; *City of Mystras*, fig. 166 (colour)
70. *Manuel Laskares Chatzikes (†1445)* (Pls. 73, 77q)
 - South wall, narthex, Pantanassa, Mistra
 - Standing, turning towards the right, hands raised in supplication
 - Ends of long tight sleeves of undergarment visible under the mantle; heavy, ample reddish brown mantle, fur(?) lining, flaps lined with fur(?) instead of sleeves; tall white conical hat, reddish brown upturned brim with a strong projection forward
 - Bibl.: Etzeoglou, 'Quelques remarques,' pp. 517–518; Χατζηδάκης, *Μυστράς*, p. 101; *City of Mystras*, fig. 80 (colour)
71. *Unidentified figure*
 - Tomb G, outer narthex, Chora Monastery, Constantinople (date of portrait: mid-fifteenth century)
 - Standing, turning towards enthroned Virgin and Child to the left; upper part destroyed
 - Dark grey dress patterned with vegetal motifs in black; dark grey mantle, sleeves exceedingly long hanging empty at the sides; grey shoes

¹ I thank Cecily Hilsdale for allowing me to see her colour photographs of the Urbino textile and for providing me with the relevant bibliographical references.

- Note: style bespeaks strong Renaissance influence
- Bibl.: Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, pp. 292-295, pls. 548 (b/w), 549 (colour)
- 72. *Kale Kabalassa and her two children, Anna Laskarina and Theodore Hodegetrianos*
 - West conch, south wall, chapel of St. John, Mistra (fifteenth century)
 - Kale is portrayed twice, in lay and monastic dress
 - Kale: blue dress; white wimple covering head and shoulders
 - Laskarina: red dress, long tight sleeves, ungirt; fabric head-dress, a kerchief lying loosely over the head
 - Hodegetrianos: red garment
 - Bibl.: Millet, *Monuments byz. de Mistra*, pl. 107.8 (drawing); Etzeoglou, 'Quelques remarques,' p. 518; Χατζηδάκης, *Μυστράς*, p. 109; Semoglou, 'Contribution à l'étude du portrait funéraire,' pp. 7-8; Παπαμαστοράκης, 'Εκτύμβιος παραστάσεις,' p. 298
- 73. *Family(?) portrait*
 - Tympanum of northern blind arch, narthex, church of St. Paraskeue, Geraki (fifteenth century)²
 - Three couples portrayed standing in two groups of three, turning towards the centre, with their hands raised in supplication, looking upwards to a model of a church and, above that, to Christ in a segment of Heaven
 - Old couple (centre):
 - Man (left): long garment, details indistinguishable; head-dress(?)
 - Woman (right): light-coloured long dress; reddish brown mantle; head-dress, white kerchief wound around her head and neck
 - Younger couple (right)
 - Man (left): reddish brown caftan or coat reaching down to mid-calves, buttoned down the front, long tight sleeves, ungirt; boots; no head-dress
 - Woman (right): long white dress, long sleeves, ungirt; head-dress, white kerchief wound around her head and neck
 - Younger couple (left)
 - Their garments seem to be the same as those of the younger couple to the right
- Bibl.: *Parure d'une princesse byzantine*, pl. XIII.33

EMPIRE OF TREBIZOND

- 74. *Niketas Masgourites and one other unidentified male figure*
 - Tympanum of tomb-niche, St. Sophia, Trebizond (date of portrait: fifteenth century)
 - On horseback
 - Niketas (right): reddish brown caftan patterned with fleurs-de-lis in white, oblique opening at the front, decorative band along the edge of the opening, elbow-length sleeves; white hat(?) with flaring sides; yellow boots; right hand, spear
 - Male figure (left): red caftan coming down to the hips, oblique opening at the front, decorative band along the edge of the opening, elbow-length sleeves, girt; knee-length undergarment, long tight sleeves; belt with propeller-shaped attachments; white hat; yellow boots; right hand, battle-axe or mace
 - Bibl.: *The Church of Hagia Sophia at Trebizond*, pp. 156-157, fig. 121 (drawing), pl. 69A (b/w)

- 75. *Unidentified male figure*
 - West side of soffit, tomb-niche, St. Sophia, Trebizond (date of portrait: fifteenth century)
 - Standing, hands raised in supplication; upper part of head destroyed
 - White caftan coming down to the hips, oblique opening at the front, decorative band along the edge of the opening, short sleeves, girt; long yellow striped undergarment, long tight sleeves, decorated cuffs; black belt with propeller-shaped attachments, free end coming down to the left
 - Bibl.: *The Church of Hagia Sophia at Trebizond*, pp. 157-159, fig. 122 (drawing), pl. 69B (b/w)

PRINCIPALITY OF EPIROS

- 76. *The protostrator Theodore and his wife Maria*
 - Narthex, Panagia Bellas (Kokkine Ekklesia), Boulgarelli, near Arta (1295/6)
 - Donors standing, slightly turned towards the right. Poorly preserved; of the portrait of Maria only part of the head-dress and the upper torso survives
 - Theodore (right): cuffs of undergarment visible; red caftan, diaper pattern in gold, buttoned down the front, long ample sleeves, arm-bands, girt; not possible to say whether he had a head-dress or not; holds effigy of church with left hand
 - Maria (left): mantle, broad collar turned over the shoulders(?), fastened at the front; two-piece head-dress, an embroidered scarf or cap, visible at the forehead, under a wimple, flat at the top (cf. costume of Anna in no. 77)
 - Bibl.: 'Ορλάνδος, 'Μνημεία τοῦ Δεσποτάτου τῆς Ἡπείρου', pp. 162-163, figs. 12, 14, 16, 19 (b/w)
- 77. *John Tzimiskes, brother of the protostrator Theodore (see no. 76), and his wife Anna* (Pls. 85, 86i)
 - Narthex, Panagia Bellas (Kokkine Ekklesia), Boulgarelli, near Arta (1295/6)
 - Standing, slightly turned towards the left
 - John (left): cuffs of dark-coloured undergarment decorated with rosettes visible; green caftan patterned with medallions enclosing rosettes in gold, buttoned down the front, long ample sleeves, girt; dark green belt with propeller-shaped attachments; handkerchief tucked in the belt to his right; no head-dress
 - Anna (right): green dress, diaper pattern; reddish brown mantle, broad brown collar turned over the shoulders, lining with material of lighter colour, fastened at the front; two-piece head-dress, as Maria in no. 76
 - Bibl.: 'Ορλάνδος, 'Μνημεία τοῦ Δεσποτάτου τῆς Ἡπείρου', pp. 162-163, figs. 13, 15, 17, 18 (b/w)

² I thank Dr. Sarah Brooks for allowing me to see her colour slides of the St. Paraskeue portrait.

	Cappadocia				Cyprus				Macedonia			
	Kileçler küşluk	Column Churches	Yılanlı group	Karabaş kilise	Kousoventes	Asinou, Phorbiotissa	Trikomo	Perachorio, Holy Apostles	Paphos, Enkleistra	Lagoudera, Arakiotissa	Nerezi	Thes/ke, Latomou Monastery
Imperial dress	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Official dress	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Aristocratic dress	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Martyrs' <i>chlamys</i> -costume	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Female martyrs' costume	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Commoners' dress	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Oriental costume	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Western costume	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Arms and armour	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Furniture	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Lighting devices	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Textile furnishings	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Domestic utensils	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Writing implements	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Surgical implements	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Tools	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

Table A: Occurrence of *realia* in monuments considered in the regional case-studies, 11th–12th centuries

	CPL				Macedonia				Mistra			
	Chora Monastery	Ohrid, Peribleptos	Mt. Athos, Protaton	Thes/ke, St. Euthymios	Verroia, Anastasis	Mt. Athos, Varopedi	Thes/ke, Orphanos	Thes/ke, Holy Apostles	Metropolis	Aphendiko	Peribleptos	Chapel of St. John
Imperial dress	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Official dress	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Aristocratic dress	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Martyrs' <i>chlamys</i> -costume	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Female martyrs' costume	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Commoners' dress	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Oriental costume	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Western costume	*	(*)	*	*	*	*	(*)	*	*	*	(*)	(*)
Arms and armour	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Furniture	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Lighting devices	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Textile furnishings	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Domestic utensils	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Writing implements	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Surgical implements	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Tools	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

CPL = Constantinople

(*) = western elements in the dress of non-Westerners

Table B: Occurrence of *realia* in monuments considered in the regional case-studies, 13th–15th centuries

	Cappadocia					Cyprus				Macedonia			
	Kılıçlar kuşluk	Column Churches	Yılanlı group	Karabağ kilise	Koutsoventes	Asinou, Phorbiotissa	Trikomo	Perachorio, Holy Apostles	Paphos, Enkleistra	Lagoudera, Arakiotissa	Nerezi	Thes/ke, Latomou Monastery	Kastoria, St. Nicholas Kasnitzes
Imperial dress	*												
Official dress		*											
Aristocratic dress													
Martyrs' <i>chlamys</i> -costume	*	*			*			*		*	*	*	*
Female martyrs' costume	*												
Commoners' dress	*	*				*		*		*	*	*	*
Oriental costume										*			
Western costume										*			
Arms and armour	*	*	*								*	*	*
Furniture	*	*	*			*			*	*			
Lighting devices				*						*			
Textile furnishings	*	*				*	*	*		*	*	*	*
Domestic utensils		*				*				*			
Writing implements		*											
Surgical implements													*
Tools										*			*

Table A: Occurrence of *realia* in monuments considered in the regional case-studies, 11th-12th centuries

	CPL		Macedonia					Mistra				
	Chora Monastery	Ohrid, Peribleptos	Mt. Athos, Protaton	Thes/ke, St. Euthymios	Verroia, Anastasis	Mt. Athos, Vatopedi	Thes/ke, Orphanos	Thes/ke, Holy Apostles	Metropolis	Aphendiko	Peribleptos	Chapel of St. John
Imperial dress												
Official dress	*				*	*	*					
Aristocratic dress	*											
Martyrs' <i>chlamys</i> -costume												
Female martyrs' costume												
Commoners' dress	*	*				*	*		*	*	*	
Oriental costume			*			*	*					
Western costume		(*)				*	(*)				(*)	
Arms and armour	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Furniture	*	*	*			*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Lighting devices									*	*		
Textile furnishings												
Domestic utensils	*		*			*	*	*	*		*	
Writing implements	*		*		*		*					
Surgical implements												
Tools		*	*			*	*		*	*	*	

CPL = Constantinople

(*) = western elements in the dress of non-Westerners

Table B: Occurrence of *realia* in monuments considered in the regional case-studies, 13th-15th centuries

GLOSSARY

akakia: a cylindrical pouch of silk, commonly represented as being red, which contained a handful of earth. In the fourteenth century it was tied with a kerchief. One of the insignia held by the emperor when he wore the *loros*. It served to remind him of his mortality. The kerchief was a symbol of the instability of the imperial office which passed from one emperor to another

akouphion: a percussion weapon, the distinguishing feature of which was its curved blade. It is mentioned only by the tenth-century writer Leo the Deacon

alysidotos thorax: mail cuirass

anaphora: offering

anaxyrdes: trousers. An item of 'barbarian' costume in the Early Byzantine period, they had become part of fashionable aristocratic dress by the twelfth century. They are rarely represented in art, shown worn under the tunic or on their own (for example, by the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia in illustrations of their martyrdom)

arcosolium: arched niche serving as a tomb

axine: pick-axe

baion: the name of the sceptre of the empress in the Palaiologan period. Its top was set with jewels and pearls

bascinet: helmet-type which made its appearance in the West in the early thirteenth century and remained popular down to the fifteenth. Originally, a metal skull-cap, it was extended down the sides to cover the ears or, in another variant, down the sides and the nape of the neck. Its bowl, initially rounded, gradually became taller and conical in shape (Blair, *European Armour*, pp. 29–30, 51, 67–68)

belon: curtain

bevor: rigid, plate defense for the neck and chin

brakai: see *anaxyrdes*

chape: metal cap of a scabbard-point (*Oxford English Dictionary*)

chapel-de-fer: helmet-type that made its appearance in Western Europe towards the end of the twelfth century. Made of iron, it had the shape of a hat with a brim (Blair, *European Armour*, pp. 31–32, 52, 70)

chausses: mail hose. Their use is attested in Western Europe from the mid-eleventh century onwards

cheiromakt(r)on: hand-towel

chiton: tunic

chlamys: an ankle-length mantle worn by the emperor and by both civil and military officials (by the latter, when in civilian ceremonial dress). Its distinctive element was the pair of *tablia*. It was worn fastened at the right shoulder with a fibula or brooch. In the Middle Byzantine period it was sometimes worn fastened at the front. In the Late Byzantine period a descendant of the *chlamys* was worn only by the highest officials of the state and close relatives of the emperor (see *lamparion*)

choros: a composite, polygonal lighting device, comprising single lamps, *polycandela*, and candlesticks. The *choros* was well-suited for illuminating the area under the dome of a church. It is first attested in the twelfth century. *Choroi* are still employed today for the illumination of churches on Mount Athos

coif: mail hood

coulter: a vertical cutting blade fixed in front of a ploughshare (*Oxford English Dictionary*)

diadema: one of the terms used in Byzantine written sources to designate the imperial crown. In the fourteenth century, pseudo-Kodinos and Kantakouzenos employ the term to designate the Palaiologan *loros*

diakonikon: chamber south of the central altar-area of the sanctuary of a Byzantine church

dikanikion: staff of office. In the Late Byzantine period the majority of Byzantine dignitaries had the right to one. The decoration of the staff varied according to the rank of each official. The emperor held a *dikanikion* of wood covered with gold (to be distinguished from the imperial cross-topped sceptre)

diheli(o)n: two-pronged drag-hoe

diveteson: a long, long-sleeved tunic worn girt. Part of Byzantine ceremonial costume in the Middle Byzantine period. The emperor wore a purple *diveteson* with the collar, arm-bands, cuffs, and hem embroidered with gold

do(u)kane: threshing sledge

ephrasis: the rhetorical genre of formal description (*ODB*, 1, p. 683)

epanoklibanon: a garment worn over (<*epano*) a cuirass of lamellar or scale construction (<*klibanon*). The sources do not specify the manner in which it differed from the *epilo(u)rikon*, which was worn over a mail cuirass

epeuchton, *peukion*: prayer rug; rug; carpet

epilo(u)rikon: a garment worn over (<*epi*) a mail shirt (<*lorikon*). In the Palaiologan period it became an item of ceremonial court costume, worn by the emperor and some of his officials, usually, with the *phakeolis*. Pseudo-Kodinos ascribes it an oriental origin

epithalamion: bridal song

exegesis: interpretation of the Bible (*ODB*, 2, p. 769)

florilegium: a collection of excerpts from earlier authors, gathered with a specific purpose in mind (*ODB*, 2, p. 793)

gorget: see *bevor*

granatza: an item of the imperial wardrobe in Palaiologan times. A garment with sleeves which reached down to the ankles, worn without a belt. Pseudo-Kodinos ascribes it an 'Assyrian' origin

himation: type of mantle, distinctive of antique costume. It was draped over the tunic in such a way as to leave the right arm free

hosios: saint

hynis: ploughshare

hyperpyron: gold coin, 20.5 carats fine, introduced by Alexios I Komnenos. During the reign of Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282–1328) it was reduced to 12 carats

iconostasis: altar-screen with icons

kabbadion: a garment of oriental origin which became part of Byzantine court costume during the Palaiologan period. Identified with the caftan worn by officials in surviving portraits from that time. A long garment fastened down the front with buttons, worn girt. It could be sleeveless or furnished with long or elbow-length sleeves (see *qabā'*)

kalamas: reed pen. The term could also denote a pen for writing with ink made of other materials

katholikion: the main church of a monastic complex

kazaghband: mail shirt or corset with a lining on the inside and a fabric cover on the outside, in use in the Islamic East possibly as early as the tenth or eleventh century. It became quite popular in the following centuries

kettle-hat: see *chapel-de-fer*

kladuterion: vine-dresser's knife

kletorologion: ceremonial handbook comprising an official list of the titles and offices of the Byzantine court

klibanon: body-armour of scale or lamellar construction

klimos: type of chair in Classical Greece

komoekmageion: towel for the head(?)

kortina: curtain

korys: helmet

labarum: the Constantinian standard which reappeared in imperial portraiture in the ninth century. Emperors are portrayed holding it in miniature painting and other media down to the twelfth century. It is commonly represented as a small square panel (of cloth?) at the top of a long shaft

lamellar armour: constructed of small, perforated plates (lamellae) of metal or other suitable material laced together by means of leather thongs

lanna: a strip of metal (or metal beam) provided with candlesticks, particularly suitable for the illumination of *templeon* epistyles or of individual icon-stands. Already attested in the twelfth century

lapatzas: a garment worn by certain Byzantine dignitaries in the Palaiologan period. It was worn girt and was furnished with exceedingly long sleeves which were tucked in the belt at the back. The *megas domestikos* had the right to leave one sleeve hanging down freely, as a sign of honour (cf. *granatza*)

lectionary: a book containing readings ('lections') to be read during the divine liturgy (ODB, 2, p. 1201)

lenion: cloth; napkin; towel

linnetierion: winnowing fork

ligari(e)n: spade-fork

lorica segmentata: laminated cuirass, made of segments of metal held together by laces or straps. No lining was required. This type of armour was the typical Roman legionary armour of the first and second centuries A.D.

lorikion: mail cuirass

loros: an extremely long scarf, embroidered with gold and trimmed with gems and pearls, with a red or green lining. In the first stages of its development it was worn crossed over the upper part of the body with one end hanging down the front and the other draped over the left forearm. From the tenth century onward it was provided with an opening and was pulled on over the head. Because of its great weight, the train was provided with small chains at the back—visible in illustrations—which made it easier to lift and drape over the left forearm. The *loros* was worn over a long, long-sleeved tunic. It formed part of the ceremonial attire of the imperial couple down to the end of the Palaiologan period. In the Middle Byzantine period the holders of the highest offices in the Byzantine court had a right to wear a *loros* on special occasions. The *loros* was one of the insignia of the prefect (eparch) of Constantinople. According to the artistic evidence, the *loros* of the officials was not adorned with precious stones or pearls, though it could have been embroidered. (cf. *trabea triumphalis*)

makete: mattock

mail armour: constructed of metal rings linked together in such a way as to form a densely woven, flexible mesh

mandyas: mantle. Term employed to designate (a) an item of lay female costume; (b) the mantle worn by both monks and nuns; and (c) an ecclesiastical vestment worn by bishops and other church officials, including the *depotatos*. In the Palaiologan period the emperor (who held the office of a *depotatos* in the ecclesiastical hierarchy) wore a golden *mandyas* while he led the Great Entrance procession during his coronation ceremony

maniakion: torque. Down to the Middle Byzantine period one of the insignia denoting military rank. No longer employed in the Late Byzantine period (pseudo-Kod., pp. 199–200)

mappa: the ceremonial kerchief with which the Roman consuls signaled the beginning of the games in the Hippodrome. It is thought that the *akakia* evolved out of the *mappa*

martyrion: shrine marking the site of an important event in sacred history or the place of the martyrdom and/or burial of a martyr

menologium: a collection of saints' lives arranged according to the date of each saint's feast in the ecclesiastical year (ODB, 2, p. 1341)

narthex: apparently, a staff. In the Palaiologan period the emperor held it in his left hand while he led the Great Entrance procession during his coronation ceremony. The *narthex* was one of the insignia of the *depotatos*, the office that the emperor held in the ecclesiastical hierarchy (cf. *mandyas*)

oikoumene: the inhabited world

oneirokritikon: handbook on the interpretation of dreams

oraron: a long, narrow scarf, one of the vestments of the deacons

ornathoi: see *prepoudolia*

pallio (of San Lorenzo): altar-cloth

pelekys: axe

phakeolis: a turban. The use of turbans in Byzantium is attested as early as the ninth century. In the Palaiologan period, the *phakeolis* was an item of ceremonial costume worn by the emperor and a number of court officials in combination with the *epilourikon*

phelonion: a descendant of the Roman *paenula*, a cloak which was pulled on over the head. In mediaeval Byzantium it became an item of ecclesiastical costume, comparable to the Latin chasuble

phiamoula: banners. Each unit in the Byzantine army had its own distinctive banner. Personal banners of high officials are attested already in the twelfth century. It is not clear, though, whether these were assigned to the officials by the emperor or whether the officials had the right to adorn their banners as they pleased, for example with the image of their patron saint. Pseudo-Kodinos informs us that in the fourteenth century there were seven different imperial banners: one bearing the image of the archangel Michael; one with eight streamers adorned with images of Church Fathers; a cross-shaped one with images of Sts. Demetrios, Prokopios, and the two Theodores; another with the image of St. George on horseback; one with the portrait of the emperor on horseback; and, one adorned with a cross and four 'B's' (*pyrekholia*). The cross with the 'B's' stood for 'Cross of the King of Kings help the emperor' (*Σταυρὲ βασιλέως βασιλέων βασιλεὶ βοήθει*) or 'Cross of the King of Kings help the imperial city' (*Σταυρὲ βασιλέως βασιλέων βασιλευσούσῃ βοήθει*)

pholidotos thorax: scale or lamellar cuirass

podea: ecclesiastical cloth which was suspended below an icon (like an apron). It could be embroidered and adorned with precious stones. On occasion, the subject of an icon was repeated on its *podea*

polycandelon: a hanging lighting device. A perforated round or cruciform plate for carrying glass lamps. It was occasionally provided with spikes for candles. *Polycandelas* were in use already in the Early Byzantine period

pommel: a knob at the top of a sword-hilt (*Oxford English Dictionary*)

porphyrogenetos, -e: 'purple-born'; epithet of imperial children born after their father's ascent to the throne (ODB, 3, p. 1701)

praitorion: official residence of a governor

prepoudolia: a pair of strings of pearls terminating in a trifold ornament or a cross, suspended from the lower rim of the crown of both the emperor and empress. In the Palaiologan period the pearls alternated with blue and red jewels. The use of the *prepoudolia*, which goes back to the Early Byzantine period, was an imperial prerogative

proskynesis: adoration, obeisance; prostration before the object of adoration or obeisance

prospopon: towel for the face

prothesis: chamber north of the central altar-area of the sanctuary of a Byzantine church

- Protoevangelion of James:** apocryphal text that relates the life of the Virgin from her conception to the early Infancy of Christ
- pyrger:** leather straps, shown in Roman art attached around the arm-openings and the lower rim of the plate muscle cuirass, though they actually formed part of a flexible leather garment worn beneath it. The artistic convention of showing the *pyrger* attached to the cuirass was adopted by Byzantine art which used it indiscriminately in association with every type of body-armour
- pyron:** spade or shovel; winnowing shovel (*sideropyron*: iron or iron-shod spade)
- pyretholon:** flint-striker for lighting a fire. Two varieties are attested in use in mediaeval Byzantium, one B-shaped and one elliptical
- pyrgion or pyrgiskos:** cupboard
- pyxis:** small box
- qabā':** a tight-sleeved coat with a straight opening down the front, common in the Muslim East. A variant, preferred by Turkic and Mongol peoples, had an oblique opening across the breast
- quillons:** the hand-guard of a sword
- realia:** real things (*Oxford English Dictionary*); in the present context, contemporary artefacts represented in Byzantine religious pictorial contexts
- sabanon:** linen cloth or towel (*sabanoloutrika*: towels for the bath?)
- sabre:** single-edged sword with a curved blade and a hilt without a pommel
- sagion:** a cloak, originally of military character. In the Middle Byzantine period it formed part of Byzantine court costume, worn by the emperor and his officials over their *skaramangia*. It is not clear in what respect it differed from the *chlamys* (perhaps, the *sagion* was shorter and did not have the *tablia*). In Middle Byzantine texts the term '*sagion*' is also employed to designate a female mantle
- sakkos:** term used in the Late Byzantine period to designate the tunic over which the emperor wore the *loros*. The black colour of this tunic served as a symbol of the unfathomability of the imperial dignity. The term also designated one of the vestments of the patriarch, metropolitans, and bishops. This was a short tunic with short sleeves, often decorated with crosses
- sanctus:** the praise of the seraphim to God (Is. 6:3), which is sung during the preparation of the Eucharist
- scale armour:** constructed of perforated plates (scales) of metal or other suitable material attached to a lining of leather or fabric with rivets or metal clasps. The scales are so arranged as to overlap downwards
- sella curulis:** a folding stool that constituted one of the insignia of the Roman consuls, often represented on Late Roman consular diptychs
- sellion:** diminutive of '*sella*', a seat, probably without a backrest. The term is often employed in the *De ceremoniis* to designate the imperial throne
- siderika:** iron tools
- skammion:** seat (*makyryskammion*: 'long seat', bench)
- skaramangion:** a distinctive item of court costume during the Middle Byzantine period worn by the emperor and his officials. Scholars have identified it with a rider's caftan of oriental (Persian) origin. This would make the *skaramangion* a preferably short tunic with a tight bodice and an ample skirt provided with slits to facilitate movement
- skaranikon:** type of head-dress; part of official costume during the Palaiologan period mentioned by pseudo-Kodinos, who ascribes an 'Assyrian' origin to it. Its colour varied according to the position held by the bearer in the court hierarchy: it could be gold-and-red, apricot, gold-and-white, gold-and-yellow, red with a tassel, or plain red. All *skaranika* other than the red were decorated with a portrait of the emperor standing, enthroned, or on horseback. Commonly identified with the cylindrical head-dress with the rounded or flat top seen in fourteenth-century portraits of Byzantine dignitaries. (the identification of the *skaranikon* with a rider's caftan proposed by Kondakov is not tenable)

- skiadion:** a type of head-dress worn by the emperor, as well as by court and Church officials (especially singers) in the Palaiologan period. Commonly identified with the hat with the pyramidal top and broad brim seen in monumental and miniature painting at the time. The term is also employed by scholars to identify the hat with the beak-like brim worn by John VIII Palaiologos on the medallion by Pisanello
- skoularion:** shield
- splint armour:** constructed of pieces or strips of metal, wood, horn, or boiled leather (splints) joined together by means of leather thongs or metal clasps. Scale and lamellar armour are varieties of splint armour
- stephanos:** in Middle-Byzantine written sources the term designated the imperial crown. In the fourteenth century the term no longer denoted the imperial crown, but a headdress worn by the junior emperor and his wife prior to their coronation and by members of the imperial family who held the offices of *despotes* and *sebastokrator*
- stroma:** mattress
- tabarro:** full-length, heavy cloak, provided with openings for the arms to come through or with short ample sleeves. It was fastened either at the front or at the right shoulder. It is attested in Italy already in the thirteenth century, where it was usually worn by doctors, merchants, magistrates, as well as ecclesiastics (Levi-Pisetzky, *Costume*, I, pl. 177; II, p. 54)
- tablia:** the distinguishing feature of a *chlamys*. Rectangular panels of a colour and decoration different from that of the fabric of the cloak, attached to its edges, beginning at the height of the armpit and reaching down to the level of the waist
- tampanion:** a mantle, probably the descendant of the Middle-Byzantine *chlamys*. It is mentioned by pseudo-Kodinos as part of the costume of the highest officials of the empire i.e. the *despotes*, the *sebastokrator*, the *panhypersebastos*, and the *protovestiarious*. (cf. *tabarro*)
- tapes:** carpet; rug
- templon:** altar-screen
- tetraevangelion:** a book which contains the complete text of the four Gospels (*ODB*, 2, p. 861)
- tirāz:** a band embroidered with an honorific or a religious inscription worn by Muslim nobles at the upper part of their sleeves as early as the ninth century
- topos:** rhetorical commonplace; a traditional motif or theme in a literary composition (*Oxford English Dictionary*)
- touphia:** tassels or plumes, employed for the personal adornment of a warrior (placed either on his helmet or on his shoulders) as well as for that of his mount
- trabea triumphalis:** also called *toga picta*: The most ornate variety of the Roman toga, worn by the consuls when they opened the games at the hippodrome. It was embroidered with gold and encrusted with jewels. On ivory consular diptychs this garment is represented with a distinctive overall pattern of rosettes. By the sixth century the Roman *trabea* had evolved into the *loros*
- tykane:** see *do(s)kane*
- typikon:** monastic foundation document
- tzangia:** the red buskins of the emperor, which, in the Late Byzantine period, were ornamented with eagles on the instep and the sides. In Middle Byzantine sources the term denotes both footwear in general, and boots in particular
- tzapion:** mattock
- vita:** biography of a saint (*ODB*, 3, p. 2180)
- wimple:** female headdress covering the neck and sides of the face, and secured at the top of the head, worn under a veil. It became popular in Western Europe from the thirteenth century onwards (Houston, *Medieval Costume*, p. 15). The artistic evidence suggests that the wimple was adopted by Byzantine ladies already in the thirteenth century

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